Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

An African Renaissance.

One of the signs of reawakened race-consciousness among West African literates is the revival of interest in their historical and spiritual heritage from their forefathers. Christian missionaries were the first educators. Their efforts were mainly directed to educating their most promising young converts for the work of spreading Christianity among their countrymen. These pioneer educators were good but narrow-minded men who believed that the conventions and tenets of their own sect were the sole bases of morality and the only safe way of salvation. To them heathenism was an offence before God and a horror to Christian men; therefore they required their converts to renounce heathenism in all its forms. As African social life is permeated with the ritual of African religion, converts were required to separate themselves from the communal life of their fellows and to renounce participation in the rites of ancestral worship. Nothing was more offensive to these stern moralists than the singing and dancing to which Africans are addicted. They thought and taught that in religion and religious exercises were the only outlets of emotion, and inculcated the advice of St. James:—"Is any among you afflicted? Let him pray. Is any merry? Let him sing psalms." European secular music was frowned upon as frivolous and a distraction from the solemn thoughts with which a Christian should be engrossed; African songs and dances were forbidden as immoral and as rites of heathenish demon-worship. The object was to de-Africanise the converts and to turn them into replicas of middle-class English members of the earnest Evangelical type. The consequence was that the early literate generations neglected the traditions and arts of their ancestors. But with the opening of the era of progress and the release of education from the dead hand of religious formalism by the introduction of secular educators, there came a revolt among the more thoughtful of the literates against the indiscriminate condemnation of indigenous institutions and arts and a return to the study of them. The most notable of the early fruits of this renaissance were the works of John Mensah Sarbah on Fanti Law and Custom, which have never been surpassed. The Honourable Casely Hayford's work on the Fanti Constitution was another noteworthy contribution. Since these books were published there have appeared a number of local and tribal histories, such as Ajayi Kolawole Ajisafe's "History of Abeokuta." To-day the most brilliant of the young men who will be the leaders of their people in a few years are continuing the work of these pioneers. The recently published books of Ladipo Solanke, Dr. J. B. Danquah and J. W. de Graft Johnson, and the articles in the students' magazine, "Wasu," are evidence of the growth of race-consciousness, of desire to retain touch with their racial past, and to lead development along racial lines.

African Music.

Further evidence of this renaissance is seen in the local Press. Nearly every journal published in the British West African Colonies devotes considerable space to discussions on tribal history, the origins of place-names, folklore, and native laws and customs, which furnish much useful information, and are providing material from which future students will be able to reconstruct the past. African music, one of the most characteristic forms of indigenous art, is receiving much attention from well-qualified native musicians. The result of Mr. Ballanta Taylor's investigations is eagerly awaited; in the meantime other students are at work. The Gold Coast Press has recently published an analysis of Gold Coast music by Mr. A. E. R. Augustt, a student well informed concerning the development and forms of European music. I must admit that, in comparison with European music, African music is still in its infancy—at the stage of folk-music, out of which all virile national music grows. Folk-music is the expression of the emotions aroused by the occasion which gives it birth. The African musician knows nothing of systems, or forms, or formulas; he "pours his unpremeditated lay" as an outlet for the sorrow or joy which he is feeling—the voice of Nature unshackled by art. Therefore a folk-song rings true; its gladness or sadness is born in the heart of the bard, and speaks to the hearts of his hearers. The oldest Gold Coast songs are what Europeans call chants—e.g., Gregorian chants—short phrases repeated again and again with only such variations as are necessary to fit the notes to the words. The hearers pick up the chant as the singer ends his phrase, and the song is thrown backwards and forwards, in antiphonal alternation, to the rhythmic accompaniment of hand-claps and drum-beats. Dance music has greater variety. The constant repetition is redeemed from monotony by the cross-rhythms evolved by voices, drums, and gongs, each pursuing its own way, and yet concurring at intervals to preserve the time-mode.

Afro-American Music.

The living cargoes of the slave ships carried the religion and music of their native land to their new homes. The negro spirituals and jazz are alike African in inspiration. Both have been affected by the white environment and are becoming a blend of negro and European musical ideas and forms. The earliest spirituals were purely African—chants like "You May Bury Me in the East"—but they gradually absorbed ideas from the music of the whites; the latest are rather European music affected by negro ideas than a blend of the two. This has largely been brought about by the popularity of the "Plantation Songs," which first attracted the attention of the whites to the music of the negroes. The popularity of the earliest genuine plantation songs—"Coal-black Rose," for instance—drew the attention of white composers; one of the earliest to take to imitation of them was Stephen Collins Foster, who was so successful in catching their spirit that his "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night!" have come to be regarded as "typical" songs of the plantation negroes. Later white composers pandered to the ultra-sentimental taste of music-hall audiences, before whom comedians pranced as "coons," bawling meaningless ditties to Honeys about lagoons and moons. Jazz was born of the rhythms of African dance music, but it is going the same way. It has borrowed from African music its cross-rhythms, but these are being exaggerated till they are ceasing to be artistic. The "negroid cacophony," at which cultivated musicians rail, is not the production of negro composers, but of white American hunters after sensations and stunts.

W. F. H.

Native Medical Service.

The report of the committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the training of Natives in medicine and public health has been issued. The matters referred to the committes were: (a) The advisability of establishing within the Union a college for the training of Natives in medicine and public health; (b) the most suitable place for the establishment of such a college; (c) the initial cost and the amount of the annual recurrent expenditure; and (d) the question of the certification of the Natives so trained. The committee took evidence at East London, King William's Town, Lovedale, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Durban and Johannesburg, and examined 66 witnesses. It also received a number of valuable memoranda and printed documents bearing on the subject of the inquiry. The report is of a comprehensive nature and includes a large number of recommendations. Figures prove that there are insufficient medical practitioners for the Native population, and the committee favours the creation of a Government Medical Service, comprising medical practitioners, nurses and health assistants, on the lines of the Government services already existing in Basutoland, Kenya, Uganda, and many other parts of Africa. It is pointed out that as regards medical practitioners and nurses, the conditions of practice in remote and isolated areas, the inadequate remuneration, the lack of social amenities, and want of knowledge of Native languages and customs, all tend to deter Europeans from settling among the Natives, where there is the greatest need for their services. The recommendations of the committee include the establishment of a Government Native Medical Service incorporating existing mission hospitals; a capital sum to be provided each year for the erection of hospitals and staff quarters; better facilities to be provided for training natives as practitioners; the service to be a full-time one and subject to regular inspection. As regards the training of non-Europeans in medicine, it is recommended that the standard of qualification should be the same as for Europeans, the "pre-medical" year to be taken at the South African Native College, loans to be provided from native funds for the completion of the course on conditions to be laid down by the Government. The full course after the pre-medical year should be taken at the University of the Witwatersrand in a non-European branch of the existing medical school. Other suggestions are that a hostel be maintained as a charge against the Native Development Fund; the same fund to provide a loan fund of £12,500 for medical students, Natives from outside the Union to be admitted if practicable. The committee also recommend that provision be made at once for training Natives as health assistants and nurse-midwives in the Government Native Medical Service, and that Native health assistants be trained in connection with the proposed Native medical school in Johannesburg, the course of training and certification to be under the control of the local Medical Council. Other recommendations in this connection are that a capital sum of £2,250 be provided for loans and from £250–£750 per annum for bursaries; a definite salary to be laid down for nurse-midwives in the Government Native Medical Service; bursaries to be offered; opportunities for training to be offered in rural and mission hospitals as well as in urban centres; nurse aids to be trained to meet immediate requirements and to practice under supervision; municipal authorities and local Native Councils to be urged to allocate funds for nurses in locations, etc.; additional district surgeons to be appointed pending full development of the new service. The committee suggest that a logical distribution of the cost of the services would be: (a) To charge all the costs of the training of Natives against the direct taxation of Natives; (b) to charge the cost of salaried officials in the Native Medical Service against the general revenue of the Union Government; and (c) to charge the cost of hospitals and nursing stations with their equipment and stores against the Provincial Administrations. "*Cape Mercury.*"

Trades Unionism Not Recognised.

Representations made by the Trade Union Congress to the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs (Mr. Sampson) on behalf of the Johannesburg Postal Native employees are developing a more serious turn than was originally expected. The I.C.U. as representatives of these Native employees claim the right of bargaining with the Government department concerned, and in

so doing this black trade union had the perspicacity of invoking the aid and leadership of the white Trade Union Congress officials. It is noteworthy that this combination of black and white workers is defending on the same plane a basic principle recognised throughout the civilized democratic world—that of collective bargaining. In the United States, black and white workers generally belong to the same unions, and labour interests are satisfactorily protected. The wages paid to black and white workers in that country are uniform as a direct result of this amalgamation. In South Africa it would appear that we have only come to the threshold of the historical strife between capital and labour, a strife that is a legacy to present day civilised governments inherited from early democracy.

The bitter experience of the clash between the Union Government and the white workers in 1914 and 1922 is recalled to memory when such diversity of opinion in labour principles manifests itself.

The strong influence of the farmers, particularly in the Transvaal, carries much weight with the government, and we know that [illegible] of the population is averse to recognising in any shape or form the dictates of labour. True enough the government consists of the Pact, but it is doubtful if this combination can stand the test when its two diametrically opposed principles are brought under the heaviest strain. Our fear is that the Pact has now entered an era of a severe test. The conditions under which this strife will be waged promise to be considerably more accentuated in comparison to its predecessors, by way of certain factors that will come into play for the first time. For instance, we are up against an alliance of black and white trades unions pledged to stand by their principles for better or worse—an alliance that may not be under—rated nor despised. A demand is being made that the labour Minister in office (Mr. Sampson) should be true to the interests of his party and act conscientiously in in recognising collective bargaining. His predecessor seems to have emerged triumphant from the holocaust, though it cost him his cabinet seat. Mr. Madeley's name will certainly occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of trades unionism in South Africa. Another new factor is the problem of whether the Government is prepared to recognise a black trade union in dealing with black civil servants. We are all aware that it was a grim fight that brought about recognition of white labour by the government, and we can assume therefore that the I.C.U. has to marshal its forces in close file to compel the recognition for the black proletariat it represents. They have the advantage of the alliance with white trades unionism, and no one may begrudge them this, for they stand for the same principles regardless of colour. Yet another new factor is the policy of the government in this regard which seems to have changed. In parliament and on public platforms the Prime Minister and Mr. Tielman Roos have publicly admitted the right of the Native to have his trade union. These Ministers have dissuaded white farmers taking up arms against the legitimate I.C.U., and yet to-day when it comes to recognition by the Department of Agriculture, Gen. Kemp refers the Natives to the Department of Native Affairs. Incidentally with the Pass Laws proposals for modification we find the Minister of Native Affairs directing Natives to refer to the Minister of Justice, as if Mr. Tielman Roos had any right to alter or amend a law made by another department.

The latest news is that Mr Sampson approves of government's attitude. His action in stepping into Mr Madeley's shoes had long told the story; but the new Minister is reported to have said: "The Natives in this country are trying to copy the most revolutionary type of trade unionism, which is more political than industrial and more concerned with passes than with the wages and the hours of work of natives." One wonders whether the Minister had fallen into a trance when he made this utterance, in view of the fact he is well aware that the Industrial Conciliation Act 1924 definitely lays down that all pass bearing Natives may not participate in the legal negotiations between employer and employee provided for in the Act. Does it not seem ludicrous that the Minister directs Natives to fight for wages when his own law has put up the pass barrier to prevent this taking place? It should be patent to the Government that the Native Affairs Department exists to cater for Natives in State matters, for the Natives feel that they are capable of working out their own destiny when it comes to matters involving their self-preservation in the labour market. It would be insensate to expect them to request the N.A.D to bargain on their behalf against another State department. The Government represents capital and as such, is a natural opponent to the interests of Labour. Unless requested by the Natives themselves to act as intermediary it is not etiquette for the N.A. Department to seek to play that role. We find no fault with the attitude taken up by the Postal Native employees of Johannesburg in insisting on being represented by the I.C.U. They are true to their labour comrades of all races throughout the world in upholding the principle of collective bargaining. It is here that General Hertzog's dictum "let the Native develop along his own lines," falls to the ground. The Native has become part and parcel of the industrial life of the country. He is the real worker. His services are required everywhere in industry, and perforce he has to develop on the lines of the European industrialist. As for the labour ministers in the Cabinet and their followers, it would be wise to refrain at present from expressing an opinion, pending the settlement of the present problem.

General [illegible]es.

The Good Samaritans.

In the graphic description of the terrific aerial crash he experienced beyond Kasenga, in the Congo, Lieut. Murdoch, *Ethiopia* relates that for hours he struggled desperately on, and late in the afternoon reached a Native village. "Then the rocky root strewn ground came up to meet me" he continues. "It felt like a feather mattress as I sailed off into oblivion." When he came round Lieut. Murdoch found Natives bathing his wounds. In the evening they lifted him into a hammock and carried him to the river. He was taken across in a large canoe to the house of the Renaud brothers. The narrative ends up: "He expresses the deepest gratitude to the Renauds."

While we deeply sympathise with Lieut. Murdoch in his hard luck and congratulate him on his reaching safety we however cannot understand how he omits to express gratitude to the Natives who in reality played the role of "The Good Samaritan" in saving his life. These Natives massaged his wounds and thus saved serious complications like tetanus setting in. They placed him in a canoe and transported him to the Renauds, thus dramatising the ass and the inn.keeper. in the St. Luke's Gospel. Too gloomy a picture has been painted in history by white authors, representing African Natives as barbarians, that it would be only fair to depict them for once in the humanitarian phase even if the change of heart from their cannibalistic tendencies lasted for a few hours.

General Notes.

Curfew Test Case.

At the instigation of the King William's Town branch of the I.C.U a test case was initiated before the magistrate (Mr. T. J. Conway) on Tuesday, 6th November. Daisy Falu a Xosa minor aged 17 was charged with contravening the Curfew by-law by being out in the streets at 10.10 p.m. the previous night. Mr. H. W. Murray defended, and argued that Native women and minors were not subject to this by-law. On behalf of the prosecution Sergt. Swart of the C.I.D. deposed that he had experience in police duty at East London, Aliwal North and at King William's Town. At all these centres it was customary that Native females carried night passes. A witness Gordon Gcilishe who was warned to appear at Court at 10 a.m to give evidence at the request of the defence, through failure to cause an appearance, forced the postponement of the case by the Court to 11.30 a.m. Monday 12th November.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Justice in Native Courts

Proposed Proclamation

PART I.

The Resident Commissioner of Basutoland in presenting his well considered proposed Proclamation to the members of the Basutoland National Council held recently at Maseru, said:

In accordance with my assurance given at the meeting of the National Council in 1927, I am sending to all members of the Council some proposals for improving the methods of administration of justice in the Native courts. The matter will come up for discussion at the next meeting of the Council in April 1929.

You will, no doubt, remember the words used by the High Commissioner in his message to the Council at the session in 1922. He said ... 'it has has been the policy of the Government not to interfere unduly with the domestic affairs of the Basuto, and the settlement, according to the Native law and custom, of the disputes among the Basuto has been left to the Native courts, subject only to a right of appeal to appeal to the courts of the European Officers of the Government Further on he said... 'I therefore request the members of the Council to discuss this important matter and to consider carefully what steps can be taken with a view to restoring public confidence in the administration of justice by the Native Courts of the territory."

In the discussion that followed certain proposals came before the Council but I am not able to discover that any definite steps were taken to secure the end in view and it has been necessary at every subsequent session to refer to the matter again. It is not necessary for me to enter into any discussion as to whether there is really need for improvement. Practically all Councillors save one who is closely connected with the Paramount Chief's Court, have admitted in my hearing in Council. I have therefore thought it advisable, while adhering to the policy of refraining from undue interference in the domestic affairs of the Basuto, to indicate what appear to me to be the lines on which advance might be made. I want to be clearly understood that what I put before you are only suggestions and that if any member wishes to forward other suggestions be can do so at once by forwarding them to me when, if I consider them useful, I will send them to all Councillors, or he can bring them forward at the Council meeting. The former will be the better course as it will give all members a chance of considering them before hand.

Now looking at your court system as a new comer and, having had some experience of Native Courts elsewhere, one of the first things that strikes me is that the number of Chiefs who have the right to exercise judicial powers is both undefined and also too great. I gather that any son of a chief who has been "placed," automatically obtains judicial powers. This should be put a stop to. By Section 4 of Proclamation 2 B of 1884 the Resident Commissioner is given power to appoint Chiefs to adjucate upon and try such cases, criminal or civil, and to exercise jurisdiction in such manner and within such limits, as may be defined by any rules established by the authority of the Resident Commissioner, who is hereby empowered to make all such rules as may be necessary in that behalf, and to amend, alter, and cancel the same as he may think fit. I am of opinion that the time has arrived for the action contemplated in this section to be taken and I think that, in consultation with the Paramount Chief and the National Council, a schedule of Chiefs should be drawn up and appointed chiefs with judicial powers, and that their powers, which would be greater for the senior than for the junior Chiefs, should be defined.

I attach some draft rules for the establishment and jurisdiction of Courts, not necessarily for adoption, but as indicating the sort of thing I have in mind and to serve as a basis for discussion in Council; and, with the draft rules, is a proposed schedule of Chiefs for the Maseru district, adopted. Probably the Council will be able to put forward a better schedule.

Next comes the question of regularising the procedure in the Courts which will, I hope, obviate delay and I have attached some draft rules to form a basis of discussion. You will notice that the rules provided for a proper record to be kept of cases dealt with. I think it is most necessary that the proceedings should be taken down and filed. But I realise that this will not probably be possible at first in any save the courts of the senior chiefs.

You will notice that provision is made that fines should be paid into a Native Administration Fund instead of being retained by the Court. This, to my mind, is a most important point and I am afraid that, if it is not agreed to, the whole attempt to improve matters will break down. I am aware that it is an innovation and not in accord with ancient Basuto custom but, as Mr Amery, when he was here last year told you, "you will find your present customs may not suit the time" It has been the case in most nations that the fines were looked upon as belonging to the King or Chief, but in all nations as they progress this practice has been altered and the fines have gone into the Government funds and the Chief has had a regular payment made to him. I would not propose here to take these fines into general revenue but to put them into a fund called the "Native Administration Fund" which would be used in the first instance to provide salaries for Chiefs who preside over Courts. I am aware that in this regard a difficulty presents itself inosmuch as it is usual for fines to be paid in kind in the Native Courts. But I think an effort should be made to alter this and introduce as quickly as possible the practice of payment in cash. Other African tribes have successfully introduced this innovation and you are already accustomed to it in the European courts.

There is now another direction in which improvement is necessary and I think it is the most urgent of all and that is the conduct of appeals to the Paramount Chief's court. It cannot for one moment be denied that most serious delays often occur in the settlement of these appeals. I am not now concerned with the question of responsibility for these delays; it may be that the volume of work is such as to make delays inevitable without a reorganisation of the system. You will remember that in the Council for 1922, to which I have referred above question of a circuit courts was discussed at great length, and I gather from reading the concluding remarks of the Acting Paramount Chief that there was a fear that it would be an infringement of the power of the Paramount Chief. But, if the principle of the Circuit Courts were adopted on the lines I suggest, I do not think it would take from the powers of the Paramount Chief any more than the existence of the Privy Council in England takes away from the power of the King.

My proposal is that three times every year a court consisting of three Chiefs or Councillors specially appointed by the Paramount Chief should proceed to the North of the territory and sit at several conveniently situated centres to hear appeals from the local courts; and at the same time another court similarly constituted should in the same way tour the South. It would be the duty of the local chiefs to make sure that all pending appeals come forward and that the parties and witnesses weae present. Appeals from courts in the Maseru district could be dealt with at Matsieng by the same Chiefs or Councillors. It would be prefereable that all these courts should announce their decisions on the spot; but it might possibly be allowed that they should submit their decisions with a written record of these cases to the Paramount Chief without delay for confirmation before making any announcement. In this case the decisions would have to be made in the Paramount Chief's name by the local Chief.

Now I want to impress upon you once more that my intention in writing this is to cause you all to think and to promote discussion in the Council, and to bring forward suggestions from Councillors and others. In other discussions on this matter nothing concrete has resulted; things have gone on just as they were. But as you have often been told something definite must be done; and to quote Mr Amery's words again, it is only by support and whole hearted co-operation that you can ensure progress of your people which I know you desire and which you maintain if His Majesty's Government is to be justified in continuing to offer you that protection and freedom which you have been enjoying all these years." And again latter in that way (i.e., by co-operation) you will be able to show the whole world that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races".

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local pitsos to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the value of the annual meeting of the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

Resident Commissioner.

October, 1928.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Justice in Native Courts

Proposed Proclamation

PART I.

The Resident Commissioner of Basutoland in presenting his well considered proposed Proclamation to the members of the Basuto National Council held recently at Maseru, said:

In accordance with my assurance given at the meeting of the National Council in 1927, I am sending to all members of the Council some proposals for improving the methods of administration of justice in the Native courts. The matter will come up for discussion at the next meeting of the Council in April 1929.

You will, no doubt, remember the words used by the High Commissioner in his message to the Council at the session in 1922. He said ... 'it has has been the policy of the Government not to interfere unduly with the domestic affairs of the Basuto, and the settlement, according to the Native law and custom, of the disputes among the Basuto has been left to the Native courts, subject only to a right of appeal to appeal to the courts of the European Officers of the Government Further on he said... 'I therefore request the members of the Council to discuss this important matter and to consider carefully what steps can be ta en with a view to restoring public confidence in the administration of justice by the Native Courts of the territory."

In the discussion that followed certain proposals came before the Council but I am not able to discover that any definite steps were taken to secure the end in view and it has been necessary at every subsequent session to refer to the matter again. It is not necessary for me to enter into any discussion as to whether there is really need for improvement. Practically all Councillors save one who is closely connected with the Paramount Chief's Court, have admitted in my hearing in Council. I have therefore thought it advisable, while adhering to the policy of refraining from undue interference in the domestic affairs of the Basuto, to indicate what appear to me to be the lines on which advance might be made. I want to be clearly understood that what I put before you are only suggestions and that if any member wishes to forward other suggestions be can do so at once by forwarding them to me when, if I consider them useful, I will send them to all Councillors, or he can bring them forward at the Council meeting. The former will be the better course as it will give all members a chance of considering them before hand.

Now looking at your court system as a new comer and, having had some experience of Native Courts elsewhere, one of the first things that strikes me is that the number of Chiefs who have the right to exercise judicial powers is both undefined and also too great. I gather that any son of a chief who hase been "placed,' automatically obtains judicial powers. This should be put a stop to. By Section 4 of Proclamation 2 B of 1884 the Resident Commissioner is given power to appoint Chiefs to adjucate upon and try such cases, criminal or civil, and to exercise jurisdiction in such manner and within such limits, as may be defined by any rules established by the authority of the Resident Commissioner, who is hereby empowered to make all such rules as may be necessary in that behalf, and to amend, alter, and cancel the same as he may think fit. I am of opinion that the time has arrived for the action contemplated in this section to be taken and I think that, in consultation with the Paramount Chief and the National Council, a schedule of Chiefs should be drawn up and appointed chiefs with judicial powers, and that their powers which would be greater for the senior than for the junior Chiefs, should be defined.

I attach some draft rules for the establishment and jurisdiction of Courts, not necessarily for adoption, but as indicating the sort of thing I have in mind and to serve as a basis for discussion in Council; and, with the draft rules, is a proposed schedule of Chiefs for the Maseru district, adopted. Probably the Council will be able to put forward a better schedule.

Next comes the question of regularising the procedure in the Courts which will, I hope, obviate delay and I have attached some draft rules to form a basis of discussion. You will notice that the rules provided for a proper record to be kept of cases dealt with. I think it is most necessary that the proceedings should be taken down and filed. But I realise that this will not probably be possible at first in any save the courts of the senior chiefs.

You will notice that provision is made that fines should be paid into a Native Administration Fund instead of being retained by the Court. This, to my mind, is a most important point and I am afraid that, if it is not carried out, the whole attempt to improve matters will break down. I am aware that it is an innovation and not in accord with ancient Basuto custom but, as Mr Amery, when he was here last year told you, "you will find your present customs may not suit the time" It has been the case in most nations that the fines were looked upon as belonging to the King or Chief, but in all nations as they progress this practice has been altered and the fines have gone into the Government funds and the Chief has had a regular payment made to him. I would not propose here to take these fines into general revenue but to put them into a fund called the "Native Administration Fund" which would be used in the first instance to provide salaries for Chiefs who preside over Courts. I am aware that in this regard a difficulty presents itself inosmuch as it is usual for fines to be paid in kind in the Native Courts. But I think an effort should be made to alter this and introduce as quickly as possible the practice of payment in cash. Other African tribes have successfully introduced this innovation and you are already accustomed to it in the European courts.

There is now another direction in which improvement is necessary and I think it is the most urgent of all and that is the conduct of appeals to the Paramount Chief's court. It cannot for one moment be denied that most serious delays often occur in the settlement of these appeals. I am not now concerned with the question of responsibility for these delays; it may be that the volume of work is such as to make delays inevitable without a reorganisation of the system. You will remember that in the Council for 1922, to which I have referred above question of a circuit courts was discussed at great length, and I gather from reading the concluding remarks of the Acting Paramount Chief that there was a fear that it would be an infringement of the power of the Paramount Chief. But, if the principle of the Circuit Courts were adopted on the lines I suggest, I do not think it would take from the powers of the Paramount Chief any more than the existence of the Privy Council in England takes away from the power of the King. My proposal is that three times every year a court consisting of three Chiefs or Councillors specially appointed by the Paramount Chief should proceed to the North of the territory and sit at several convenently situated centres to hear appeals from the local courts; and at the same time another court similarly constituted should in the same way tour the South. It would be the duty of the local chiefs to make sure that all pending appeals come forward and that the parties and witnesses weae present. Appeals from courts in the Maseru district could be dealt with at Matsieng by the same Chiefs or Councillors. It whuld be prefereable that all these courts should announce their decisions on the spot; but it might possibly be allowed that they should submit their decisions with a written record of these cases to the Paramount Chief without delay for confirmation before making any announcement. In this case the announcement of the decisions must be made; and to quote Amery's words again, "it is only by support and whole hearted co-operation that you can ensure progress of your people which I know you desire and which you may be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

Now I want to impress upon you once more that my intention in writing this is to cause you all to think and to promote discussion in the Council, and to bring forward suggestions from Councillors and others. In other discussions on this matter nothing concrete has resulted; things have gone on just as they were. But as you have often been told something definite must be done; and to quote Amery's words again, "it is only by support and whole hearted co-operation that you can ensure progress of your people which I know you desire and which you may be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

And again, by co-operation in that way (i.e., the whole matter nothing concrete has resulted; things have gone on just as they were. But as you have often been told something definite must be done; and to quote Amery's words again, "it is only by support and whole hearted co-operation that you can ensure progress of your people which I know you desire and which you may be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

P.S. I have a word that an African people can by its own efforts improve its conditions, and progress side by side with people of other races"

I think that would be a good thing if Chiefs would make more use of what I believe to be a national custom, namely having local Governpitso's to discuss matters of national importance. It would, I am convinced, tend to add greatly to the enjoying value of the annual meeting of them latter the National Council.

J. C. R. STURROCK,

(Resident Commissioner.)

October, 1928.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Pittsburgh Courier)

White South Africans are much alarmed because black South Africans are demanding manhood rights. The black constitute 80 per cent of the population and the whites feel that they will be submerged entirely unless they follow the old Dixie formula of "keeping the nigger in his place." What the whites mean by being "submerged" is that if they should permit the blacks to enjoy the same privileges as white men, politically, industrially and socially, they would no longer be able to use the South African Negro as a door mat and a beast of burden. The whites have been on top in Africa for three hundred years and have steadily robbed the native of his land, his religion and his "savage virtues." Naturally they want to stay on top. In order to do so they are contemplating all sorts of additional discriminatory laws and regulations to assure the continued submergence of the blacks. While they claim that the only solution to the problem is complete segregation and separation of the two populations, the industrialists and agriculturists are loath to dispense with the labor of the black man, without which little or nothing would get done.

On the other hand the blacks have awakened to their unenviable condition, and strongly organized, they are bodily demanding full citizenship rights. The situation is growing more serious with the growth of race consciousness among the Negroes. Both sides are equally determined, but the whites have the advantage of an army and navy while the natives are disarmed. There is likely to be violence and bloodshed. This is unfortunate for inter-racial relations. There is land and wealth enough for both blacks and whites in South Africa, and both races could dwell in peace and happiness if there were sufficient fairness and justice among the whites. But they are reluctant to work with a group that has worked for them for centuries. That is the real problem. Whether or not it can be solved in peace is the question of the hour.

Alake's Eighth Anniversary.

H.H. Ademola II., the enlightened ruler of Abeokuta, celebrated the eighth anniversary of his coronation in mail week. A special thanksgiving service at St. Peter's Church, Ake, was attended by the Obas, Chiefs, and members of the Egba Council, the Alake being accompanied by the Resident, Mr. H. L. Ward Price, and the District Officer, Captain Richards.

"A notable feature of Ademola's rule was been the close and harmonious relationship which he has uniformly maintained with the British representatives," says the "Nigerian Daily Times." "The latter have each in turn shown their appreciation of his confidence by extending to him their support and wise advice. Ademola is not only a very hard-working ruler, but a highly efficient administrator. Beside his duties as head of the Judicial Council, he spends several hours a day in his office attending personally to work of general administration which is reflected in the high efficiency of the Egba Native Government. In spite of the general depression which is experienced all round, Abeokuta gets her share of the country's trade, and in spite of ugly reports often broadcast by ill-intentioned persons, the countryside at Abeokuta has never been known to be so peaceful as at present, and the peasantry never so contented and happy."

THE NATIONALIST-LABOUR COMPROMISE.

Disagreement in the Cape and Free State.

CAPE TOWN, November 19.

The Cape and Free State Nationalists are unhappy over the compromise resolution of the Head Committee of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal. Under this resolution the Nationalists in that province at the next election will support the sitting Labourites, irrespective of the section of their party to which they belong.

It is pointed out that there is no likelihood of a similar arrangement being adopted in the Cape or the Free State. For instance, the Free Staters would certainly not agree to support Mr. Barlow, the National Council sitting member for Bloemfontein. Should Mr. Barlow speak in support of the sitting National Council Labourites in the Transvaal, a position would arise that would involve the Nationalist Party in ridicule.

Further, it is pointed out that the National Council section of Labour stands committed to a programme (comprising many Socialistic schemes) to which the Nationalists cannot subscribe, and which they must oppose in Parliament.

A further point emphasised by "De Burger" is that while the Transvaal Nationalists undertake to support the sitting National Council Labourites, the latter have undertaken no corresponding obligation. On the contrary, the leaders and several of the branches have publicly declared their intention of fighting the Government. "De Burger" considers that unless the Madeley section execute a volte-face the resolution of the Transvaal Nationalist Executive will prove impracticable.—"Daily Telegraph."

A BELGIAN CONGO DOOMSDAY BOOK.

Survey of the Parc National Albert.

In response to a request made by M. Jaspar, Prime Minister and Minister of the Colonies for Belgium, at the close of her recent African expedition, Mrs. Mary L. Akeley, widow of the African explorer Carl Akeley, sailed recently for Brussels to collaborate with Dr. Jean M. Derscheid, of the Congo Museum of Tervueren, in the preparation of a final report of the Akeley-Derscheid mission to the Parc National Albert in the Belgian Congo.

When Mr. Akeley died on Mt. Mikeno in November, 1926, Mrs. Akeley was made leader of his expedition, and remained for five months longer in the field to complete the programme which her husband had planned. The main object of the Belgian Congo expedition was to secure for the American Museum of Natural History a painted background and plant accessories for the gorilla group of the African Hall, which, since the explorer's death, is to be called the Carl Akeley Memorial African Hall. At Mr. Akeley's instance, however, Dr. Derscheid accompanied the party to co-operate with Mr. and Mrs. Akeley in preparing for the Belgian Government a complete survey of the Parc, which was nationalised by King Albert on March 2, 1925. The extent of pasture land and timber land, the number of native villages, the reliability of the local food supply, the weather conditions, the trails, the richness of the fauna and flora, were among the things on which Belgium required accurate data. King Albert of the Belgians also wished to have Mr. Akeley's expert opinion in regard to ways and means of preserving the big primates, particularly the gorillas.

Mrs. Akeley, who has already presented to the American Museum of Natural History, New York, a complete report on the work accomplished for its Carl Akeley Memorial African Hall, has in her possession a great deal of the data required by the Belgian authorities. So that the survey as made by the Akeley expedition may be as comprehensive and detailed as possible, she and the Belgian zoologist will now prepare the final draft for its presentation to the Belgian Colonial Office.—"E.A. Standard."

To Managers of Native Mission Schools

(By P. D. Mashicila).

Teachers, as educated Christian people regard it as a moral necessity that they should live in decent, convenient and healthy houses in which privacy equally with efficiency can be secured.

Native teachers have a great task set them. They have on their shoulders the responsibility of shaping the careers of the men of tomorrow, and they are therefore doing a great work and they ought to be in such a position as to set an example to the people amongst whom they live and work. But alas, under the present circumstances no example whatsoever can be set by Native teachers to the people amongst whom they live and work.

In most locations to day, there is no housing accommodation available for teachers. Consequently they are allocated to families of residents—in places that neither permit of privacy nor efficient preparation of their school work.

According to the efficiency demanded by the requirements of the new syllabus, it is highly desirable, and indeed necessary, that each teacher be provided with a suitable dwelling place.

In the Education Gazette of the 26th August 1926, the Department absolves itself from blame. It is stated in that Gazette that the principal teacher of a Native Mission School should be provided with a house and a field, if lands available, and that suitable accommodation must be arranged for the assistants, and further that where this is not being done, it would be well for managers to take up the matter with the people, and lay before them the Department's requirements, with a view to having the necessary provision made.

Now sirs, is the time not ripe yet to take up the matter with the people, and lay before them the Department's requirements?

Teachers are fast losing confidence in their Managers. They allege that their discomforts are regarded by Managers as flea-bites.

Don't you see sirs, that the better the provision made for teachers, the better will be the quality of the men and women secured for the schools?

It is now high time sirs that you should take up the matter with the people and lay before them the Department's requirements. Do it now sirs!

Gold Coast.

COCOA CROP PROSPECTS.

The Director of Agriculture reports as follows on the cocoa crop prospects to mid-November (main crop):—

Eastern Province.—There has been more sun during the past two weeks, which has facilitated drying. The crop is coming in well, and is of fair average quality. Harvesting is going on steadily in all centres, and there are indications of the total crop being rather above that of last year.

Central Province.—Improving condition of weather has encouraged harvesting and aided drying. The crop is coming in rather faster, and quality is improving. Total yields are likely to be higher than last major season.

Western Province.—Rains have continued heavy, and in many cases growers have deferred picking owing to difficulty of drying beans. This, together with transport difficulties, has delayed marketing of the crop. Yields are good and likely to exceed the total of last year.

Ashanti.—The crop has been coming in moderately well, except in the west, where wet weather has delayed the harvest. Conditions are improving, however, and larger quantities of beans will be available shortly. Quality is rather below the average standard, but showed signs of improvement during the past week.

Race Problem - 1928

African

ASSISTANCE FRUSTRATED.

It is well known that Natives in the Crown locations of the Native territories suffered severe losses in stock through the last drought. Many families had to use up the brush-wood constituting their cattle kraals as firewood as no [illegible] has left to herd. When the early spring rains cheered the heart of the despondent Native peasant, there were prospects of the veld reclaiming its long lost vegetation, but alas, the bulk of our people were stranded when it came to the question of having their fields ploughed. No oxen!

The exclusive virtue of the aboriginal Native of seeing his neighbour through in times of hunger came to the aid of those who had no animals for ploughing purposes. The more fortunate Natives were kind enough to plough the fields of their brothers in distress free of charge. Spans of oxen crossed from one location to another, offering much needed relief.

In the King Williamstown area the good work was suddenly handicapped by intructions issued by the magistrate to the permit officer of the veterinary department that no permits were to be issued for the removal of cattle from one location to another for the purpose of assisting in ploughing. This came as a bolt from the blue, and rendered many Natives grief—stricken to think of the grand offer from their friends having to pass by through the refusal of permits that had hitherto been issued freely. We made enquiries at the veterinary office in order to ascertain the position, and were told that instructions left there were that no permits were to be issued without the consent of the headman from whose location the cattle were moving, and the consent also of the magistrate. So much red tape has been made to attach to this system of obtaining permits as to make the permit seekers call on these issuers two or three days before finally obtaining the permit. All this for what reason, may we ask?

If it is complained that the visiting cattle consume pasturage to which they are not entitled, surely the work and relief they afford to the needy is more than compensated by the few blades of grass they consume for the 3 or 4 days they are there. Again such Natives as have been assisted free of charge have a share in the commonage where they originally depastured their own cattle which have since died during the drought. Where would the so-called preservation of the pasturage be prejudiced in such a case?

Possibly there are other reasons for this stringent application of the permit system, and we are entitled to know what they are. Needy Natives are experiencing a nasty knock through this, and the officials of the Native Affairs Department will do well to allay the feeling by giving good reasons for such a step. We cannot think the Bunga or the executive powers used on its behalf are responsible for this state of affairs, neither can we be placated in what we have been informed, that the chief veterinary officer of the district resident in East London has handed over his department in King Williamstown into the entire control of the Native Affairs Department in so far as cattle movements in Native locations are concerned.

Africa

1-27-28

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Chain of Science.

At the annual dinner of the Royal Society of Medicine, Lord Dawson of Penn paid an eloquent tribute to the work and heroism of Professors Stokes and Noguchi and Dr. Young, who fell in the long fight against yellow fever. They did not live to witness the forging of the last link of the chain of investigations which has produced an effective vaccine for protection against the disease, but they contributed to this completion, providing necessary links. In a letter to "The Times" Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, K.B.E., describes these links. Professor Stokes had proved, "by the use of susceptible monkeys from India, that yellow fever is one of the 'virus' diseases, and due to a transmissible agent not visible by ordinary means." Thus, by establishing the nature of the disease and the method of its transmission he forged the first link. Dr. Noguchi "had long claimed that it was caused by a spirochæte, and, on that view, had been based all the efforts of the (Rockefeller) Institute to produce a protective vaccine." His journey to West Africa was "to test the work which had upset his views." It turned research from a blind alley into the right road. While the result of Noguchi's work was mainly negative, Stokes' discovery was rich in important results. It brought the work on yellow fever into touch with the knowledge and practical results of virus studies. "It enabled Dr. Sellards, of Harvard University . . . to bring virus preserved by cold to London (where insect transmission can be made impossible)" for experiment by Dr. Hindle, who holds the Research Fellowship in Tropical Medicine recently endowed by Sir Otto Beit. "Working in the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research, Dr. Hindle took advantage of the results already gained in studies of dog distemper virus by Dr. Laidlaw and of fowl plague virus by Dr. Charles Todd. He succeeded in rapidly proving that susceptible monkeys can be completely protected against a certainly fatal yellow fever infection by suitable vaccination." Though it is not yet proved it is "very highly probable that man can be similarly protected." The final test is now being made in Brazil, where vaccine prepared by Dr. Hindle's method at the Oswald Cruz Institute, Rio de Janeiro, is being used to check a localised outbreak of yellow fever." "No bad results have occurred, and none, out of some hundreds of vaccinated cases, has yet taken the disease." The work of the martyrs is bearing fruit in the salvation of millions from one of the most dreaded diseases with which mankind is afflicted.

Conquests by Disease.

Science knows no bounds of country or nationality; the search for knowledge binds all the seekers in a fraternity of research to which all bring the fruits of their labours. Especially is this the case in the struggle against disease: there is no localising of work or nationalist monopoly of results. The whole world joins together against the common enemy, "for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together." There is no more cogent proof of the common humanity of all races of mankind than their common susceptibility to disease, and the facility with which they infect each other. Their power of resistance to any disease varies with the length of time during which they have been exposed to it; they must acquire the power of resistance or perish. For thousands of years the Old World has been afflicted with zymotic diseases, the breeding-places of which are in the habitats of the densely-crowded populations of China and India. Thence diseases borne by air, earth, or water spread westward to Europe by the great trade routes, along which their passage can be tracked. The course of cholera and bubonic plague can be traced by the logs of ships sailing from the East, and the outbreaks can be timed by their arrivals in their Western ports. Europe and Asia had established a common stock of diseases long before the discovery of the New World. The intrusion of Europeans into the Orient brought no new diseases to Asia, but it has been truly said that the European invaders conquered the New World more thoroughly by their diseases than by their arms. There is every reason to believe that before the advent of Europeans the zymotic diseases—the diseases of ancient and crowded populations—were unknown, or almost unknown, among the sparse and nomadic populations of North and South America and Australia. The relatively dense and settled communities of Mexico and Peru were inferior, as regards antiquity and numbers, to the settled populations which had for thousands of years been crowded together in Egypt, Asia Minor, India, and China, and so the conditions were less favourable to the evolutions of zymotic diseases, and the people, having undergone no evolution in relation to such diseases, fell ready victims to the contagion carried by the European invaders. Diseases of the malarial type, the micro-organisms of which can flourish without human hosts, and are, therefore, able to persist where the human population is scanty, or even absent, were prevalent in the New World where the environment was favourable, and the inhabitants were better able to resist them than the foreign intruders; accordingly we find in the records of the Spanish, Portuguese, and English adventurers accounts of their sufferings from "calentures," fevers, all races exposed to yellow fever, negroes are most resistant to it seems to indicate a longer period of contact with it. This may, however, be due to their longer exposure to, and struggle with, malarial affections. Wherever it originated, it has now been almost abolished from the Western Hemisphere. Sir Walter Fletcher points out that the discovery of the true nature of the disease and of its preventibility by vaccination may have come "just in time to save us from a world disaster of unthinkable magnitude." The new routes of African trade are taking up the rôle of the old Eurasian trade. Yellow fever has already crossed Africa and reached Asia, where the transmitting insect is as common as in Africa. The new vaccine has come in time to save the millions of Asia from a destruction greater than that which took place in the New World in proportion as the Old World is more densely peopled.

Yellow Fever.

In only two cases has it been suggested that the New World has given the Old World a new disease. There is a tradition that syphilis was brought to Europe by travellers returning from America, but there is no evidence is weak, while there is strong evidence that it was known to and described by Galen of Pergamos more than 1,200 years before Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The case for yellow fever is slightly stronger. It must have originated in the West Indies or West Africa, and it can have originated independently in both. The fact that, otherwise, it took place in the New World in proportion as the Old World is more densely peopled.

Race Problem - 1928

African World 11-2-28

ASSISTANCE FRUSTRATED.

It is well known that Natives in the Crown locations of the Native territories suffered severe losses in stock through the last drought. Many families had to use up the brush-wood constituting their cattle kraals as firewood when the early spring rains cheered the heart of the despondent Native peasant, there were prospects of the veld reclaiming its long lost vegetation, but alas, the bulk of our people were stranded when it came to the question of having their fields ploughed. No oxen!

The exclusive virtue of the aboriginal Native of seeing his neighbour through in times of hunger came to the aid of those who had no animals for ploughing purposes. The more fortunate Natives were kind enough to plough the fields of their brothers in distress free of charge. Spans of oxen crossed from one location to another, offering much needed relief.

In the King Williamstown area the good work was suddenly handicapped by intructions issued by the magistrate to the permit officer of the veterinary department that no permits were to be issued for the removal of cattle from one location to another for the purpose of assisting in ploughing. This came as a bolt from the blue, and rendered many Natives grief—stricken to think of the grand offer from their friends having to pass by through the refusal of permits that had hitherto been issued freely. We made enquiries at the veterinary office in order to ascertain the position, and were told that instructions left there were that no permits were to be issued without the consent of the headman from whose location the cattle were moving, and the consent also of the magistrate. So much red tape has been made to attach to this system of obtaining permits as to make the permit seekers call on these issuers two or three days before finally obtaining the permit. All this for what reason, may we ask?

If it is complained that the visiting cattle consume pasturage to which they are not entitled, surely the work and relief they afford to the needy is more than compensated by the few blades of grass they consume for the 3 or 4 days they are there. Again such Natives as have been assisted free of charge have a share in the commonage where they originally depasured their own cattle which have since died during the drought. Where would the so-called preservation of the pasturage be prejudiced in such a case?

Possibly there are other reasons for this stringent application of the permit system, and we are entitled to know what they are. Needy Natives are experiencing a nasty knock through this, and the officials of the Native Affairs Department will do well to allay the feeling by giving good reasons for such a step. We cannot think the Bunga or the executive powers used on its behalf are responsible for this state of affairs, neither can we be placated in what we have been informed, that the chief veterinary officer of the district resident in East London has handed over his department in King Williamstown into the entire control of the Native Affairs Department in so far as cattle movements in Native locations are concerned.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Chain of Science.

At the annual dinner of the Royal Society of Medicine, Lord Dawson of Penn paid an eloquent tribute to the work and heroism of Professors Stokes and Noguchi and Dr. Young, who fell in the long fight against yellow fever. They did not live to witness the forging of the last link of the chain of investigations which has produced an effective vaccine for protection against the disease, but they contributed to this completion, providing necessary links. In a letter to "The Times" Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, K.B.E., describes these links. Professor Stokes had proved, "by the use of susceptible monkeys from India, that yellow fever is one of the 'virus' diseases, and due to a transmissible agent not visible by ordinary means." Thus, by establishing the nature of the disease and the method of its transmission he forged the first link. Dr. Noguchi "had long claimed that it was caused by a spirochæte, and, on that view, had been based all the efforts of the (Rockefeller) Institute to produce a protective vaccine." His journey to West Africa was "to test the work which had upset his views." It turned research from a blind alley into the right road. While the result of Noguchi's work was mainly negative, Stokes' discovery was rich in important results. It brought the work on yellow fever into touch with the knowledge and practical results of virus studies. "It enabled Dr. Sellards, of Harvard University . . . to bring virus preserved by cold to London (where insect transmission can be made impossible)" for experiment by Dr. Hindle, who holds the Research Fellowship in Tropical Medicine recently endowed by Sir Otto Beit. "Working in the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research, Dr. Hindle took advantage of the results already gained in studies of dog distemper virus by Dr. Laidlaw and of fowl plague virus by Dr. Charles Todd. He succeeded in rapidly proving that susceptible monkeys can be completely protected against a certainly fatal yellow fever infection by suitable vaccination." Though it is not yet proved it is "very highly probable that man can be similarly protected." The final test is now being made in Brazil, where vaccine prepared by Dr. Hindle's method at the Oswald Cruz Institute, Rio de Janeiro, is being used to check a localised outbreak of yellow fever." "No bad results have occurred, and none, out of some hundreds of vaccinated cases, has yet taken the disease." The work of the martyrs is bearing fruit in the salvation of millions from one of the most dreaded diseases with which mankind is afflicted.

Conquests by Disease.

Science knows no bounds of country or nationality; the search for knowledge binds all the seekers in a fraternity of research to which all bring the fruits of their labours. Especially is this the case in the struggle against disease; there is no localising of work or nationalist monopoly of results. The whole world joins together against the common enemy, "for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together." There is no more cogent proof of the common humanity of all races of mankind than their common susceptibility to disease, and the facility with which they infect each other. Their power of resistance to any disease varies with the length of time during which they have been exposed to it; they must acquire the power of resistance or perish. For thousands of years the Old World has been afflicted with zymotic diseases, the breeding-places of which are in the habitats of the densely-crowded populations of China and India. Thence diseases borne by air, earth, or water spread westward to Europe by the great trade routes, along which their passage can be tracked. The course of cholera and bubonic plague can be traced by the logs of ships sailing from the East, and the outbreaks can be timed by their arrivals in their Western ports. Europe and Asia had established a common stock of diseases long before the discovery of the New World. The intrusion of Europeans into the Orient brought no new diseases to Asia, but it has been truly said that the European invaders conquered the New World more thoroughly by their diseases than by their arms. There is every reason to believe that before the advent of Europeans the zymotic diseases—the diseases of ancient and crowded populations—were unknown, or almost unknown, among the sparse and nomadic populations of North and South America and Australia. The relatively dense and settled communities of Mexico and Peru were inferior, as regards antiquity and numbers, to the settled populations which had for thousands of years been crowded together in Egypt, Asia Minor, India, and China, and so the conditions were less favourable to the evolutions of zymotic diseases, and the people, having undergone no evolution in relation to such diseases, fell ready victims to the contagion carried by the European invaders. Diseases of which malarial type, the micro-organisms of which can flourish without human hosts, and are, therefore, able to persist where the human population is scanty, or even absent, were prevalent in the New World where the environment was favourable, and the inhabitants were better able to resist them than the foreign intruders; accordingly we find in the records of the Spanish, Portuguese, and English adventurers accounts of their sufferings from "calentures," fevers, the most resistant to it seems to indicate a longer period of contact with it. This may, however, be due to their longer exposure to, and struggle with, malarial affections. Wherever it originated, it has now been almost abolished from the Western Hemisphere. Sir Walter Fletcher points out that the discovery of the true nature of the disease and of its preventibility by vaccination may have come "just in time to save us from a world disaster of unthinkable magnitude." The new routes of African trade are taking up the rôle of the old Eurasian trade. Yellow fever has already crossed Africa and reached Asia, where the transmitting insect is as common as in Africa. The new vaccine has come in time to save the millions of Asia from a destruction greater than that which took place in the New World in proportion as the Old World is more densely peopled.

Yellow Fever.

In only two cases has it been suggested that the New World has given the Old World a new disease. There is a tradition that syphilis was brought to Europe by the travellers returning from America, but the nature of the disease and the fact that it was known to and dreaded by Galen of Pergamos more than tracks of Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The case for yellow fever is slightly stronger. It must have originated either in the West Indies or West Africa; it is not likely that it can have originated independently in both. The fact that, of the two, negroes exposed to yellow fever, negroes are most resistant to it, and that it took place in the New World in proportion as the Old World is more densely peopled,

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

A GREAT DOMINION IN THE MAKING.

Plea for Britain's Aid in Colony's Development.

An appeal to the people of Britain to help in building up a great and prosperous Dominion in Rhodesia was made at Liverpool on Wednesday by Mr. H. S. Hopkins, special envoy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, when speaking at a luncheon attended by seventy leaders of commerce and industry. In particular he asked for the public support of the Southern Rhodesian tobacco-growing industry—the first step on the road.

Mr. Leonard Tripps said that for every 20s. spent by Britishers on Rhodesian tobacco 12s. was actually respent on British manufactures or British services. Other great tobacco-producing countries only respent 3s. 6d. in every £ in this country.

Mr. Hopkins said that in Southern Rhodesia—where forty years ago a small band of pioneers, headed by Cecil Rhodes, planted the Union Jack—the Empire had a magnificent stretch of upland country with one of the most wonderful climates in the world.

The white population had grown to about 50,000, while the native peoples of Southern Rhodesia numbered, roughly, a million. In the short space of forty years the country had advanced from barbarism to civilisation. Before long they hoped to join up with Northern Rhodesia, on the other side of the Zambesi, thus creating a great and prosperous Dominion.

A large population, however, implied industry. Rhodesia, being the hinterland of South Africa, could hardly be a manufacturing country. Her mission was the provision of raw products.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia were anxious for more rapid settlement. The country could grow enormously more tobacco than it did.

The present growers of tobacco were mainly men who served in the war. During the last two years they had produced tobacco beyond the present requirements of this market—though the production was a bagatelle compared with the importations of tobacco from foreign countries. The manufacturers of Great Britain, both large and small, had shown their good will and their confidence in the quality of the tobacco by the marketing of all Rhodesian cigarettes and pipe tobaccos.

Unique in History.

The support he asked for would mean the building up of a Dominion unique in the history of the Empire, a Dominion which would be a large producer of raw materials. These materials would be sent to Great Britain to be manufactured into the finished product, and would be the means of giving more employment.

The object he had in view would enrich thousands of the sons and daughters of Great Britain by peopling the future Rhodesia. There, under happy and prosperous conditions they could realise the Rhodes ideal—the founding of a Dominion that would be a source of strength to their Great Empire.

Among those present were:

Sir Frederick Bowring, Col. A. Buckley (chairman, Liverpool Chamber of Commerce), Mr. E. B. Orme (Mersey Dock Board), Mr. Robert Rankin (chairman, Liverpool branch of the Royal Colonial Institute), Mr. F. J. Marquis, and Mr. A. N. Denaro (secretary of the Liverpool and District Carters).

RHODESIAN TOBACCO.

Growing Demand for Empire Grown Products.

In round figures 222,000,000 lb. of raw tobacco were imported into the United Kingdom last year. These imports were valued at £18,000,000. Of this immense total 177,000,000 lb., valued at £14,000,000, had as its country of origin America. The Dominions were responsible for imports of 41,000,000 lb., valued at £3,279,000, and the balance of 4,000,000 lb., which was valued at £387,000, was derived from other foreign countries. These statistics indicate that 80 per cent. of the tobacco consumed in the United Kingdom is still drawn from America.

Since the war there has been a rapidly increasing demand for Empire grown tobaccos, and the supply of Empire leaf actually removed from bond has increased from 1,500,000 lb. in 1919 to 22,000,000 lb. in 1927. These are encouraging figures, but it must not be forgotten that 41,000,000 lb. of Empire leaf were imported in 1927, and that at the beginning of that year stocks of Empire leaf represented eighteen months' supply standing as they did at approximately 28,000,000 lb.

Speaking relatively, Rhodesia's share in these unsold stocks unfortunately preponderates.

Not Perishable.

In considering the situation so created it should be remembered that tobacco is not a perishable article. It is, indeed, the normal practice of the trade to leave tobacco in stock for two years to enable the leaf to mature. The stocks of American tobacco at the three ports of London, Liverpool and Glasgow vary from week to week between the equivalents of eighteen months and two years' supply. This calculation is based on the average deliveries of the previous three years.

A stock representing two years' supply, it will be seen, is not necessarily to be considered as a disconcerting feature.

Owing to the growing demand for Empire tobacco it would be unreasonable to base an estimate in this case on the previous three years as is done in calculating the prospects of the old established American trade. But even on the basis of the previous year alone the stock of Rhodesian tobacco represents four years' supply. The danger zone has been entered. The situation has become critical. The steady growth of Rhodesia's promising young industry has been checked, its future even imperilled. A heavy fall in prices has been experienced and ruin brought into many settlers' homes. Suffering under the influence of this depressing situation, the tobacco acreage, which has risen from 3,000 acres in 1918 to 45,000 acres in 1927, is likely to experience a decrease of 30,000 acres during the coming season.

The position of Canada and Nyasaland, who, with Rhodesia, represent the Empire's three chief exporting countries, has not been unaffected by the Rhodesian crisis, but not to the same extent as the latter. Canada and Nyasaland specialise in the production of pipe tobaccos, and Rhodesia, though also producing magnificent pipe tobaccos, has been encouraged to specialise in cigarette tobaccos of the finest texture. Last season 70 per cent. of the colony's output was of this type.

This cigarette tobacco undoubtedly deserves support, and not for patriotic reasons, but on grounds of pure merit. It is grown in exceptionally propitious conditions by settlers now fully experienced in the culture, curing, and grading of the crops. The standard of excellence attained, though a high one, is still an improving one. Already the cream of the colony's tobacco is not only the equal of the best American, but surpasses it in purity and flavour, not to mention the added attraction of price.

Cigarette Market.

Rhodesia is out to capture the cigarette market. The market for pipe tobaccos is already well established, 37 per cent. of the pipe tobacco consumed in the United Kingdom is Empire produced, but owing to the change in fashion which has followed the war, its consumption, when considered in relation to the total consumed, represents only 18 per cent. of the whole. Cigarettes dominate the position. No less than 80 per cent. of the United Kingdom's imported tobacco is used in the manufacture of cigarettes. Only 1 per cent. of these cigarettes is made from Empire leaf. Of that 1 per cent. a full ¾ of 1 per cent. is Rhodesian.

It has been said that British smokers are conservative. How many have overcome their natural prejudice against things new to sample Rhodesia's cigarettes? Very few—they have been too conservative to try. How many of those who have sampled Rhodesian cigarettes have proved too conservative to be converted? Again the answer is—*very few*. Those who try them are convinced of their excellence.

Cigarette smokers who want to sample Rhodesia's latest successes, if the various proprietary brands are not stocked by their local retailer, can always obtain supplies from the Anglo-Rhodesian Tobacco Co., Ltd., 29, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4.

Justice in Native Courts

Proposed Proclamation

PART II.

(b) If he shall, without lawful excuse neglect to exercise the powers by this proclamation conferred upon him for or in respect of the prevention of offences and the bringing of offenders to justice and the seizure of property stolen or believed to have been stolen;

(c) If when directed by the Resident Commissioner or an Assistant Commissioner to issue orders for any of the purposes specified in Section 10 of this Proclamation, he shall without lawful excuse neglect to issue the orders directed;

(d) If he shall, without lawful excuse, neglect to enforce any orders issued by or under the direction of the Resident Commiisioner under this Proclamation;

(e) If he shall, without reasonable excuse, neglect to cancel an order under this Proclamation, when directed by the Resident Commissioner or an Assistant Commissioner so to do or if he shall enforce any order after he has been directed as aforesaid to refrain from so doing;

(f) If he shall without reasonable excuse, neglect to enforce any lawful orders issued by a Chief or Sub-Chief to whom he is a subordinate;

(g) If he shall fail, without reasonable excuse, to carry out any of the duties and responsibilities specified in Sections 8 and 11 of this Proclamation;

(h) If he shall be guilty of any abuse of authority conferred on him by law or Native custom: and

(i) If when directed by the Resident Commissioner or an Assistant Commissioner to attend before any Government official, he shall without reasonable excuse fail or neglect to attend as and when directed;

Shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, or in default, if convicted before the Court of the Resident Commissioner or of an Assistant Commissioner to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve months.

14. This Proclamation may be cited as the Basutoland Native Authority Proclamation 192, and shall have force and take effect from the date of its publication in the GAZETTE.

Race Problem - 1928

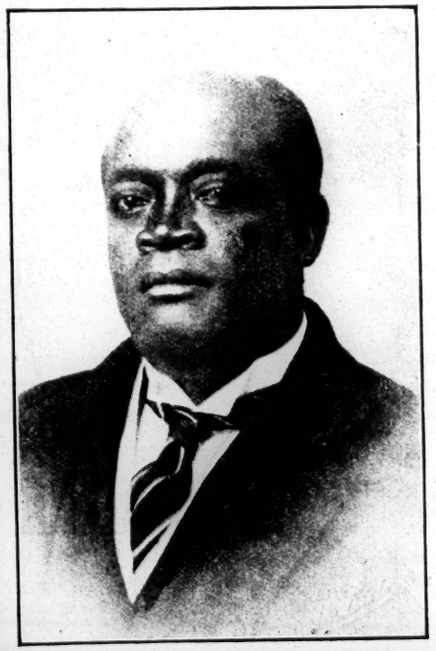
Africa

Republic of Liberia.

THE LATE SENATOR J. G. RICHARDS.

Monrovia was in mourning on October 29, when the news spread that one of the most popular and leading figures of the community had passed away in Senator J. G. Richards, who was very well known in London and Liverpool. An old friend writes to us as follows:—

"In the Hon. J. G. Richards the country has lost a strong and intellectual character, whose loss will be irreparable. He was the foremost candidate for the Presidency to succeed President King, should he continue to decline the offer of a fourth term. As national chairman of the ruling political party of the nation he possessed an influence hitherto unwitnessed. He was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, president *pro tempore* thereof, and had been a member of the House for eight years, during which time he served as an



eloquent Speaker. He was head of the United Brothers of Friendship, the Oddfellows, and treasurer of the Masonic Fraternity. A man of great religious faith, he held great prestige in the Church, and had served as Professor of Languages at Liberia College for over twenty years. Standing out against a great commercial competition, the late Mr. Richards was the most prominent Liberian merchant and trader. His integrity and keen business ability was proverbial. He was generous to a degree—a man of outstanding personality with a cultured mind. He had paid regular visits to Europe for many years, and had not failed to benefit thereby. He had the strongest belief in President King as being the one man strong enough and fit to guide the Republic in the present period of many difficulties, and his passing is a national loss to Liberia."

The funeral took place on October 30 at his home, Clay Ashland, with great and ceremonial honours.

PART III

NATIVE COURTS IN BASUTOLAND.

The following regulations for the establishment and jurisdiction of Courts of Native Chiefs in Basutoland and rules for the guidance of such Courts as are hereby made under the authority conferred upon me by Section 4 of the Regulations published under Proclamation No 2 B f 1884

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

---

1. The following shall be the Native Courts exercising jurisdiction in Basutoland:

(a) The Court of the Paramount Chief consisting of a Committee of six members to be composed of the principal Chiefs of Basutoland or their representatives, presided over by the Paramount Chief, with full jurisdiction in Basutolond original, appellate and revisional, except as hereinafter provided, in cases in which both parties are Natives of Basutoland, and in such other cases as by law come under the jurisdiction of these Courts

Provided that where the Court shall act as a Circuit Court, three members of the Court shall be nominated by the Paramount Chief to form such Circuit Court; and provided further that in such cases thhe chief of the district from which the appeal is heard or his representative shall not be competent to be a member of such Court.

(b) The Courts of the district Chiefs (Class 1) as set forth in the schedule hereto, presided over by the district Chief, or by some person appointed by him, and consisting of not more than five and not less than two Councillors, with juaisdiction in the ward or district, except as hereinafter provided to hear and decide the cases following and to hear appeals from the Courts of the district Chiefs (Class 2) and of Sub-Chiefs:—

(i) All cases in which a Native of Basutoland domiciled in such district or ward, is accused of an offence, save as hereinafter provided, provided that a greater punishment than a fine of £30 shall not be imposed by any such Court.

(ii) All cases in which the subject matter in dispute consists of cattle and does not exceed 25 head of cattle, and other cases in which the amount or value of the subject matter in dispute does not exceed £40.

(iii) Cases relating to land disputes between parties who are within the jurisdiction of such Chief.

(iv) Appeals from the Courts of the Chiefs (Class 2) and Sub-Chiefs.

(c) The Courts of the district Chiefs (Class 2) as set forth in the schedule hereto, presided over by a district Chief, or by some person appointed by him and consisting of not more than five and not less than two Councillors, with jurisdiction in the ward or district except as hereinafter provided, to hear and decide cases following and to hear appeals from the courts of the Sub Chiefs:—

(i) All cases in which a Native of Basutoland domiciled in such district or ward, is accused of an offence save as hereinafter provided, provided that a greater punishment than a fine of £30 shall not be imposed by any such Court.

(ii) All cases in which the subject matter in dispute consists of cattle, and all cases in which the amount or value of the subject matter in dispute does not exceed £40.

(iii) Cases relating to land disputes between parties who live within the jurisdiction of such Chief.

(iv) Appeals from the Courts of Sub-Chiefs.

(d) The Courts of Sub-Chiefs as set forth in the schedule hereto, presided over by the Sub Chief or some person appointed by him consisting of not more than five and not less than two Councillors with jurisdiction in the ward or caretaking of the Sub Chief or area defined by the Paramount Chief and approved by the Resident Commissioner, except as hereinafter provided to hear and decide

(i) All cases in which a Native of Basutoland domiciled in such ward or caretaking or area is accused of offence, provided always that a greater punishment than a fine of £18 shall not be imposed by any such Court.

(ii) All cases in which the subject matter in dispute consists of cattle and does not exceed ten head of cattle, and all other cases in which the amount of subject matter in dispute does not exceed £20.

(iii) Appeals from Courts of the Headmen.

(e) The Courts of the Headmen, each presided over by the Headman and consisting of not more than five and not less than two Councillors, with jurisdiction, except as hereinafter provided, within the caretaking of the Headman, to hear and decide all cases in which the subject matter in dispute consists of cattle and does not exceed two head of cattle and all other cases in which the amount or value of the subject matter in dispute does exceed £5.

(f) Native Courts on Government Reserve. The Court of the Headman duly appointed in any Government Reserve as set forth in the schedule hereto shall consist of the Headman or his deputy and two members, and shall have jurisdiction within the limits of the Government Reserve except as hereinafter provided, to hear and decide cases as follows:—

(i) All cases in which a Native of Basutoland domiciled in the Reserve or employed or carrying on business therein, is accused of an offence, provided always that a greater punishment than a fine of £6 shall not be imposed by any scuh Court.

(ii) All cases in which the subject matter in dispute consists of cattle and does not exceed four head of cattle and all other cases in which the amount or value of the subject matter in dispute does not exceed £10.

Appeals from the Courts of the Reserve Headmen shall be heard by the Courts set forth in the schedule attached hereto.

2. The Native Courts shall have no jurisdiction in the following cases:—

(a) Assaults in which dangerous weapons are used: dangerous weapons shall mean firearms, assigais, battle axes.

(b) Bestiality.

(c) High Treason.

(d) Homicide.

(e) Forgery.

(f) Offences against currency

(g) Public Violence

(h) Rape

(i) Perjury when committed in the course of or in connection with judicial proceedings before Ebropean Courts.

(j) An attempt to commit any of schedule offenees as above.

(k) Contravention of any Proclamation or statute law applicable to Basutoland unless such contravention is an offence against Native law or custom.

(l) Divorce cases other than those of marriage contracted under or in accordance with Native law or custom

(m) Any suit or action in which any European or Asiatic shall be a party either as a plaintiff or complainant or as defendant.

Provided that such Courts shall try and decide any question of compensation arising from any such case if authorised to do so by any European court having jurisdiction in Basutoland.

3 It shall be competent for any district Chief to send for trial to the Assistant Commissioner having jurisdiction over his ward or district any criminal case punishable under European law notwithstanding the fact that alleged crime or offence is one of those coming within the jurisdiction conferred on him by these Regulations.

NORTHERN NIGERIAN EDUCATION.

West African Mirror 12/5/28

IN no direction, perhaps, is the difference between Northern and Southern Nigeria so marked as in the development of education, for while in the South the limiting factor is lack of teachers, there is in the North comparatively little desire for education, and the Director, Mr. F. M. Urling Smith, can only report "No marked progress" for 1927. The old obstacle to Government and missionary co-operation represented in the official promise to the Emirs not to interfere with religion still exists, and in consequence mission schools are confined to the Pagan areas, but on the other hand, the report shows that the work of a Moslem teacher in a Pagan area is also subjected to official restrictions. There are a number of possible reasons for the apathy of the people, the Chief, perhaps, being conservatism, arising from temperament, religion, or ignorance, veiled anti-education policy on the part of the rulers, or the absence, in the eyes of the masses, of any material benefit from education. In regard to the last, it must be remembered that while many a pupil benefits individually, his family loses in him a worker on the farm.

The chief official event of the year was the success of the Katsina-trained teachers, 14 of whom left the college in 1926 and 12 in 1927. The standard is rapidly improving, and the work of the teachers already trained is being reflected in the quality of new pupils, so that further improvement may be confidently anticipated.

The number of primary schools under Government direction was 15, as in 1926, but the elementary schools rose from 47 to 52, and the arts and crafts schools increased from six to eight. The total enrolment in the Government schools was 2,354, with an average attendance of 2,163.5, against 2,079 and 1,934.1 in 1926. These figures do not include the crafts schools, with enrolment and attendance of 420 and 403.5 respectively, nor the small school of 25 scholars supported by the Emir of Wase. The particulars given regarding old boys show that of 436 who left during the year, 84 went to Native Administration posts, 44 returned to farm or to help their parents, 39 became instructors in crafts schools, 24 went to the training college or to teaching posts, 12 to the medical class, 4 to the railway training school, and 9 to Government employment, while of the rest, 78 were transferred to other schools and the remainder unaccounted for. The figures are very similar to those of previous years, except, perhaps, that a decrease in the farming group arises from the separation of "dismissals." The employment of ex-pupils in crafts schools is no doubt due to necessity, but it is to be hoped that the Department bears in mind that these lads have had little experience of the local economic difficulties in the trades they profess.

The total provision for education in the 1927 estimates was £12,830 and £20,984 from Native Administration funds for craft and other schools respectively, and £50,115 from Protectorate funds for Government schools, the net cost to the Native Administration being about £9 4s. per ordinary, and £27 17s. 3d. per industrial pupil, while each training college student cost the Government £149 7s. 3d., or, excluding staff, £14 14s. 10d. In proportion to general expenditure, the bill for education was about 2½d. in the £.

The extracts from the provincial reports included by Mr. Urling Smith in his general report contain a number of interesting views. In Adamawa, Mr. F. W. Taylor seems to advocate the German system of using "pidgin" English as the general means of communication, and it may be that this serves as a stepping-stone to the purer language, for at Jos the English is described as good, although surrounded by an atmosphere of pidgin. The place of English in the schools still seems indeterminate, but with the growth of trade others will probably begin to imitate the traders of Kano, who have asked for a school where English is taught from the first. Against this there is the fatal ease with which a smattering of English and literary subjects creates a class of unemployables, such as is found in increasing numbers in the minesfield, while even those who escape this danger fall too easily to the temptation to leave school as soon as they can earn any kind of living whatever. The latter habit is naturally deplored by the Department, but, after all, it is an indication of the *immediate* needs in education. In Bornu, an attempt is being made to use a Koranic school as the medium for elementary instruction for local Arabs. Its future is of the utmost interest, for since Mr. Urling Smith regards the grounding in Arabic and the discipline given in the Koranic schools as of value, he may be able to evolve some method of making more use of this, the most widely-spread educational work in the Northern Provinces. The number of such schools in 1927 was estimated at 31,587, with 393,039 pupils.

In regard to the schools of Kano Province, the reverse of what is the fashionable view elsewhere is held, and one reads that although deficient in staff and lacking in efficiency, they are serving a useful purpose. There is evidence from several Provinces of the stimulus to the crafts schools afforded by the Calabar Exhibition, and the schools in Kano and the Niger Province won especial distinction for their work. There is a tendency—odd, in British eyes—to value sewing above other accomplishments in some trade schools, but before dismissing this, as the report does, as perhaps due to the small demand on energy, it might be well to note that sewing was recommended by the Emir of Katsina in place of carpentry, and may, therefore, be regarded as another possible point at which education could be more closely related to local needs.

The progress of the mission schools is not very clear from the report, partly, it is fair to add, through the absence of returns from many of the societies working in the area. There was one assisted school, and 140 non-assisted, with an average total attendance of 527 boarders and 2,461 day-boys, and a staff of 69 Europeans and 171 Africans. One of the obstacles to education generally met with was fluctuating attendance, either through the floating nature of the population in the large centres, or through the seasonal demands of agriculture in the country districts, and attempts, as by the C.M.S., to develop night-schools were further hampered by popular apathy, which, however, showed signs of decreasing. As is already happening along the Eastern Railway, the gradual opening of the country will no doubt stimulate interest in education among the younger generation, when the missions will receive greater rewards for their patient work. It is to be hoped that now that an annual education conference has been instituted, the Department of Education will extend invitations to the mission workers to add their valuable experience to the common fund.

West African Mirror 11-17 28

SUDAN PLANTATIONS SUCCESS.

It was a difficult task which the new chairman, Mr. Alexander MacIntyre, had to shoulder when he occupied, at the general meeting of the company on Wednesday, the position which for so many years had been filled by the founder and controlling genius of the undertaking. He proved, however, a worthy successor, for while he could not claim the same responsibility for the success of the company as rightly falls to the credit of Mr. Eckstein, he could from his long association with the enterprise, pay full tribute to the wonderful organising ability, courage, and enterprise of Mr. Eckstein, whose foresight and ability has provided good subsistence for a population of over 100,000 people. The history of the company is indeed a romance. A story of human activity overcoming the disadvantages of nature. What was at one time a waterless desert is now intensively cultivated by an industrious peasantry, secure in their tenancy and assured of adequate compensation for their labours. The company will have been responsible by the end of the year for 4,600 miles of subsidiary canals and 9,300 miles of field channels, a task the magnitude of which can only be indicated by these surprising figures. The aspirations of the native tenant and worker have been solved by the system of co-operation which has been established, whereby the Government, the tenant, and the company all share in the proceeds of the crops, which means that one party cannot make a profit without the other two participating. That the project, while conferring a great boon to the people and Government of the Sudan, has been successful from the business point of view, is proved by the substantial profits which have been earned and which the future promises to substantially augment. The undertaking is fortunate that Mr. Eckstein has undertaken the duties of deputy-chairman of the enterprise, so that continuity of control will be maintained and the confidence of people and Government which Mr. Eckstein has created and maintained for a quarter of a century will continue unimpaired.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

FUTURE OF THE GAMBIA COLONY.

SIR EDWARD DENHAM ENTERTAINED AT LIVERPOOL.

The new Governor of the Gambia, Sir Edward Brandis Denham, K.B.E., was entertained at a banquet given in his honour by Mr. J. H. Sharrock, chairman, and the committee of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, on Tuesday evening, prior to his departure for West Africa to assume the administration of the Colony.

African World

Among those present were:—C. A. Allin, Capt. T. H. Beard, A. Bett, E. Bryan, Lieut.-Col. A. Buckley, J. McA. Cameron, Leonard Chadwick, W. E. Clucas, E. Cookson, A. A. Cowan, N. V. Deane, E. A. Deresse, F. Edmondson, T. E. Groves, S. D. Grundy, A. Herschell, Sir William Himbury, Alfred Holt, John Holt, J. C. Holt, Louis Holt, R. L. Holt, T. Jaynes, J. Pickering Jones, Picton H. Jones, A. B. Leather, W. M. Lymburn, J. L. McCarthy, J. B. Methven, J. Miller, L. H. Moseley, Prof. R. Newstead, Lieut.-Col. W. Nicholl, W. T. Norton, Prof. W. S. Patton, R. B. Paul, F. Peltor, H. G. Porter, V. B. Powis, Lieut. A. R. C. Prentis, S. H. Rimmer, A. W. Russell, J. H. Sharrock, K. Sharrock, C. B. Shepherd, W. Sloss, F. Royden Stuart, W. Wallace, T. Welsh, Leo Wright, and Prof. W. Yorke.

The Chairman, in proposing "The Governor of the Gambia Colony, Sir Edward Denham, K.B.E.," said:—

11-24-28

The duty which devolves upon me to-night is indeed a very pleasant one. It is to welcome Sir Edward Denham on the eve of his departure to assume the distinguished position of Governor of the Gambia, and to offer him on your behalf, gentlemen, our heartiest congratulations on the appointment. Letters expressing apology at being unable to be present here to-night have been received, and in this connection our old friend Mr. Robert B. Miller writes:—"I hope that under Sir Edward Denham the Gambia trade will develop and prosper, and he has my best wishes for good health and a safe journey out and home."

We are glad to see with us to-night Sir William Himbury, whose great work for cotton growing within the Empire, and particularly in British West Africa, is known to all. Sir William is a newcomer to these functions of the West African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and I hope that this is but a forerunner of other visits.

Well, gentlemen, I think I should take this early opportunity of assuring Sir Edward Denham on your behalf of our desire to co-operate with him in any way we can in promoting the interests of the colony which he is to administer.

Sir Edward, if I may say so, goes to West Africa with sound credentials. He received his early administrative training in that cradle from which many distinguished colonial administrators have come. He served many years in Ceylon, and after a particularly varied career in that island he passed on to Mauritius, and now he comes to West Africa after rendering distinguished service in Kenya. Sir Edward is, therefore, no stranger to Africa. He will now have an opportunity of ascertaining to what extent, if at all, the problems of East Africa and West Africa are co-related, and we shall follow his work in the Gambia with the greatest interest.

Progress of the Gambia.

The colony of the Gambia claims two outstanding distinctions. Firstly, that it is the oldest British possession in West Africa, and, secondly, that, apart from the loan incurred as a result of demonetisation, it has no public debt. The finances of the Gambia have always been most cautiously administered, indeed so much so that had Colonel Nicholl been addressing you to-night he would no doubt have claimed that all the Governors of the Gambia must have been Scotsmen.

Economy and a cautious financial policy are two great ideals for the administration of any country to keep before it. But in a colony possessing opportunity for development the absence of any public debt cannot always be interpreted as progress. The employment of capital in productive channels, even at the expense of incurring a temporary debt, should not, I venture to think, be considered as a liability on the colony, but rather as a potential asset. We appreciate, of course, that the Gambia by the nature of its very position and size does not possess the possibilities of development offered by some of her sister colonies in West Africa, but I believe that enterprise and progress comparable with its possibilities should always be its aim.

I have no doubt that in due time Sir Edward will have brought to his notice the suggestion that improvements should be carried out on the Government wharf at Bathurst, and we hope that it will be possible for him to give the matter his sympathetic consideration.

The work of our administrators in British West Africa is not becoming less onerous, rather is the progress of the African people who are entrusted to their care creating fresh problems with which our administrators must be prepared to deal with sympathy and with understanding. In that way, and that way only, can we retain the goodwill of those millions of African people who look to British administration for help and guidance.

We would, therefore, like to assure Sir Edward of our appreciation of the duty which he is about to undertake, and we offer him our best wishes for all success in his great work. To both him and Lady Denham we wish God speed, good fortune, and good health.

I will ask you, gentlemen, to rise and drink to the health of Sir Edward Denham, K.B.E., the Governor of the Gambia. (Cheers.)

Links With Liverpool.

Responding, Sir Edward Denham said that he hoped the possibilities of the colony would be so developed as to link it closer with Liverpool. One could not possibly hope to understand anything about the Empire unless one knew something of the mentality of the races concerned. He was glad that the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce had interested itself in these problems.

We could not shift our responsibility. It was not merely the white man's burden; it was the black man's burden also, in the sense that we were compressing five centuries of civilisation into fifty years. The black man was being rushed to a degree which he alone could realise. That was his burden, and we had to be very careful lest it be too great.

In his early days he was appointed secretary to the Agricultural Commission of Ceylon. He was told that it was not enough to induce the people to grow something, but that they should grow something they had never grown before. Through ignorance he chose ground-nuts, and wrote a leaflet, three-quarters of which was taken from the Encyclopædia Britannica, whilst the remaining quarter was from the Bulletin of the Jamaica Agricultural Society. He could only hope that there were no copies of the leaflet in Gambia, as that country had a great interest in ground-nuts.

It would be idle to talk about the Gambia until he got there, but "I believe no part of the Empire has a greater future than West Africa," Sir Edward added. "Trade is going to increase by leaps and bounds." (Hear, hear.) They in the Gambia had in Bathurst a port which he felt sure would be further developed. He could not express quite how it would be developed, but he might say that he had been chairman of two port commissions, and it was a subject that interested him. It was absolutely necessary for every Governor to try and get into touch with all branches of public opinion, and he did not think there was any public opinion which counted more than their great shipping companies, and their great importers and exporters. (Applause.)

In concluding, Sir Edward praised the work of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, which was represented by Professor W. S. Patton. He said it bore a very high name throughout the Empire, and what it is doing he would be able to see for himself.

Sir William Henry Himbury, managing director of the British Cotton Growing Association, in proposing "The West African Trade," said the trade during the last quarter of a century had increased from eight millions to sixty-four millions sterling. This wonderful and praiseworthy result had not been obtained without much thought, hard work, and actual privation by the various agencies concerned. These included law and order by settled government, efficient transport by sea and railways, and pioneer merchants, and all had played their part magnificently.

Tribute to Elder Dempsters.

When he first went to West Africa railways were non-existent. They had steamers, of course, running from Liverpool to the coast, and he remembered some by name, such as the "Coanza," "Yoruba," "Winnebah," "Congo," etc., but the yacht of them all was the "Benin." (Laughter.) Naturally the cuisine was pretty limited, and if they had any pretensions to a swelled head when they left Liverpool, they were very subdued individuals when they arrived in West Africa. The "Benin" was the only boat possessing a refrigerator, and how they welcomed the sight of her brown funnel when she entered a port, as it generally meant an English joint for dinner. Messrs. Elder Dempsters never lacked the courage to put on larger vessels well ahead of any expansion in trade, which was in those days not very great.

What a difference to-day! There was an excellent service of fine liners, which for comfort and cuisine compare most favourably with any steamer service running to the tropics. All this was due to the pioneering work of the late Sir Alfred Jones, who did not stop at steamers. It was largely due to his initiative and persistent efforts that they had railways in West Africa. He did valuable work, too, in connection with Empire cotton growing.

Mr. V. B. Powis, in responding, said the Gambia was the only British colony in West Africa not possessing a railway; it did not need one, because it was fortunate in having one of the finest waterways in West Africa. Trading conditions in the Gambia was far from easy. In recent years the merchants had maintained upwards of sixty buying stations along the course of the Gambia River to assist the native to market his crop. No less than ten important European firms were established in the Gambia trade. Half of those firms were French, and they were keen competitors. Under the stress of competition, and owing to the somewhat peculiar local conditions under which that trade was carried on, certain abuses and unsatisfactory features had grown up, but the merchants on occasion got together in an effort to deal with those matters and put the trade on a sounder and more economic basis.

Mr. J. Pickering Jones proposed "Our Guests," which was responded to by Professor W. S. Patton, M.B. (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine).

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter.

LOURENCO MARQUES, November 7.

The Convention: Railway Adjustments.

On Monday Major Pinto Teixeria, the C.F.L.M. director, accompanied by the chief of the commercial section, Mr. Correia, and the chief of locomotives and workshops, Naval Engineer Victor Veiga, left for Johannesburg to decide upon the details to be agreed upon with the S.A.R. manager under the convention. Through railway rates, on the basis of those to Union ports, will be adjusted, and a mileage zone of an area nearer to the port of Lourenço Marques will be agreed upon. As far as is known no guarantee of a tonnage from such a zone will be fixed, as exportation for the free choose the port of exportation for their products. But it will place the C.F.L.M. on its mettle, and there is little to fear that once tested will mean "always used." That at least is what is affirmed by those who handle such traffic.

The Pre-Cooling Plant.

With reference to my last letter about the pre-cooling store for citrus and other perishable goods to be erected early next year, it is possible that it may be enlarged; hence the reason for the delay in calling for tenders.

Death of Dr. Claude Fuller.

A terrible motor-car accident happened last Sunday, resulting in the deaths of Dr. Claude Fuller, head of the Entomological Division, and of the Colony, and a member of his staff. The party had been spending the day in the country, and were returning to town. Dr. Fuller was driving, and had just passed two cars, and, to avoid a third, he strained the steering-wheel, with the result that the car went off the road and careered into the bushes, eventually turning two somersaults. Help was forthcoming at once, but it was seen that his assistant, Mr. Merrim, was dead. Dr. Fuller, suffering from severe internal injuries, was brought to the General Hospital. At first he seemed to be doing well, but succumbed to an attack of hæmorrhage.

The funeral took place on Tuesday, and was attended by representatives of all Departments of the State and of the British Club, the English Club, Customs, Military, Pretoria Club, and personal friends.

The death of Dr. Fuller will be a great loss to science. He came to this Colony—on his retirement after reaching the age-limit—from the Union, where he was chief of the Entomological Division. He was an authority on locusts, and was lent by the Mozambique Government to the Government of Kenya to advise on a campaign to meet a threatened serious invasion in that territory. He was just preparing a tour of the district, on which he proposed to meet all farmers, talk to them of cotton and tobacco culture, and assist them by practical advice. He leaves a widow and family. Mrs. Fuller only left here last Friday, but returned yesterday in last time to return to the Union with the last remains of her husband, whose body will be taken by the outgoing mail train to be kept cleared, each of the administra-

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AND ANGOLA.

LISBON.

According to a message received by the Minister of the Colonies, the delimitation of the new frontier between Angola and South-West Africa has been completed, and forty-seven boundary marks have been set up along the entire 200 miles. The first of these marks is situated on the left bank of the Cunene, near the Ouroahakana Falls. The frontier line then runs to the east, and the last mark is on the right bank of the Okavanga, at Kakeri, thirty-eight miles from Kirinsgkuru. The belt is 30 feet wide and is

tions through which the frontier line passes being half of the responsible for the Frontier Keeping Strip. The old one half of the Frontier for the non-existent.—Reuter.

neutral zone is now non-existent.—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1928

FUTURE OF THE GAMBIA COLONY.

SIR EDWARD DENHAM ENTERTAINED AT LIVERPOOL.

The new Governor of the Gambia, Sir Edward Brandis Denham, K.B.E., was entertained at a banquet given in his honour by Mr. J. H. Sharrock, chairman, and the committee of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, on Tuesday evening, prior to his departure for West Africa to assume the administration of the Colony. Among those present were:—C. A. Allin, Capt. T. H. Beard, A. Bett, E. Bryan, Lieut.-Col. A. Buckley, V. McA. Cameron, Leonard Chadwick, W. E. Clucas, E. Cookson, A. A. Cowan, N. V. Deane, E. A. Deresse, F. Edmondson, T. E. Groves, S. D. Grundy, Alfred A. Herschell, Sir William Himbury, A. Holt, John Holt, J. C. Holt, Louis Holt, R. L. Holt, T. Jaynes, J. Pickering Jones, Picton H. Jones, A. B. Leather, W. M. Lymburn, J. L. McCarthy, J. B. Methven, J. Miller, L. H. Moseley, Prof. R. Newstead, Lieut.-Col. W. Nicholl, W. T. Norton, W. S. Patton, R. B. Paul, F. Peltor, H. G. Porter, V. B. Powis, Lieut. A. R. C. Prentis, S. H. Rimmer, A. W. Russell, J. H. Sharrock, K. Sharrock, C. B. Shepherd, Sloss, F. Royden Stuart, W. Wallace, T. Welsh, Leo Wright, and Prof. W. Yorke.

The Chairman, in proposing the Governor of the Gambia Colony, Sir Edward Denham, K.B.E.," said:—

The duty which devolves upon me tonight is indeed a very pleasant one. It is to welcome Sir Edward Denham on the eve of his departure to assume the distinguished position of Governor of the Gambia, and to offer him on your behalf, gentlemen, our heartiest congratulations on the appointment. Letters expressing apology at being unable to be present here to-night have been received, and in this connection our old friend Mr. Robert B. Miller writes:—"I hope that under Sir Edward Denham the Gambia trade will develop and prosper, and he has my best wishes for good health and a safe journey out and home."

We are glad to see with us to-night Sir William Himbury, whose great work for cotton growing within the Empire, and particularly in British West Africa, is known to all. Sir William is a newcomer to these functions of the West African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and I hope that this is but a forerunner of other visits.

Well, gentlemen, I think I should take this early opportunity of assuring Sir Edward Denham on your behalf of our desire to operate with him in any way we can in promoting the interests of the colony which he is to administer.

Sir Edward, if I may say so, goes to West Africa with sound credentials. He received his early administrative training in that cradle from which many distinguished colonial administrators have come. He served many years in Ceylon, and after a particularly varied career in that island he passed on to Mauritius, and now he comes to West Africa after rendering distinguished service in Kenya. Sir Edward is, therefore, no stranger to Africa. He will now have an opportunity of ascertaining to what extent the problems of East Africa are co-related, and we shall follow his work in the Gambia with great interest.

Progress of the Gambia.

We would, therefore, like to assure Sir Edward of our appreciation of the duty he is undertaking, and we offer him our best wishes for all success in his new sphere of activity. The black man's burden, the tropics. All this was due to the pioneering work of the late Sir Alfred Jones, who did not stop at steamers. It was largely due to his initiative and persistent efforts that they had railways in West Africa. He did well ahead of any expansion in trade, which

if at all, the problems of East Africa are co-related, and we shall follow his work in the Gambia with great interest.

Progress of the Gambia.

We would, therefore, like to assure Sir Edward of our appreciation of the duty he is undertaking, and we offer him our best wishes for all success in his new sphere of activity. The black man's burden, the tropics. All this was due to the pioneering work of the late Sir Alfred Jones, who did not stop at steamers. It was largely due to his initiative and persistent efforts that they had railways in West Africa. He did well ahead of any expansion in trade, which

sense that we were compressing five centuries comfort and cuisine compare most favourably with any steamer service running to of civilisation into fifty years. The black man was being rushed to a degree which he alone could realise. That was his burden, and we had to be very careful lest it be too great.

In his early days he was appointed secretary to the Agricultural Commission of Ceylon. He was told that it was not enough to induce the people to grow something, but that they should grow something they had never grown before. Through ignorance he not need one, because it was fortunate in having one of the finest waterways in West Africa. Trading conditions in the Gambia were far from easy. In recent years the merchants had maintained upwards of sixty buying stations along the course of the Gambia River to assist the native to market his crop. No less than ten important European firms were established in the Gambia trade. Half of those firms were French, and they were keen competitors. Under the stress of competition, and owing to the somewhat peculiar local conditions under which that trade was carried on, certain abuses and unsatisfactory features had grown up, but the merchants felt sure would on occasion get together in an effort to deal with those matters and put the trade on a more economic basis.

Mr. J. Pickering Jones proposed "Our Guests," which was responded to by Professor W. S. Patton, M.B. (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine).

X. X. X.

Pretoria.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter.

LOURENCO MARQUES, November 7.

The Convention: Railway Adjustments.

On Monday Major Pinto Teixeria, the C.F.L.M. director, accompanied by the chief of the commercial section, Mr. Correia, and the chief of locomotives and workshops, Naval Engineer Victor Veiga, left for Johannesburg to decide upon the details to be agreed upon with the S.A.R. manager under the convention. Through railway rates, on the basis of those to Union ports, will be adjusted, and a mileage zone of an area nearer to the port of Lourenco Marques will be agreed upon. As far as is known, no guarantee of export tonnage from such a zone will be fixed, as exporters will be free to choose the port of exportation for their products. But it will place the C.F.L.M. on its mettle, and there is little to fear that once tested will mean "always used." That at least is what is affirmed by those who handle such traffic.

The Pre-cooling Plant.

With reference to my last letter about the pre-cooling store for citrus and other perishable goods to be erected early next year, it is possible that it may be enlarged; hence the reason for the delay in calling for tenders.

Death of Dr. Claude Fuller.

A terrible motor-car accident happened last Sunday, resulting in the deaths of Dr. Claude Fuller, head of the Entomological Division of the Colony, and a member of his staff. The party had been spending the day in the country, and were returning to town. Dr. Fuller was driving, and had just passed two cars, and, to avoid a third, he strained the steering-wheel, with the result that the car went off the road and careered into the bushes, eventually turning two somersaults. Help was forthcoming at once, but it was seen that his assistant, Mr. Meirim, was dead. Dr. Fuller, suffering from severe internal injuries, was brought to the General Hospital. At first he seemed to be doing well, but succumbed to an attack of hæmorrhage.

The funeral took place on Tuesday, and was attended by representatives of all Departments of the State and of the British Club, the English Club, Customs, Military Club, and personal friends.

The death of Dr. Fuller will be a great loss to science. He came to this Colony—on his retirement after reaching the age-limit—from the Union, where he was chief of the Entomological Division. He was an authority on locusts, and was lent by the Mozambique Government to the Government of Kenya to advise on a campaign to meet a threatened serious invasion in that territory. He was just preparing a tour of the district, on which he proposed to meet all farmers, talk to them of cotton and tobacco culture, and assist them by practical advice. He leaves a widow and family. Mrs. Fuller only left here last Friday, but returned yesterday in time to return to the Union with the last remains of her husband, whose body will be taken by the outgoing mail train to

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AND ANGOLA.

LISBON.

According to a message received by the Minister of the Colonies, the delimitation of the new frontier between Angola and South-West Africa has been completed, and forty-seven boundary marks have been set up along the entire 200 miles. The first of these marks is situated on the left bank of the Cunene, near the Ouroahakana Falls. The frontier line then runs to the east, and the last mark is on the right bank of the Okavanga, at Kakeri, thirty-eight miles from Kirinsgkuru. The belt is 30 feet wide and is to be kept cleared, each of the administrations through which the frontier line passes being responsible for the keeping clear of one half of the frontier strip. The old neutral zone is now non-existent.—Reuter.

Links With Liverpool.

Responding, Sir Edward Denham said that he hoped the possibilities of the colony would be developed as to link it closer with Liverpool. One could not possibly hope to put on larger vessels in trade, which

Tribute to Elder Dempsters.

When he first went to West Africa railways were non-existent. They had steamers, of course, running from Liverpool to the coast, and he remembered such as the "Coanza," "Congo," etc., but the yacht of the "Benin." (Laughter.) Naturally the cuisine was pretty limited, and if they had any pretensions to a swelled head when they arrived in West Africa, they were very subdued indeed. The "Benin" was the only boat possessing a refrigerator, and how they welcomed the great ship when she entered the great importers of her brown funnel when she entered the Empire unsightly of her generally meant an English joint of a port, as it generally meant many years in Ceylon, and after a particularly long and tedious dinner. Messrs. Elder Dempsters never to put on larger vessels in trade, which

LISBON BANQUET TO SIR ROBERT WILLIAMS.

The head officials of the Benguela Railway Company in Lisbon gave a banquet at Maxim's Restaurant in honour of their colleague of the Council of Administration, Sir Robert Williams, Bart., on the occasion of his decoration by the Portuguese Government with the rank of Commander of the Order of Christ.

Sir Robert Williams was the original concessionaire of the Benguela Railway, and it is only just to declare that this colossal undertaking at last, being completed by foreign capital raised to the extent of twelve millions sterling, can be regarded as a national enterprise, as it is directed by the Portuguese and considerably benefits the region of Benguela; and, although its original objective, and its chief one, was the transport of copper from Katanga, this railroad is of great importance to the internal economics of the Province of Angola to facilitate its progress in land cultivation, the exportation of agricultural products, and Portuguese colonisation along the whole of its line.

It was only by greatest perseverance and his energetic and ankering labour of twenty-five years that this result was arrived at, an undertaking of the highest economic importance for Angola and of great political moment for the African continent, which will make the port of Lobito the most important one of the West African littoral.

It was, therefore, only just that such a high distinction should have been conferred on Sir Robert Williams by the Portuguese Government, a fact which was emphasised by His Excellency Dr. Alberto Borges de Sousa, president of the Council of Administration, who presided at the banquet, and in the name of his colleagues presented to Sir Robert Williams the Insignia of the Order, as also by the Government Commissioner of the Benguela Railway, Captain Jose Francisco Monteiro. The following were also present at the banquet:—Commandant Alvares de Melo Machado, General Sir F. Reginald Wingate, Senr. Fernando Borges de Sousa, Senr. Jose Duarte Ferreira, Count de Lavradio, Mr. Godfrey C. Hutchinson, Senr. Daniel de Moura Lane, Senr. Edwardo Candido dos Reis, Senr. Guilherme de Sousa Lane, Dr. Guido Guedes Teixeira, Senr. Esteoao da Cunha Pemental, Dr. Guilherme Oliveira Arriaga, and Dr. Alexander Pinto Basto.—From "O. Seculo."

Angola.

NEED FOR CAPITAL.

New High Commissioner's Speech.

LISBON, November 25.

Senhor Filomeno Camara, the new High Commissioner for Angola, made a speech at a reception given in his honour last night, in which he said that the methods adopted by his predecessors to help the colony had been singularly unhappy ones. Of the credit of 2½ million escudos (£23,000), granted by the Mother Country, at least 1½ millions had been wasted in fruitless attempts to solve the banking and transfer crisis, the system chosen having been absurd. The loan of 10,000 contos (£92,000) from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino had been equally unfortunate. His first care, he said, would be to solve the banking crisis and then to balance the Budget. Finally he hoped to develop Angola's illimitable resources.

He added that there had been much talk of attracting Portuguese capital to Angola and cutting out foreign capital, but it was indispensable to attract capital to Angola, and the colony could go on indefinitely waiting for Portuguese capital to flow in, which so far it had shown little signs of doing. He was opposed to the sending out of colonists in batches, as this system had the effect of creating a new class in Angola—the poor whites.

The new High Commissioner is to leave for Angola in January.—Reuter.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory

BEIRA-BLANTYRE TRAIN SERVICE.

Important Acceleration Promised.

When new first-class passenger sleeping coaches now on order for the Trans-Zambesia Railway are delivered—they are expected to reach Beira early in the New Year—an important acceleration of the journey between Beira and Blantyre will be introduced by the associated railways. Hitherto it has been the practice to run passenger trains only during the day, through passengers between the port and Nyasaland being accommodated for the night on the Zambesia ferry steamer. This has, of course, added considerably to the time occupied on the Beira-Blantyre run. When the new rolling stock is put into service night running will be introduced on the Trans-Zambesia section, and the duration of the Beira-Blantyre journey will be reduced from approximately thirty-six hours to twenty-four hours.

There will be a bi-weekly service of passenger trains in place of the present arrangement of one passenger train weekly, which was recently supplemented by the addition of a passenger coach to the up and down goods trains on Thursdays and Mondays respectively. The up trains will leave Beira in the evening, instead of early in the morning as at present, and passengers will reach Blantyre the following evening. In the reverse direction passengers will continue to leave Blantyre early in the morning, but will reach Beira in the morning instead of in the evening.

The introduction of the new service should greatly facilitate visits to Nyasaland by business men and tourists who may find themselves at Beira with a few days to spare, and it will also assist residents in Nyasaland to spend an occasional week-end by the seaside.

Nine Months' Port Traffic.

In spite of a decline in the quantity of tonnage landed at Beira in September the aggregate cargo movement of the port in that month amounted to 81,797 tons, an increase of 7,774 tons over September, 1927. For the nine months ended September 30 the total tonnage handled at Beira was 634,180 tons, an increase of 44,425 tons or 7½ per cent. over the corresponding period of last year.

The New Road.

Motorists from Vila Pery who accompanied Colonel Cabral, the Governor-General of Mozambique, along the new road from Vila Pery to Nova Lusitania on the Buzi River, are enthusiastic about the scenic attractions of the route. Much of the route lies through the famous Amatongas Forest, and the section from Grudja to Nova Lusitania along the Buzi River is also described as a very pretty stretch. The road is in good condition except for one or two patches in the forest where the trees check the drying of the surface after rain. As was mentioned in these notes last week, only the construction of two short sections of road on either side of the Pungue estuary and the provision of a car ferry are now needed to place Beira in communication with the interior by road.

Foreign Film Captions.

Under the revised decree relating to the exhibition of cinema films in Portuguese colonies, captions may be displayed in foreign languages, provided that a Portuguese translation in type of the same size is simultaneously shown. Previously this was only permissible in centres where more than 40 per cent. of the population was of foreign nationality.

MOZAMBIQUE FINANCE.

LISBON (by mail).

According to a communication received from Mozambique by the Minister of the Colonies, the fiduciary circulation in that colony at the end of last month was represented by notes to the value of £107,271 and 87,068 contos. At that date the colony had paid off all her debts to the other Portuguese colonies, its only debt still to be liquidated being 5,034 contos to the Lourenço Marques Railway.—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

MRS. HARRIETT ALBERTINE BOYD, DEAD

REMAINS OF THE FOUNDER OF THE NATIONAL BAPTIST PUBLISHING BOARD LAID TO REST WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Funeral Services Held From Mt. Olive Baptist Church at 2:00 P. M. in the Presence of an Immense Throng

Simple, but impressive were the funeral services held over the remains of the late Mrs. Harriett Albertine Boyd who was the widow of the late Dr. R. H. Boyd from the Mt. Olive Baptist Church at two o'clock, Wednesday afternoon. News of her death which occurred at her home, 1602 Heiman Street, at 4:50 Sunday afternoon, was flashed throughout the nation by special telegrams and over the Associated Press Dispatch. Hundreds of messages, by telegrams, letters and over long distance telephone attested the deep sorrow and genuine sympathy felt by her passing. At the Mt. Olive Baptist Church, where the funeral was rendered:

Organ Voluntary.

Selection—Employees, National Baptist Publishing Board.

Scripture Reading—Rev. H. A. Alfred.

Prayer—Rev. G. B. Taylor.

Obituary—Rev. D. J. Hull.

Solo—Miss L. B. Holland.

Sermon—Revs. J. B. Ridley and David E. Over.

Eulogistic Remarks—

Rev. J. E. Wood, (for the National Baptist Convention).

Rev. J. P. Robinson (for the National Baptist Publishing Board).

Mrs. M. A. B. Fuller (For Woman's Auxiliary).

Selection—

Baptist Union Review

Nashville

12-22-28

The Curfew Test Case.

AN APPEAL NOTED.

The case of Daisy Faku, the native girl charged under the municipal curfew by-laws was taken a stage further in the magistrate's court on Monday afternoon, Mr. T. J. Conway, Assistant Magistrate, presiding.

Gordon Geilishe, in the witness box, deposed that it was not necessary for Natives to carry passes when they travelled from place to place within the Cape Province, except when in charge of stock, in which latter case the passes gave a description of the stock. He never made out passes to women.

By the Court: He could not attend on the 5th inst. owing to being engaged on official duty. He had got the summons to appear in court that day to give evidence.

The Court delivered a strong homily to Geilishe, pointing out that the Court came first. It was Geilishe's first duty to attend court. It was within the Magistrate's apower to issue a warrant for his arrest. Whoever advised him to disobey the summons, he had not to be guided by such people, be they his employers, unless he was prepared to abide by the consequences.

Mr. J. W. Ord, Additional Magistrate, next entered the witness box. In anwer to the Court he stated that he had had 22 years' experience in the Department of Justice. Natives had been brought before him as magistrate for breaches of the curfew regulation. No genuine defence was ever put up by them. Natives seem to have accepted the regulation as intra vires. They always gave excuses for being out after hours and said they had been attending concerts, tea meetings and so forth. He had no recollection of children being brought before him.

Native Affairs Dec 21 1928

South Africa

Rules for the Guidance of Native Courts.

PART IV

Nothing contained in the following rules be considered to apply to any of the Courts of the Headmen save and except the Courts of the Headmen situated on the Government Reserves unless a clear reference is made to such Courts by name.

2. PROCEDURE.

(1) The Court shall sit for business every working day, and case shall be arranged so that parties are not kept waiting unduly.

(2) Cases shall be conducted according to Native law and custom, but the statement of each witness shall be written down, the statements of each case shall be filled together and be kept, and judgment pronounced shall be recorded in the book for that purpose.

(3) It shall not be permissable for any person in the Court other than the President and members of such court and the parties in the case to question the witnesses.

(4) There shall be kept in each court a book in which shall be recorded the name of any person lodging a complaint the nature of the complaint and the name or names of the person or persons against whom the complaint is brought, also the subsequent judgment or manner of disposal of complaint, as in Schedule A attached to these rules.

3. OFFICERS OF THE COURT

There shall be appointed to each court a clerk of the court and a messenger whose duties shall be as fellows :—

(1) CLERK OF THE COURT

(a) It shall be the duty of the Clerk to keep the book of complaints

(b) Upon receiving and recording complaint the Clerk shall appoint a day within reasonable time for appearance of the parties with their witness, and shall so inform the complainant. in the Paramount Chief's court notice of at least fourteen days shall be given to the defendant, in the case of other courts seven days.

(c) The Clerk shall then instruct the Messenger to warn the defendant to appear before the Court on the appointed day with his witnesses if he has any

(d) The Clerk shall receive all monies paid into him by way of fines or judgments or from the Messenger and shall dispose of them as hereinafter provided.

Responsibility And The Native

The Hon. Patrick Duncan, K.C., M.L.A. was the principal speaker on the 27th. October at the annual meeting of the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls, which took place at the hostel, Hans Street, Fairview. The club is doing excellent work in providing accommodation for some of the native girls working in the district and in securing instruction and recreation for them and for others. At present there are 50 girls living in the hostel, while over 1,000 have passed through the books since the institution was opened in 1919. There is a branch of the Wayfarers' Association in connection with the club, which is practically self-supporting.

Mrs F. B. Bridgman, the president, took the chair, and Mr. Thomas Douglas, a trustee of the club, read the financial statement. A brief report was also read by the superintendent, Mrs Mortimer. The executive officers were then formally elected for the coming year.

Mr. Patrick Duncan said that the Helping Hand Club was a real inspiration to the community, in that it was helping to educate the citizens of Johannesburg to the realisation of the growing necessity for facing the native question in all its implications. There were those whose attitude towards the native was that he was needed for his services, but that he had no human capacities or needs. These people talked of segregation; in other words, of leaving the native to work out his own salvation as best as he could, They did not realise that the time for that sort of thing was past. For their own purposes the Europeans in South Africa had brought the Native into their midst and planted in him needs and aspirations which he could only satisfy by means of his labour for the white man. "We must face the position," declared Mr. Duncan. "Let us not live in a fool's paradise. For better or for worse, the Native population is now an integral part of the South African community, and the white man is the trustee of a civilisation which the native has the right to share. The strength of any people lies in its weakest part, and therefore the welfare of South Africa depends upon the Native."

Zat Nationalist 11-13-28

Apart from any question of humanity, continued Mr. Duncan, the material interests of the country would suffer were the Native population allowed to sink back into degradation. "We have the native in our midst in his hundreds of thousands," added Mr. Duncan,

"and we must ask ourselves: 'What are we doing for him, not only as to his labour, but for his recreation?" There was a great deal of talk about Native crime, continued the speaker, but when one considered the surroundings in which the native lived, and remembered that he was only just beginning to emerge from barbarism, it was astounding that he was as law-abiding as he was. That should be an additional reason for adding to the amenities of his life.

The Native contributed to the national finances, but what return did he get for this expenditure? That was a question that needed serious consideration.

Mr. Duncan then spoke of the special temptations to which Native women and girls were subjected in large towns. The question of housing them was a serious and pressing problem, and the Helping Hand Club was a bright spot in the city in this connection. It was helping also to implant in the minds of the Natives that greatest of all national assets—the sense of self-respect.

During the afternoon Miss N. Aiken entertained the audience with a pianoforte solo, and there was a very creditable exhibition of drill and chorus singing by the Wayfarers. "Star."

Minutes of the Conference.

On Native Education Finance.

Johannesburg Oct. 2, and 3, 1928.

The Conference assembled at the Bantu Men's Social Centre at 8 p.m. The Right Reverend Bishop Karney was voted to the Chair and constituted the meeting with prayer.

The Reverend A. Cardross Grant was elected honorary Secretary and it was agreed that no press publication of proceedings was to be made until the official report was published.

The Hon. Secretary read the letter calling the Conference and, read the roll of members and representatives [vide separate sheet] and a number of letters of apology from absentees

Dr. Henderson introduced the subject of the Conference and submitted a series of draft resolutions which Mr. Ray Phillips kindly undertook to have typed, and a Memorandum for Native Education by the Joint Council was circulated. After discussion the adjournment was moved and approved at 9 45 p.m.

The Conference re-assembled at 9.45 a.m. at 41, Saratoga Avenue, Doornfontein with Mr. J. Rheinallt Jones as Chairman.

After prayer the resolutions were discussed seriatim and sedulously. After submission to drafting Committee they were passed unanimously.

It was agreed that :—

1 The Minutes and roll of the Constituent Bodies asking for the approval of those invited by the General Missionary Conference to represent them; or if the name is not approved asking for another nomination.

2 A Committee be elected to forward the Resolutions to the Native Affairs Commission before publication with a view to presenting them to the Minister of Native Affairs and furthering their objects.

The Committee consist of; Bishop Karney, Dr. Henderson, Principal Kerr, Archdeacon Lee, The Reverend E. Carter, Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, and the Honorary Secretary.

3 The Resolutions be marked "Not for Publication", and be issued to all members of the Conference after the interview with the Native Affairs Commission and the Minister of Native Affairs.

4 A deputation representative of all bodies summoned to the Conference present the Resolutions to the Minister of Native Affairs.

5 In case these plans are abortive the Committee be instructed to refer the whole matter back to the Members of the Conference with such recommendations for the future as suggest themselves

A vote of thanks was heartily accorded to the Reverend and Mrs. Ray Phillips for their thoughtful arrangements and kindly hospitality and also to the Bantu Men's Social Centre.

A further vote of thanks to both chairman and to the Honorary Secretary and his assistants was passed with acclamation.

The Conference closed with prayer at 4 45 p.m.

There were present :—

Mr. Rheinallt Jones, The Ven. Archdeacon Lee, Rev. J. Hawkins The Right Rev. the Bishop of Johannesburg, The Ven. Archdeacon W. F. Hill, Rev. G. A. Kohl, Rev. E. W. Grant, Rev. Dr. J. Henderson, Principal Kerr, Rev. A. J. Hale Rev. A. Cardross Grant, Rev. A. J Lennard, Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, Mr. T. P. Mathabathe, Rev. E Carter, Mr. Rathebe, Rev. Kempe, and Rev. John L. Dube —"Ilanga."

Cacao Cultivation.

Of late, travellers in the Protectorate have observed that cacao has been extensively cultivated, especially in the Southern Province, where many farmers are now owning well-laid-out plantations, writes a correspondent to the "Sierra Leone Guardian." According to experiments made by the Agricultural Department, it has been discovered that the soil and climatic conditions in certain areas of the Southern Province are favourable for the cultivation of cacao. Accordingly all the large villages of this Province have been suppied with a model cacao plot laid out by the said Department, which has been fostering the cultivation of this crop. 11-17-28

An observer estimated that in the Mano River District alone, there will be, in five years hence, enough cacao to rival the oil palm, and if the Provincial Administration co-operates with the Agricultural Department in the fostering of cacao cultivation in the Southern Province, Sierra Leone will in the near future begin to rival the Gold Coast, comparatively speaking, in the market.

We are glad that the Lands and Forests Department has seriously turned its attention to the cultivation of this promising crop, and that every effort has been made to encourage its growers.

THE FUTURE OF EAST AFRICA.

A very important conference that is likely to have far-reaching effects upon the future of our East African Colonies is to be held in London towards the end of the year, when both Sir Edward Grigg, Governor of Kenya Colony, and Sir Donald Cameron, who holds a similar position in the Tanganyika Territory—Sir William Gower's presence being doubtful—will come home in order to consult with Mr. Amery, the Secretary for the Dominions and Colonies, upon the possibility of closer union between the different East Africa States, proposed railway extensions, and other matters of equal importance. The report of the Hilton-Young Commission will then be in the hands of the Government, and this will form the basis of the discussions which are expected to be of a protracted character. It is not likely, however, that the conference will be able to take any steps of a definite nature in regard to those matters before the General Election next year, but there can be no doubt that decisions of the utmost importance to the development of British Equatorial East Africa will be taken, originating from the forthcoming meeting of the Governors of the two territories principally concerned.

KENYA'S HEALTH LAST YEAR.

Nairobi European Death Rate 13·8.

The deficient rainfall which characterised the year 1927 in Kenya Colony had a beneficial effect on the health of the population, says the Annual Medical Report, now published by the Government Printer, Nairobi.

Pneumonia continued to be the most fatal disease among Natives, sleeping sickness being of a mild type, and only 388 cases being discovered in spite of a special census taken along the Lake shore. An outstanding event in connection with malarial control was the allocation by the Government of £20,000 for anti-malarial work in the Nairobi area and the contribution by the Municipal Corporation of a similar sum. Sixteen cases of blackwater occurred among the European population, Mombasa, Nairobi, and Voi returning 6, 5 and 4 cases respectively. That anti-plague precautions are constantly taken is shown by the fact that 1,811,895 rats were destroyed by Natives in the Reserves, 137,116 in Mombasa, 39,241 in Nairobi, and 16,291 in Kisumu. The Laboratory issued 46,478 doses of plague vaccine. 11-29-28

Taking the European population of Nairobi as 2,665, the 37 deaths during the year gave a rate of 13·8 per 1,000; Mombasa, with a European population of 676, returned a European death-rate of 10·3. Maternity and child welfare work was continued at Nairobi and Mombasa, and a clinic was started at Kisumu.

The actual expenditure of the Department during the year was £180,227, or £18,038 less than that sanctioned. It represented 7·7% of the total expenditure of the Colony.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Large Audience Hears Address by Dr. J. W. Holley

Negro Educator Tells of His Recent Visit to Africa.

More than six hundred people heard Dr. J. W. Holley, president of the Georgia Normal and Agriculture College, and a leading Negro educator, tell Sunday afternoon, at the auditorium, of his recent experiences in Africa while on a missionary visit there.

Doctor Holley explained that he was sent to Africa by the Northern Presbyterian Church as a member of a party of seventy delegates to a missionary conference in Africa. From the time the party embarked at the Holland port until they reached the Dark Continent they spent much time each day studying the problems which would confront them. When they came within sight of land, at the mouth of the Congo, Doctor Holley said, in describing his sentiments, "I was thrilled to see for the first time the land of my ancestors." He told many interesting events of the trip to Africa, including the "ducking" at the equator, the visit to the Canary Islands and to a volcanic island, where there are now 2,000 Negroes, descendants of Negroes who had sought safety there when a slave ship wrecked on the island.

"The Congo rushes into the ocean with such force that it changes the color of the water for 100 miles," Doctor Holley said. "Our first stop was at a town near the mouth of the river. Here we saw the first natives. They were practically naked, and each carried a small bundle, which we later learned contained a supply of food and a blanket."

Doctor Holley also gave the names of some of the outstanding men of Europe and America, who were members of the party and who attended the conference in Africa. Among these were: Doctor Lerrigo, American Baptist Foreign Mission Board; Doctor Eash, of the Mormonites; Dr. Henri Anet, of Brussels, Belgium; Doctor Cheaterman, of England; Doctor Moon, Southern Baptist; Doctor Bamfield, of Canada; Doctor Ross, of Congo; Doctor McLenoh, of Scotland; Doctor Westlin, of Switzerland; Doctor Martrie, of France; Dr. A. C. Baldwin, of Philadelphia; J. L. Sibley, a former Georgian, and others. The Mississippi groups he came in contact with during the tour were the Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Southern Baptists and the English Baptists in the Congo region.

Native boys are used entirely in the homes. They do all of the cooking, nursing, and cleaning. They have been well trained and make very satisfactory servants. He explained further that they had been trained to do all the work on the trains, in the offices and banks, and held positions of responsibility.

In speaking of the health conditions of the natives, he pronounced them in an awful condition. The death rate is appalling, being 50 per cent at birth. This is due to ignorance. The education problems there are similar to those here, Doctor Holley said. Because of this, his wife was able to be of valuable assistance. She wrote out a plan for home training which was very helpful. He took up industrial, agricultural and home economics in relation to the natives. He explained that in some parts of Africa the native was not allowed to own land.

In connection with land and labor conditions, he explained that in South Africa the native could not engage in any work except of the most menial type. In speaking of the government's attitude toward the native, he said that several terrible mistakes had been made. For example, he stated that the franchise had been given to the mulattoes and refused the blacks. At first the teachers tried to take away the native language and literature and give them European languages and literature. "What we should do is find the native's gifts and bring them out, not try to make him a white man," he said. "The black man has nothing to be ashamed of. He should be proud he is black, and the blacker he is the prouder he should be."

Doctor Holley told of his observations of the missionaries and their work. He called them real heroes and heroines. In fifty years the missionaries have brought the gospel message and converted 200,000 natives. At one church service Doctor Holley talked to a congregation of 2,000. The sermon was translated by three interpreters. He also told of a native service he attended which was very impressive.

An interesting feature of the talk was the relation of experiences of Doctor Holley and his party in the interior, where they visited the uncivilized native. He lives in the bush, and is naked. His house is a mud hut, which is absolutely bare. The cooking is done on the outside. The native sleeps on the ground. He eats casava and bread from the bread tree. He also eats literally everything, from monkeys to snakes.

The Congo region is extremely wealthy. It has an area of 210,000 square miles, many of which have not been explored. It has the second largest diamond mine in the world and the largest copper mine in the world. The stock exchange quoted in 1928 the value of investment in the Belgian Congo as being $1,000,298,260. Last year the Congo paid a dividend of $2,496,000.

"I believe that slavery in the United States was permitted so that a greater blessing might follow," said Doctor Holley. "The uncivilized native calls to us to send the light. The native who has been trained has shown himself capable of great development, so there is a wide field for the missionary to the uncivilized native. All respond readily to the gospel. Africa's greatest need is the gospel of Christ. This must be given finally by the native himself. There is needed a college for higher training of the native teachers, preachers and industrial civic leaders. Of the slaves that were brought from Africa thousands died before they reached America. Those that reached here were trained. Now is the time for America to send many of them back to train and teach their brothers."

It was a masterful address, and the audience was held in rapt attention. Doctor Holley also passed through the audience several articles made by the natives which were works of art.

Dr. L. G. Henderson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, introduced the speaker, saying that he was a recognized leader in Christian industrial education. "He has done his work faithfully, efficiently and thoroughly," Doctor Henderson said.

Before the talk a beautiful musical program was rendered by the college chorus and band.

THE MAORI ANALOGY.

In the course of his Union tour, Mr R. V. Selope Thema, the well known Transvaal Bantu leader addressed a meeting at Alice, giving an interesting history of the origin and activities of the Rand Joint Council and touching briefly on other topics. Concerning the Prime Minister's Native Bills he was questioned whether the separate representation of the Maori in the New Zealand parliament could not be applied to the Bantu of South Africa. 10-30-28

His answer should serve to fix to their bearings all those who are treading the dangerous path of dividing the Cape Natives and toying with the insidious bait of separate representation:—

1. In New Zealand there is no constitutional colour bar against the Maoris, and the result is that there are Moaris in parliament. In South Africa the Bantu are specifically excluded from the House of Assembly.

2. The white population in New Zealand is homogeneously British, whilst in South Africa it is only partly British and largely of Dutch extraction, with conflicting ideas of what is and what is not justice to a subject race.

3. The Maoris live mostly in a separate territorial sphere in the North island, isolated under tribal conditions where separate representation has been necessitated by separation of landed interests. The Maoris elsewhere become assimilated to the European population, being completely identified with European interests and life.

4. The Maoris have two cabinet ministers, General Hertzog has no intention of creating Bantu cabinet ministers.

5. We have no information as to what extent party politics govern New Zealand, whereas South Africa is based on a system of party politics such as would render the case of the member for separate representation a ludicrous one.

6. The proportion of white population to black is exactly the reverse of that in South Africa.

7. The introduction of separate representation will involve the overhauling of the Constitution of South Africa, and, with that change, the present Cape Native vote must of necessity be abolished according to the bill drafted by the Prime Minister. This is just the danger many people are either unable to see or unwilling to admit.

8. Separate representation will be practicable only after the establishment of complete territorial segregation.

The latter being impossible, it follows that the former is undersirable.

9. The safest route torwards the abolition of the present constitutional colour bar against the Bantu sitting in parliament lies only in the retention of the present Cape Native vote. And so say we.

Still in the district of Mohales Hoek, another tragedy was reported to the authorities on the 13th inst., by Chief Nkhetheleng Molomo through his messengers, that a certain man of his village named Sepirit had murdered his wife on the way from beer drinking. He

was belting her. The police were promptly ordered out to go and effect his arrest, and to ask the Chief to bring the body for post mortem, on the way the police met another set of messengers from the Chief announcing that the said Sepiriti managed to run away from the people who were guarding him, and when he had out-run them he stopped and called out to them to bequeath all his belongings to his daughter and then went and threw himself over a high precipice, and was found below it quite dead, and that ended the trouble.

Basutoland Notes

—

THE Resident Commissioner has now fulfilled his promise to the members of the Basutoland National Council and the Basuto. He has completed his concrete suggestions or draft of laws on which he wishes to get public opinion before they are made into laws. Copies of these proposed reformatory laws have been distributed among chiefs and the people. For the best information of the Basuto who can read Sesuto only copies translated in the vernacular are available. It is proposed to summon the meeting of the Basutoland National Council on April next year to come and finally discuss these drafts when they may become the laws of the country. Between now and this time fixed for the special session the Resident Commissioner will receive opinions or amendments which may be considered good by any person and communicated to him for his information, and he will in turn inform members of the Council of the proposed amendments, so that through him the Chiefs and the Councillors will be kept in touch until the next session opens. Opinions and amendments are looked for from any source. There should be no citizen of Basutoland who may feel that he is cut off from venturing an opinion in the legislation of his country.

o o o

The whole draft of laws made by the Resident Commissioner hinges on the 1884 Proclamation which though it is altogether more than forty-four years old has never been enforced in all respects. For reasons unknown to the public Mr Sturrock's predecessors never availed themselves of the powers that this proclamation invested them with We have always held that this their indifference to powers that this law gave them was the chief cause of their failure to arrest the progress of this worst state of affairs. To-day it will require both wisdom and sound reasoning to show the Chiefs and the Basuto public that by this draft of laws the Resident Commissioner was not unlawfully encroaching upon the rights of the Basuto Chiefs. We are still studying these reformatory laws and when we have carefully gone through them we shall only then give our considered opinion.

In Mohale's Hoek district last week, a human dead body was discovered in a donga near Makibinyanes The belt the hat, and the stick supposed to belong to him were found away from where the body was found. It was suspected that he was murdered, and the police carried out a search for the supposed murderers The body was not identified until at post morten when the uncle of the deceased identified him as his nephew who had gone out to look for his lost sheep. The Medical Officer after his examination of the body said the deceased had died of pnuemonia fever.

Sunday 21st October, Quthing people were shocked by the report that one Alfred Moorosi Masiu had committed suicide. He was seen by his young son early in the morning, going in the direction of caves outside the village concealing a gun under his blankets. It appears that in the cave he loaded his gun and fired. The bullet penetrated his chin and went through his skull. When he was discovered in the afternoon he was still holding the gun pointing to his head. After the police were called to the scene the body was brought home. His wife was not at home when this occurred; she had gone to a village where they were arranging for a marriage feast, When she came home in the afternoon he was lying dead in a pool of blood. No cause is assigned for his action.

The 1884 Proclamation has another interesting fact about it which we doubt if most people are conscious of it. We in Basutoland have remained in the ruins of the old laws of Cape of Good Hope. Laws that are already a dead letter in the Cape are still administered in Basutoland. This is how the proclamation reads:—

"In all suits, actions, or proceedings, civil or criminal, the law to be administered shall, as nearly as the circumstances of the country will permit, be the same as the law for the time being in force in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope".....

"and provided, further, that no Act passed after this date by the Parliament of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, shall be deemed to apply to the said territory"

These laws don't all suit us now, just as the Cape Parliament found that they were no longer suitable for their country. Why should ourselves keep on wearing the blanket that has been condemned by its owner.

The following information has been sent to us for publication:—Randfontein Estate Gold Mines Company, Limited. 1,175 British South African Natives were taken out of those engaged during the first six months of 1927, all fit for underground, and healthy, The same natives took their discharge during the six months of 1928 has no record of medical history, and left the mine for reasons other than health Average initial weight 130.26lbs; average weight on discharge 134.60lbs; average gain 4.34lbs.

East Rand Property Mines Ltd. Average weight of 1,000 East Coast Natives who arrived between the 1st January and the 30th June 1927, 128.946lbs. Average weight of the same 1,000 East Coast Natives who were discharged between the 1st January and the 30th June 1928, 133.605lbs; average gain 4.659lbs.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Enthroning an Emperor.

The most remarkable feature of the evolution of Japan from oriental mediævalism and stagnation to occidental modernism and progress is the preservation of her mental and moral balance throughout the changes which have poured in on her life during the last sixty years. The wise Elders who have guided the course have adhered to the religion and morality of their ancestors and have maintained them as beacons to light the footsteps of Japan through the maze of changes through which the external life of the people has passed. To-day the soul of Japan, reinvigorated and rejuvenated by a new discipline, looks out on the world with freshened vigour and increased knowledge, but in the things of the spirit it remains unchanged in fundamentals and ideals. The ancient religion, the ancient code of chivalry, of devotion to country and loyalty to the Emperor, still mould the character of the rising youth. The unimpaired strength of the sentiment of respect for ancestors and reverence for the ancestral spirits is evidenced by the ceremonies which have marked the enthronement of the new Emperor of Japan. West African readers of the reports of these ceremonies must have been struck by the importance attached to securing the participation and sanction of the ancestral spirits. The respectful call at the ancestral shrine, the veneration of the relics, and the formal announcement of the event to the spirits which haunt and guard them, recall features of the installation of a West African Chief. The religious ceremony of the adoration of the relics and the annunciation was performed at the "Place of Awe" (Kashikodokoro), in which reposes a replica of the Sacred Mirror which, tradition avers, was presented by the Sun Goddess to a distant ancestor of the dynasty. "To the accompaniment of solemn and archaic music the Emperor, as high priest of the nation . . . worshipped before the precious relic and announced his accession to the throne to the spirit of the Sun Goddess, after which all present performed a similar obeisance." The "Place of Awe," which only the most highly privileged may approach, will remind Gold Coast readers of the "Stool House," which only a select few are allowed to enter. Here, as Dr. Danquah tells us in "Akan Laws and Customs," is kept "the remnant of the Stool on which a Chief had sat during his reign. This is what is known as the Black Sacred Stool, the great symbol of Akan ancestor worship." The Black Sacred Stool corresponds, in Akan lands, to the Sacred Mirror in Japan. In both countries possession of the precious relic is essential to kingship. "Among the Akan peoples . . . supreme authority rests not with the Fetish or its Priest, but with the Ohene, or King, as being the possessor and occupant of the Sacred Stool in which the soul of the people is enshrined."

"Fetish."

If West Africans are to possess their souls amidst the surge of "civilisation" they must, like the Japanese, cling to the best teachings of their past. They must, to use the favourite phrase of a certain school of educators, retain their Africanism, and the basis of Africanism is the sense of religion which pervades every phase of African life while uninfluenced by foreign ideas and foreign worship. Because the attention of the early Portuguese explorers was attracted by the use among West Africans of certain objects in the same way as they themselves used amulets, talismans, and charms, which they called "Fetiço," the word Fetish has come to be used to denote African religion. "I mean by Fetish," wrote Miss Mary Kingsley, "the religion of the natives of the West Coast of Africa where they have not been influenced by Christianity or Mohammedanism." She did not use the word in the limited sense of Professor Tylor's definition of fetishism—"the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through certain material objects"—but to include all that Professor Tylor entitles "animism." No European has penetrated to the inner arcana of African religious thought, to which Fetish-worship bears the same relation as the use of consecrated charms does to true Christianity, but Africans are now taking up the study and interpretation of their native spiritual ideas. One of the most brilliant of these, Dr. Danquah, has promised a study of Akan religion, in which he hopes "to show that far from the Akans being idolators, the Fetish worship or idolatry found among them to-day is as foreign to their religious outlook as certain parts of Christian dogma could have been to the Ancient Egyptians."

Ancestor Worship.

The real religion of West Africans, as also of the Chinese and Japanese, is a highly developed form of ancestor worship. Among the Akan peoples one of its highest manifestations is the worship of the spirits embodied in the ancestral Stool. The custodian of the Stool House is one of the great State functionaries, who initiates a newly installed Chief into the Sacred Order of Stool Worshippers, and regulates the ceremonies in the Stool House, to which no unbeliever or foreigner is admitted. "The Order of Stool Worship," writes Dr. Danquah, "is about the last surviving ancient order which the hands of Western civilisation have not yet touched, and may not for a long time yet approach." One of the last sanctuaries of Africanism, in which the religious and historical past is enshrined, it must be cherished and preserved. "It is about the last thing—even when Fetish worship has died out—which Christianity and Mahommedanism will be able to conquer. Either the Order of Stool Worship must be somehow fused with 'African' Christianity . . . or, we are afraid, the bulk of the Akan-Fanti nations will for a long time remain un-christianised." As Dr. Danquah pertinently asks, are not memorials like the Cenotaph and the "tributes of flowers and prayers and songs offered at these shrines, modernised forms of remembering one's departed ancestors?" To this question I would add another:—Why should a religion which permits and encourages prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, and veneration of relics, find any difficulty in permitting invocation of ancestors and veneration of their relics?

W. F. H.

COTTON MANUFACTURE IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The position of the cotton trade in Lancashire is now in such a state that it is estimated that six million pounds sterling annually is lost and they cannot market the calico at cost, much less make profits. How can we turn the losses into profits? That is the problem, and I have been advocating in the "Oldham Chronicle" for the last six months every week trade with the Africans direct, and instead of selling calico in Manchester to sell it at Lagos, and leave Manchester severely alone. There are 80 cotton mills in Oldham and Blackburn standing idle. It is proposed to have a big amalgamation of mills with the co-operation of the banks. There is 20 millions sterling owing to the banks. But this will not turn losses into profits, and at the present time the mills would not realise what the banks have lent. We may put it share capital, loan-holders' capital, and money borrowed from the banks would amount to 65 millions. In 1919 and 1920 mills were recapitalised at twice to four times as much as previous capitalisation.

The amalgamated mills should formulate an African scheme, sell direct themselves and establish trading stations; where cash is not available, barter for produce. If this were done no mill in Lancashire would stand idle.

We have 80 cotton mills in Blackburn and Oldham standing empty; it is alleged that some of the machinery are obsolete. One mill, to my knowledge, was sold to the Japanese for six shillings per spindle—scrap price—and shipped to Japan. Another Blackburn mill is being taken to Mexico. Lancashire manufacturers should strip these mills standing idle and build mills in Africa, and I am satisfied they would be a veritable bonanza. Labour could be supervised by Oldham and Bolton operatives. My theory is, build mills where the cotton is grown, spin it and weave it, and find a market on the spot for the calico. If the Lancashire cotton trade is to resume prosperity they must adopt fresh marketing schemes. They have the competition of Japan to face. Build mills in the Sudan, Abyssinia, East Africa, Uganda, the upper plateau of Tanganyika, the Shire Highlands of Nyassaland. Strip the mills standing idle in Lancashire. They can be refitted when there is a possibility of paying. I advise the proposed African millowners to grow their own cotton and avoid middlemen profits, if any. If your West African readers wish to know further as to such schemes, let them write Mr. Whittaker, "Textile Record" Office, Neville Street, Southport, or to

DOUGLAS HARDMAN,
147, Sefton Street, Southport.

Nov. 10.

WEST AFRICA AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

West Africa

Sir,—I have read with amazement, not unmixed with awe, the letter from Mr. A. E. Blackburn upon "Africa and the Liquor Traffic." I have lived among Africans since I was a child and now I am 50. There is no man living who can say, with truth, that he can speak about Africa." Africa is a colossal continent, and what may be suitable in one part may be impracticable in another.

12-15-28

Mr. Blackburn writes:—

"The increase of the liquor traffic in the various Native Territories is causing serious alarm."

This is not the whole truth.

Your correspondent also says:—

"Sir Ofori Atta, the Paramount Chief of the Gold Coast."

This is also an exaggerated statement. The Gold Coast, as it is understood in that country, is not a strip of territory. The total area of the country which passes under this name, including its mandated territory, is over 90,000 square miles. There are many Paramount Chiefs, not one.

It is fit and proper that your readers should know that there is more than one side to the liquor question in British West Africa in which lies the Gold Coast. It is not easy for members of the Government to inform your readers of the true situation.

If Mr. Blackburn and his friends are aiming at total prohibition in British West Africa, let me say, without offence, that there are more ways than one in which to approach this goal. Is total prohibition necessary? Prohibition already exists in many areas of British West Africa. Where it does not exist the wishes of the Westernised African must be considered. The Europeans in residence there must not be left out. What is the use of closing the front door of the public-house if the back door is left open? To close both, force must be used. The oil-palm tree yields a sap which, when fermented, produces intoxication when drunk to excess. Who will protect the oil-palm trees from excessive tapping for "palm wine"? The trees cannot yield "palm-wine," palm-oil, and palm-kernels. Something must suffer, and if total prohibition is introduced the exports of palm-oil and palm-kernels must go down unless the trees are guarded by barbed-wire entanglements and bayonets. If the exports go down, so will the imports, and our unemployment numbers will be greatly increased. Who will pay for the crowd of Excise officials which will have to patrol the country to detect the illicit manufacture of alcohol? And so on and so forth.

The whole question of total prohibition bristles with difficulties. If it is the souls of the people which are the cause of the "serious alarm," why is it that Christian missionaries cannot produce total abstinence in their converts, as is the case with the converts to Islam? If Christianity, so far, has proved a failure in the matter of total abstinence from alcoholic liquor, surely it is a confession of its weakness when it applies to force for help? After all, the enforcement of the law is—force. One other point. In 1921 the entire resident population of the Gold Coast on Census Day was 2,298,383. A simple calculation will enable any of your readers to arrive at the quantity of spirits which might be consumed per head, per day, in the Gold Coast, by the populace, during the course of Mr. Blackburn's year, 1927.

Let the missionaries and Europeans working in British West Africa produce *temperance*, and you will have a peaceful, prosperous, happy British West Africa. Introduce total prohibition and it will be a fool of a man who will venture to prophesy such a future. I have tried example and persuasion with hard-drinking Africans and succeeded.

In conclusion, may I refer to the speech made by Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Gold Coast, at Liverpool a few weeks ago, which was given in WEST AFRICA for November 3?

W. ADDISON.

Bexhill, December 3.

Race Problem - 1928

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Enthroning an Emperor.

The most remarkable feature of the evolution of Japan from oriental mediævalism and stagnation to occidental modernism and progress is the preservation of her mental and moral balance throughout the changes which have poured in on her life during the last sixty years. The wise Elders who have guided Japan through the religious and moral chaos of their ancestors and have maintained them as beacons to light the footsteps of Japan through the maze of the changes through which the external life of the people has passed since the soul of Japan, reinvigorated and regenerated by a new discipline, looks out on the world with freshened vigour and increased knowledge, but in the things of the spirit it remains unchanged in fundamentals and ideals. The ancient religion, the ancient code of chivalry, of devotion to country and loyalty to the Emperor, still mould the character of the rising youth. The unimpaired strength of the sentiment of respect for ancestors and reverence for the ancestral spirits is evidenced by the ceremonies which have marked the enthronement of the new Emperor of Japan. West African readers of the reports of these ceremonies must have been struck by the importance attached to securing the participation and sanction of the ancestral spirits. The respectful call at the ancestral shrine, the veneration of the relics, and the formal announcement of the event to the spirits which haunt and guard them, recall features of the installation of a West African Chief. The religious ceremony of the adoration of the relics and the announcation was performed at the "Place of Awe" (Kashi-kodokoro), in which reposes a replica of the Sacred Mirror which, tradition avers, was presented by the Sun Goddess to a distant ancestor of the dynasty. "To the accompaniment of solemn and archaic music the Emperor, as high priest of the nation . . . worshipped before the precious relic and announced his accession to the throne to the spirit of the Sun Goddess, after which a present performed a similar obeisance." The "Place of Awe," which only the most highly privileged may approach, will remind Gold Coast readers of the "Stool House," which only a select few are allowed to enter. Here, as Dr. Danquah tells us in "Akan Laws and Customs," is kept "the remnant of the Stool on which a Chief had sat during his reign. This is what is known as the Black Sacred Stool, the great symbol of Akan ancestor worship." The Black Sacred Stool corresponds, in Akan lands, to the Sacred Mirror in Japan. In both countries possession of the precious relic is essential to kingship. "Among the Akan peoples . . . supreme authority rests not with the Fetish or its Priest, but with the Obene, or King, as being the possessor and occupant of the Sacred Stool in which the soul of the people is enshrined."

"Fetish."

If West Africans are to possess their souls amidst the surge of "civilisation" they must, like the Japanese, cling to the best teachings of their past. They must, to use the favourite phrase of a certain school of educators, retain their African basis of Africanism is the sense of which pervades every phase of African life while uninfluenced by foreign ideas foreign worship. Because the attention of the early Portuguese explorers was attracted by the use among West Africans of certain objects in the same way as they themselves used amulets, talismans, and charms, which they called "Fetiço," the word Fetish has come to be used to denote African religion. "I mean by Fetish," wrote Miss Mary Kingsley, "the religion of the natives of the West Coast of Africa where they have been influenced by Christianity or Mohammedanism." She did not use the word in the limited sense of Professor Tylor's definition of fetishism—"the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through certain material objects"—but to include all that Professor Tylor entitles "animism." No European has penetrated to the inner arcana of African religious thought, to which Fetish-worship bears the same relation as the use of consecrated charms does to true Christianity, but Africans are now taking up the study and interpretation of their native spiritual ideas. One of the most brilliant of these, Dr. Danquah, has promised a study of Akan religion, in which he hopes "to show that far from the Akans being idolators, the Fetish worship or idolatry found among them to-day is as foreign to their religious outlook as certain parts of Christian dogma could have been to the Ancient Egyptians."

Ancestor Worship.

The real religion of West Africans, as also of the Chinese and Japanese, is a highly developed form of ancestor worship. Among the Akan peoples one of its highest manifestations is the worship of the spirit such scheme Stool. The Record" Office, Neville Street, Southport, or to

DOUGLAS HARDMAN,

147, Sefton Street, Southport.

Nov. 10.

WEST AFRICA AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Sir,—I have read with amazement, not unmixed with Mr. Blackburn's letter from A. E. Blackburn upon "Africa "The increase of the liquor traffic in the various Native Territories is causing serious alarm." This is not the whole truth.

Your correspondent also says:—

"Sir Olori Atta, the Paramount Chief of the Gold Coast."

This is also an exaggerated statement. The Gold Coast, as it is understood in that country, is not a strip of territory. The total area of the country which passes under this name, including its mandated territory, is over 90,000 square miles. There are many Paramount Chiefs, not one.

It is proper that your readers should know that there is more than one side to the liquor question in British West Africa in which lies the Gold Coast. It is not easy for members of the Government to inform your readers of the true situation.

If Mr. Blackburn and his friends are aiming at total prohibition in British West Africa, let me say, without offence, that there are more ways than one in which to approach this goal. Is total prohibition necessary? Prohibition already exists in many areas of British West Africa Where it does not exist the wishes of the Westernised African must be considered. The Europeans in residence there must not be left out. What is the use of closing the front door of the public-house if the back door is left open? To close both, force must be used. The oil-palm tree yields a sap which, when fermented, produces intoxication when drunk to excess. Who will protect the oil-palm trees from excessive tapping for "palm wine"? The trees cannot yield "palm-wine," palm-oil, and palm-kernels. Something must suffer, and if total prohibition is introduced the exports of palm-oil and palm-kernels must go down unless the trees are guarded by barbed-wire entanglements and bayonets If the exports go down, so will the imports, and our unemployment numbers will be greatly increased. Who will pay for the crowd of Excise officials which will have to patrol the country to detect the illicit manufacture of alcohol? And so on and so forth.

The whole question of total prohibition bristles with difficulties. If it is the souls of the people which are the cause of the "serious alarm," why is it that Christian missionaries cannot produce total abstinence in their converts, as is the case with the converts to Islam? If Christianity, so far, has proved a failure in the matter of total abstinence from alcoholic liquor, surely it is a confession of its weakness when it applies to force for help? After all, the enforcement of the law is—force. One other point. In 1921 the entire resident population of the Gold Coast on Census Day was 2,298,383. A simple calculation will enable any of your readers to arrive at the quantity of spirits which might be consumed per head, per day, in the Gold Coast, by the populace, during the course of Mr. Blackburn's year, 1927.

Let the missionaries and Europeans working in British West Africa produce *temperance*, and you will have a peaceful, prosperous, happy British West Africa. Introduce total prohibition and it will be a fool of a man who will venture to prophesy such a future. I have tried example and persuasion with hard-drinking Africans and succeeded.

In conclusion, may I refer to the speech made by Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Gold Coast, at Liverpool a few weeks ago, which was given in WEST AFRICA for November 3?

Bexhill, December 3.

W. ADDISON.

ting invocation of ancestors and veneration of their relics?

W. F. H.

COTTON MANUFACTURE IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The position of the cotton trade in Lancashire is now in such a state that it is estimated that six million pounds sterling annually is lost and they cannot market the calico at cost, much less make profits. How can we I have been advocating in the "Oldham Chronicle" for the last six months every week trade with the Africans and instead of selling cotton in Manchester to sell it at Lagos, and leave Manchester severely alone. There are 80 cotton mills in Oldham and Blackburn standing idle. It is proposed to have a co-operation of the banks. There is 20 millions sterling owing to the banks. But this will not turn losses into profits and the present time the mills would not realise what the banks have lent. We may put it share capital, loan-holders' capital, and money borrowed from the banks would amount to 65 millions. In 1919 and 1920 mills were recapitalised at twice to four times as much as previous capitalisation.

The amalgamated mills should formulate an African scheme, sell direct themselves and establish trading stations; where cash is not available, barter for produce. If this were done no mill in Lancashire would stand idle.

We have 80 cotton mills in Lancashire and Oldham standing empty; it is alleged that some of the machinery are obsolete. One mill, to my knowledge, was sold to the Japanese for six shillings per spindle—scrap price—and shipped to Japan. Another Blackburn mill is being taken to Mexico. Lancashire manufacturers should strip these mills standing idle and build mills in Africa, and I am satisfied they would be a veritable bonanza. Labour could be supervised by Oldham and Bolton operatives. My theory is, build mills where the cotton is grown, spin it and weave it, and find a market on the spot for the calico. If the Lancashire cotton trade is to resume prosperity they must adopt fresh marketing schemes. They have the competition of Japan to face. Build mills in the Sudan, Abyssinia, East Africa, Uganda, the upper plateau of Tanganyika, the Shire Highlands of Nyassaland. Strip the mills standing idle in Lancashire. They can be refitted when there is a possibility of paying. I advise the proposed African millowners to grow their own cotton and avoid middlemen profits, if any. If your West African readers wish to know further as to this scheme, let them write Mr. Whittaker, "Textile

A BRILLIANT AFRICAN.

GEORGE EKEM FERGUSON.

More than 30 years have passed since raiding by Muhamaddan leaders of brigands was stopped, and to-day the name of Samory, the last of the great slave-raiders, is hardly known to even middle-aged people in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, where it was once a sound of terror. In the '80's and '90's of the last century Almami Samodu and his Sofas were the scourge of the hinterlands of Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and the Gold Coast. It was believed that he was a Mandingo, born in Segu, and it was certain that he had raised himself from slavery to the command of a powerful army, with which he roamed about the hinterland, plundering the towns and carrying away the inhabitants as slaves for sale in the Sudan. On the annexation of Futa Jallon, in 1885, the French tried to stop his raids, but it was not till the beginning of 1894 that he was driven out of French territory, moved slowly through the hinterlands of Liberia, and the Ivory Coast. He reached Bontuku (Sefwhi) in the latter part of 1895 when British forces under Sir Francis Scott were advancing on Kumasi. While that force was marching back to the Coast an attempt was made to open communication with him, but, while professing friendship with the British, he refused to meet the officer sent to him. Accordingly in the following November (1896) a force of 100 Hausas, commanded by Lieutenant Henderson, R.N., was sent to occupy Boma and Boli in order to keep open the caravan route to the North.

One of the members of the mission was Mr. George Ekem Ferguson, an African official who had done much brilliant work for the Government in the then almost unknown hinterland of the Colony. He was a son of Mr. Samuel Ferguson, of Anamabu, one of the leading Gold Coast merchants of the middle of the nineteenth century. After completing his education at the Wesleyan High School at Sierra Leone, he entered the service of the Gold Coast Government in 1881, was appointed to the Governor's office, and accompanied Sir Samuel Rowe to Prahsu during the "Ashanti scare" of that year. Having taken a course of instruction in astronomical observation and map-making at the Royal Geographical Society, he compiled for the Government a map of the divisions of the Colony, in 1884. Thereafter most of his time was spent in travelling about the interior, then almost unknown to Europeans and the peoples of the coastal districts. He thus acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the geography, peoples and politics of the hinterland. The route maps which he made of his journeyings were recognised by the highest British authorities as valuable contributions to geographical knowledge for their accuracy; they were used by the War Office for the compilation of the first reliable maps of the Gold Coast behind the well-known coast-line, the Tarkwa mining district, and the often-traversed road between Cape Coast and Kumasi.

When the race of Britain, France and Germany for effective occupation of the hinterland began, Mr. Ferguson's knowledge was found most useful. After serving on the German Boundary Commission in 1886 he was sent up-country to hold the border tribes to their allegiance to the British. The King of Atabubu, who had refused to accept British protection at the beginning of 1889, was persuaded by Mr. Ferguson to sign a treaty of protection on November 21, 1890, because of a threat of attack by the Ashantis. A neutral zone between British and German territory had been agreed upon at the Berlin Conference; neither party was to acquire exclusive influence within the area, but might make treaties with Chiefs within it as to territories outside. During 1893, it having become known to the Government at Accra that German officers were endeavouring to establish relations with some of the Chiefs in this zone, Mr. Ferguson was again sent up to counteract their efforts, and on January 25, 1894, he concluded, on behalf of the British Government, a treaty of friendship with the tribes on the banks of the River Volta, which were not included in Ashanti or the neutral zone. He spent most of the year in this district, moving about the country to keep touch between the Chiefs and the Government, and while at Atabubu he received the following letter on December 23, 1894:—

"War Office, 18, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W., May 29, 1894.

Dear Mr. Ferguson,—The Royal Geographical Society have awarded you at their recent meeting the Gill Memorial Grant for the valuable work you have done on the Gold Coast, the Atabubu Mission, the Anglo-German Boundary Commission, and the expedition to Daboya and Yendi. We have given the R.G.S. the geographical results of these missions, and I daresay we may be able to let them have also any geographical work you have done during your last expedition. The Colonial Office agreed to let the R.G.S. have your work."

The Gill Memorial Grant (a gold watch and £25) was presented at the July meeting of the Royal Geographical Society.

THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT OF NIGERIA.

THE new organisation of the Public Works Department of Nigeria, introduced in 1926, has proved satisfactory for it has survived the immense expansion described in the 1927 annual report by Mr. C. L. Cox, the Director of Public Works, and his assistants. Since the report deals with the calendar, and not the financial, year, it is often impossible to arrive at exact figures, but the expenditure by the Department, inclusive of loan works, for 1927 is estimated at £1,850,000, as compared with £1,245,737 in 1926 and £806,161 in 1925. The chief increase was one of £556,986 in extraordinary works, bringing this section up to £1,424,130, while loan works totalled only £98,655, with, however, a further £62,494 charged to re-imbursement works, which presumably will be recovered from loan funds later on. The general increase in activity was responsible for a reduction in the establishment charges ratio to 13.5 per cent. of the expenditure, which, Mr. Cox states, was too low for real efficiency. There has, in fact, been considerable difficulty in obtaining a sufficiently large number of engineers, for although sanction had been given for the increase of the staff to 331, there were 45 vacancies at the end of the year, and of 67 posts in the engineering long grade, only 35 were held by officers with more than one tour. The sick rate, too, was high, 105 officers being incapacitated for an average of 14.6 days each, while two out of six new road engineers were invalided shortly after their arrival.

An effort is being made to recruit men with suitable engineering degrees direct from college, but resignations of young officers during the year show that that introduces a danger of the Department being used as a stepping-stone by those in search of experience. The obvious remedy would seem to be the training and employment of suitable Africans, a scheme which is but now receiving the consideration of the Government. In the meantime a small beginning was made by starting four probationary electricians at Ijora power station, and four surveyors at headquarters, while technical classes were held at King's College, where, although the first enthusiasm had not in all cases been enduring, the results had not been unsatisfactory. The African staff of the Department was 609, with 7,100 artisans, 19,873 ordinary labourers, and 5,905 petty contractors.

The chief task of the year has been the prosecution of the annual road programme of 400 miles proposed in 1926, and Capt. E. Hall was transferred from the Gold Coast to the newly-created post of Assistant Director of Public Works (Roads), his duty including those of secretary to the new Central Roads Board. Better progress than was anticipated was made in this, the first, year of the scheme, and some 300 miles of road were completed, while the mileage maintained by the Department rose from 2,950 to 3,199. The average cost of maintenance was £25.73 per mile, which is low for the tropics, but much improvement will be necessary to enable the roads to stand up to future motor traffic. The cost of new roads was from £500 to £600 per mile for gravelled, and £1,500 to £2,000 for metalled and tarred highways. By no means the least item in the cost was the construction of bridges, but a type of span had now been standardised, and this should ease matters in future. The principal decisions made by the Central Roads Board during the year included the deviation of the proposed Lagos-North Road to avoid the Kaduna River, and a start in 1928 upon the Mamfe-Bamenda section of the Ikom-Bamenda Road. No new projects were added to the original programme of 1926, for the financial position did not warrant them.

The maintenance of Government buildings formed a fairly heavy task, and was a natural consequence of the increased building programme of recent years. New quarters for 82 Europeans and 181 Africans were completed, and the Departmental Headquarters themselves were moved from their old site on the Marina to the new building on the Race Course. Where possible, contracts for buildings had been let locally, but in general it was estimated that contractors' prices were fully 12 per cent. above Departmental costs. The system of road-building by contract had also been started, many contractors having been attracted from the Gold Coast.

The sawmill and workshops show constant improvement. The former issued 345,895 cubic feet of timber, valued at £70,971, as against 195,000 cubic feet in 1926, and was able to reduce its issue prices for local soft woods and imported pitch-pine by 10 and 10½ per cent. respectively, while the workshops were likewise able to effect reductions in the price of their output. The joinery and furniture produced was valued at £19,521, practically the same as in 1926, the reduction in price masking a real increase in quantity. Even so, however, furniture and joinery imports amounted to £43,641. The settlement of the case against the British Nigerian Timber Co. involved the substitution of the old agreement by a new one for the supply of 180,000 cubic feet of pitch-pine and 20,000 cubic feet of local woods annually for five years. This was, of course, a decision in favour of the Timber Co.—a fact which is not made very clear in the report.

A general survey of the waterworks, actual or proposed, has been written by Major R. L. Nunn, the newly-appointed Waterworks Specialist, who points out that although supplies for practically every important town of Nigeria are under consideration, several years must be given up to the investigation of sources before construction can be started. At Lagos the water consumption has gone up to 1,764,000 gallons daily, which, however, is only about half of the supply available at Iju, although any further increase will demand an extension of the purification plant. Another need, common throughout Nigeria, is for further correction of the acidity of the water, as there have been numerous instances of corroded pipes and boiler-tubes. The Lagos supply showed a gross profit for 1927 of £13,650, but after payment of charges on capital there remained only £1,615 to set aside toward the £5,865 needed annually as provision for renewals. The Lagos water works are in a more favourable position than the electricity branch, for although the latter showed a gross profit of £7,428, there were interest charges amounting to £14,722, bringing the total deficit at March 31, 1926, up to £27,254. It would be interesting to see how the costs per unit of these official electricity supplies compare with those of the various mines, etc., that possess power stations, for even the present 5.6d. per unit seems high.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

The Wellington Movement

[By Rev. J. G. Locke.]

(*Continued.*)

The anti-white movement as expressed in Native Separatist Churches, and, as associated with this, that greed of gain which plays a conspicuous part in all anti-white movements must also be enumerated as a contributory cause to that condition of the Native mind which presented a golden opportunity to an impostor. And away in the shadows the sinister idea of Marcus Garvie and the "Black Fleet"—a fleet of ships easily transformed for the purpose into a fleet of aeroplanes! Nor must the flag controversy be forgotten which to the Native mind involved the status of the Bantu people. The thought that such grotesque nonsense as was preached by Wellington and his deputies, with certain political and racial catch-phrases as "Africa for the Africans" and other political "balderdash" in constant use, should have had the effect, even for a brief period, in disorganising the work of the Churches and Schools, must fill the thoughtful mind with misgiving regarding the future with the menace of Mohammedanism sweeping down from the North and probably like Garvie, distant but potential!

In my last report to the Wesleyan Conference I wrote concerning this evanescent movement:—"many were seduced by false doctrine and the work was greatly disturbed. Freedom from taxation and from the rule of the white man was promised to those who destroyed their pigs, and cash away paraffin, needles, cups and saucers and certain other articles introduced into Africa by the white man. Negro government would follow and aeroplanes carrying the new rulers would come out of the sea. Then fire would fall from the skies and consume the scattered materials, with the white man and all pro-white black men. But, as it stands written on the page of Colonial history, in connection with the cattle-killing delusion of long ago "the sun set as usual" on the day appointed by Nonqause. So on the day set apart for the destruction of all white men and their native followers, in connection with Nonqause the Second, the sun set as usual, on the 5th November, 1927, and on the alternative day, Christmas Day, not fire but beautiful rain fell from heaven. We rejoice to report that many of the deluded ones are already asking with deep humility and tears to be re-admitted into the church, saying "We cannot worship where there are no "tickets" and "Rona" contributions."

And now a word or two about the certificate and badge—an ambitious certificate and redemptive badge.

According to the "Blythswood Review" the certificate is materially as follows:—To the beloved and scattered millions of the Negro Race.

GREETING.

This is to certify that

M.....

is a duly registered and active member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League, an organisation embracing the millions of men, women and children of Negro blood and of African descent of all countries of the world, striving for the Freedom, Manhood, and Nationalism of the Negro, and to hand down to posterity a Flag of Empire to restore to the world an Ethiopean Nation one and indivisable out of which shall come our princes and rulers—to bequeath to our children and our Grand Old Race the heritage of an ancestry worthy of their time and thoughtful of the future.

Resting on the strength and mercy of Almighty God, and on the Effort and Faith of our people all over the World, we the undersigned, as officers of the . . . Division, append our names this . . day of . . in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and . . .

B. H. Wellington, President
Gen. Secretary
Treasurer
President of Ladies Division
Gen. Sec. of Ladies Division

The badge purchased by eash individual member at 2/6 to be worn on the great day of the Redemption of Africa, would indicate to the Negro leader, on arrival by aeroplane, those who were to be saved from destruction, when balls of fire would fall from heaven and consume all who did not display the badge. Those women found in possession of the handkerchief bearing the design of the Native Recruiting Corporation and give as a gift to the wives of those recruited for the mines, would not escape destruction.

West Africa

Sir Joseph Byrne's review of the progress of Sierra Leone for the past year does not err on the side of verbosity, for in its printed form it only runs to 38 pages, compared with 50 last year, when his brevity had the excuse of recent arrival. Nevertheless, he contrived to convey an excellent impression of the advances made, and of the progress likely to be made in the near future.

The scene of his address was for the first time the new Council Chamber, but there was no inauguration ceremony beyond the briefest of references to the imposing spaciousness of the room, and a tribute to Sir Ransford Slater, the originator of the new Government Offices. His mention that a space had been reserved in front of the building for a War memorial, designed by Sir E. Lutyens and presented by the War Graves Commission, comes as a timely answer to those in whom the recent Armistice celebrations had aroused a sensibility to Sierra Leone's lack in this respect. 12-15-28

The financial situation remains satisfactory, and Sir Joseph thinks there will be little need for the projected domestic loan next year. The revised estimates of revenue and expenditure for 1928 were £818,441 and £842,096 respectively, the former figure including a sum of £54,511, the first instalment of a domestic loan already received, and the latter including expenditure on the Surplus Balances Programme amounting to £95,976, with advances in respect of loan works totalling £23,710. The estimated total deficit for 1928 was £23,655, which, deducted from the £283,556 representing the surplus assets at the end of last year, would leave an estimated surplus of £259,901. This sum would be augmented by £76,393, the amount advanced in respect of loan works, and after deducting the sums earmarked for the completion of the surplus balances programme, there would still remain £153,203, apart from the savings that might be expected in normal years.

In view of this, and of the fact that the estimates foreshadowed a surplus of £16,000 next year, even after providing for the new Protectorate education scheme, Sir Joseph was able to make the welcome announcement that the import duties on flour and milk would be abolished. This, he thought, would cost about £6,000, leaving a surplus of £10,000 with which it was hoped to establish a reserve for prospective charges in regard to the Imperial Garrison Lands, for the training of African medical assistants, and for contingencies.

The Trade Position—Motor Transport.

There was little cause for pessimism in the trade position, and the growth of motor transport seemed to promise greater development in the near future. For the first eight months of the current year the Customs receipts were £52,136 in excess of the corresponding period of 1927, chiefly through increased imports of cottons and tobacco. The exports showed promise of a "record" for kernels, for 51,178 tons had been exported, or 12 per cent. more than in the first eight months of 1927. Germany held the first place in this trade, gained in 1927, and to her revival also seemed due the marked improvement in the piassava trade. Palm-oil exports had decreased, and the kola trade was 12 per cent. below last year's Jan.-August total, but it must be remembered that 1927 was an extraordinary year, the kola exports being 48 per cent. above the previous "record." Ginger showed a further decrease to 19,782 cwt., compared with 27,205 cwt. for eight months in 1927, and for the present this trade must be regarded as disappointing. Among newer crops, cocoa production had reached 67 tons, as against 77 tons for the whole of 1927, and rice was doing well, although harvests had been somewhat diminished, the chief export being 369 tons to Liberia, largely for the Firestone Company. The increase in trade was also indicated by the increase in shipping entering at Freetown, the comparative figures for equal periods in 1927 and 1928 being 664 and 714 vessels.

With regard to provincial administration, Sir Joseph had little to add to last year's reports from the Provincial Commissioners, for the chief matters worthy of note were the development of motor roads, and the damage caused in the Northern and Southern Provinces by the recent heavy floods. The Commissioner of the Central Province again recorded the fact that the abolition of the legal status of slavery was received by the people with a calm bordering on indifference, a far more serious matter in their eyes being evidently the enforcement of the "one married man, one hut" rule that is gradually eliminating overcrowding and at the same time preventing evasion of the hut tax.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Hands Across the Sea.

One of the most striking features of the recent progress of the Negro race in America has been the awakening of racial consciousness and realisation of their kinship with the Negro races in Africa, with an accompanying desire to establish contact with the Motherland. An advanced school of poets and writers, who seek above all things unbridled emotion and a life full of "colour," express this desire by an exaggeration of the sensual side of Negro life in the United States, and a profession of a longing to cast off the restraints of civilisation, and an atavistic urge to return to the life of the ancestral jungle, of which their heated imaginations paint a picture as idyllic as the Arcadia of the Greek poets, a carefree existence passed in "dancing naked under palm trees to the music of tom-toms." Popular love of sensationalism has attracted to the writings of this school more attention than is warranted by its real influence. More and better work for this reunion of the two branches of the race is being done by another school of leaders of Afro-American thought, who recognise that the first essential is for each branch to study the other, to encourage intercourse, and for this purpose to promote conferences for discussion and solution of problems; to work steadily and unrestingly, awaiting patiently the results. One of the most brilliant members of this group, Professor Alain LeRoy Locke, who has spent a great part of this summer at Geneva studying the operation of the Mandates, addressed a meeting of the West African Students' Union on Tuesday. Professor Locke graduated A.B. at Harvard University in 1907, and after three years study at Oxford as Rhodes Scholar, went on to Berlin for further study; he took the degree of Ph.D. at Harvard in 1911, and in 1912 joined the professorial staff of Howard University. In 1916 he published a work on "Racial Contacts and Racial Relations," and "The New Negro" in 1925.

The New Racialism.

Professor Locke described himself as belonging to the middle generation, the bridge between the generation of emancipation and the generation of progress, which had passed through the wilderness to lead their people to the Land of Promise. Though his greying locks showed that he was no longer young, he had always kept in touch with youth; it was his endeavour to see with the eyes of youth and to judge with the brain of experience, combining freshness of outlook with wisdom in council. He asked his hearers, as the coming leaders of their peoples, to think rationally, to grasp the present while thinking of the future, but without losing touch with the past. In the turmoil of the great war and its aftermath, the old order was disappearing; the new world which was emerging from post-war confusion was the race's great opportunity; to grasp it they must think largely, looking through the moribund present to the quickening future. In this time of revolution the race must rise to a higher plane. Among Afro-Americans thought was turning to the bond between themselves and their Motherland. After all there was little difference between them and the other races in the country, who could be as properly styled Euro-Americans; to both the American background was new. The circumstances that the Africans in America had been submerged by races with a European background had led to their adopting that background, but there was a growing realisation that their true background was to be found in Africa. As a beginning they had seized on the racial title of "Negro"; they had adopted it; they regarded it with pride, and were gradually changing it from a term of reproach into a badge of honour. They had rediscovered their connection with Africa, and the effort to make the racial background effective was satisfactorily under way. The line of thought regarding Africa had shifted from the sentimental, which might be called the missionary, point of view, to the practical. They had been like men trying to use a crowbar without a fulcrum, and moving nothing, but they had now found a fulcrum. Instead of formulating policies without knowledge they were now seeking for knowledge as a sound foundation for practical work, and have realised two things. First: that they do not know more than the Africans, and that it is to the Africans that they must look for information about conditions and needs in Africa, and for a programme which will meet those conditions and needs. Second: that they have perhaps more to learn and to gain thereby than the Africans.

Racial Co-operation.

Professor Locke asked for co-operation. The old isolation must be brought to an end and replaced by intimate knowledge and exchange of views; without any attempt to impose programmes each side must study the conditions of the other so as to appreciate each other's difficulties. It was very easy to sit in London and devise plans to put an end to lynching, but it was not so easy to carry them out. Again, it was very easy to sit in New York and fulminate against colonial domination in Africa, but it was a difficult thing to put an end to it. Sensible people knew that in both cases the *status quo* is inevitable, and that the only remedy is to bring about a change of the conditions which produced them. New and saner methods were coming into practice in America, but Africans must play their part. They must both come out of their corners and advance to meet each other; they must meet in conference and strengthen each other. Afro-Americans were keenly eager for greater knowledge of Africa, which they had hitherto seen through the white man's eyes as a vast expanse of marshes, exhaling miasmatic poisons which would kill them in three days, if they succeeded for so long in evading the bloodthirsty savages who infested the fever-stricken jungles. They wanted to see Africa through African eyes, and to show America as it presented itself to Afro-Americans. He had himself felt the need for personal knowledge of Africa, and in 1923 had started a plan to spend five months in each of three years travelling through Africa. After the first trip, during which he visited the Near East, Egypt and the Sudan, his programme had been interrupted, but he intended to continue it by tours through West, South, and Central Africa. He appealed to young Africans to widen their outlook by visiting American Universities and exchanging views with the leaders of their race there. Having travelled 3,000 miles for education in England, it should not be very hard for them to travel 3,000 more to take a course at one of the Negro universities under Negro heads, like Howard, of which he remained a member out of loyalty to Dr. Mordecai Johnson. It was particularly well situated to be a point of contact between Afro-Americans and their fellows from the Motherland; centrally placed between the Northern and the Southern States, it was in touch with both. The Black World was knitting itself together, but there was no short cut to racial reunion. Afro-Americans must master the technique of Western civilisation in America, while retaining the links with their racial past in Africa.

W. F. H.

NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN WEST AFRICA.

"Towards Nationhood in West Africa." By J. W. de Graft Johnson. (Headley Bros., 18, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E.C.2. 3s. 6d.)

To those interested in West Africa who have not had the good fortune to attend any of the thoughtful meetings held by the associations of African students in England, Mr. J. W. de Graft Johnson's little book on African aspirations is a good introduction to modern African youth. In expounding his views, the author takes the reader through all the sensations that are the portion of the European as, often somewhat patronisingly, he makes the acquaintance of his new friends. In the first place, the reader is surprised, and will probably be a little shocked, to hear all the well-meant notes on Africans that he has ever read summed up in the opening lines of the book as follows: "The African is a much-maligned man. Every other person but himself has expatiated on his mentality and character," but a closer acquaintance with Mr. Johnson's ideas will show that he is not about to preach a race-war against Europe for having her own views as to the correct evolution of African nationhood, but is trying to place before her as clearly as possible how those views appear to the African, and wherein the last-named differs from them.

Naturally, since Mr. Johnson is of the Gold Coast, he deals chiefly with the problems of that country, which, as he says, are broadly the same as those of other developing parts of the Continent. He denies vigorously that the educated Africans, in whose hands lies the future of his race, are denationalised, or that there is any "gap" between them and their illiterate kinsmen, but, while it is clear that no amount of education will alter the fact that they are African, in mind as in body, no one who knows Africa will agree that there is not a gap between the outlook and aspirations of the educated African and those of what are at present the masses, for the history of a number of advanced movements in West Africa testifies to the contrary.

Human destiny, Mr. Johnson says, is governed by three dynamic forces, law, education, and wealth. From this list a number of important influences seem to have been omitted, but, quite logically, he shows that almost all social welfare may be included under "wealth." The major part of the book is devoted to the first—law—from its production to its administration, and although at first Mr. Johnson seems to be far from agreeing with Government policy, he is surprisingly close to it in reality. In his view, the principal objection to the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927 is not that there is anything objectionable in its clauses, but that its method of production was totally against African custom. Had it been produced by the Attorney-General in the ordinary way, leaving the African members of the Legislative Council to suggest modifications, all would have been well, he thinks, but the mere fact of its production by African Chiefs seemed to Africans that their rulers were being encouraged to legislate on their own account, thus usurping the powers of the Oman Councils and violating traditional African constitutional principles.

Schemes for a new constitution are suggested that would avoid this appearance of trying to make the Chiefs rulers rather than administrators, and, in its final form, would make the following the system of government. At the head would be the Governor, or, later on, an elected President, with a Privy Council of officials and natural rulers, and there would be a "Council of Nanamu," consisting of Paramount Chiefs, and possessing advisory, amending, and delaying, but not legislative, powers. To this Council, the existing Provincial Councils would act as local sections for the discussion of policy. The new Legislative Council would follow the lines of the present one, except that African membership would be greatly increased, and instead of the country being represented by Paramount Chiefs, the Oman Councils would elect their own representatives—a step which many of them have already shown themselves anxious to take. Except for the addition of a separate Council of Nanamu, the above seems to be almost exactly the line of development that is foreshadowed by the existing Constitution, when once the Government has realised that the limitation of provincial representation to Chiefs is in accord neither with popular wish nor ancient legislative custom, and it may be that Mr. Johnson's book will hasten progress in this direction.

In the administration of the law, Mr. Johnson hopes to see the Native Tribunals evolve on the British pattern, but realises how difficult this is while the rulers are largely dependent on court fees for their revenue, and while there is such a scarcity of efficient registrars. An interesting letter from Sir Brandford Griffith, which forms an appendix to the book, shows what an important part the British system of administration of justice has played in securing our position in the country, and it seems only reasonable to suppose that any real improvement in the status of Native authority in Africa must be preceded by an approximation of the Native Tribunals to the British courts.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Hands Across the Sea.

One of the most striking features of the recent progress of the Negro race in America has been the awakening of racial consciousness and realisation of their kinship with the Negro races in Africa, with an accompanying desire to establish contact with the Motherland. An advanced school of poets and writers, who seek above all things unbridled emotion and a life full of "colour," express this desire by an exaggeration of the sensual side of Negro life in the United States, and a profession of a longing to cast off the restraints of civilisation, and an atavistic urge to return to the life of the ancestral jungle, of which their heated imaginations paint a picture as idyllic as the Arcadia of the Greek poets, a carefree existence passed in "dancing naked under palm trees to the music of tom-toms." Popular love of sensationalism has attracted to the writings of this school more attention than is warranted by its real influence. More and better work for this reunion of the two branches of the race is being done by another school of leaders of Afro-American thought, who recognise that the first essential is for each branch to study the other, to encourage intercourse, and for this purpose to promote conferences for discussion and solution of problems; to work steadily and unrestingly, awaiting patiently the results. One of the most brilliant members of this group, Professor Alain LeRoy Locke, who has spent a great part of this summer at Geneva studying the operation of the Mandates, addressed a meeting of the West African Students' Union on Tuesday. Professor Locke graduated A.B. at Harvard University in 1907, and after three years study at Oxford as Rhodes Scholar, went on to Berlin for further study; he took the degree of Ph.D. at Harvard in 1911, and in 1912 joined the professorial staff of Howard University. In 1916 he published a work on "Racial Contacts and Racial Relations," and "The New Negro" in 1925.

The New Racialism.

Professor Locke described himself as belonging to the middle generation, the bridge between the generation of emancipation and the generation of progress, which had passed through the wilderness to lead their people to the Land of Promise. Though his greying locks showed that he was no longer young, he had always kept in touch with youth; it was his endeavour to see with the eyes of youth and to judge with the brain of experience, combining freshness of outlook with wisdom in council. He asked his hearers, as the coming leaders of their peoples, to think rationally, to grasp the present while thinking of the future, but without losing touch with the past. In the turmoil of the great war and its aftermath, the old order was disappearing; the new world which was emerging from post-war confusion was the race's great opportunity; to grasp it they must think largely, looking through the moribund present to the quickening future. In this time of revolution the race must rise to a higher plane. Among Afro-Americans thought was turning to the bond between themselves and their Motherland. After all there was little difference between them and the other races in the country, who could be as properly styled Euro-Americans; to both the American background was new. The circumstances that the Africans in America had been submerged by races with a European background had led to their adopting that background, but there was a growing realisation that their true background was to be found in Africa. As a beginning they had seized on the racial title of "Negro": they had adopted it; they regarded it with pride, and were gradually changing it from a term of reproach into a badge of honour. They had rediscovered their connection with Africa, and the effort to make the racial background effective was satisfactorily under way. The line of thought regarding Africa had shifted from the sentimental, which might be called the missionary, point of view, to the practical. They had been like men trying to use a crowbar without a fulcrum, and moving nothing, but they had now found a fulcrum. Instead of formulating policies without knowledge they were now seeking for knowledge as a sound foundation for practical work, and have realised two things. First: that they do not know more than the Africans, and that it is to the Africans that they must look for information about conditions and needs in Africa, and for a programme which will meet those conditions and needs Second: that they have perhaps more to learn and to gain thereby than the Africans.

Racial Co-operation.

Professor Locke asked for co-operation. The old isolation must be brought to an end and replaced by intimate knowledge and exchange of views; without any attempt to impose programmes each side must study the conditions of the other so as to appreciate each other's difficulties. It was very easy to sit in London and devise plans to put an end to lynching, but it was not so easy to carry them out. Again, it was very easy to sit in New York and fulminate against colonial domination in Africa, but it was a difficult thing to put an end to it. Sensible people knew that in both cases the *status quo* is inevitable, and that the only remedy is to bring about a change of the conditions which produced them. New and saner methods were coming into practice in America, but Africans must play their part. They must both come out of their corners and advance to meet each other; they must meet in conference and strengthen each other. Afro-Americans were keenly eager for greater knowledge of Africa, which they had hitherto seen through the white man's eyes as a vast expanse of marshes, exhaling miasmatic poisons which would kill them in three days, if they succeeded for so long in evading the bloodthirsty savages who infested the fever-stricken jungles. They wanted to see Africa through African eyes, and to show America as it presented itself to Afro-Americans. He had himself felt the need for personal knowledge of Africa, and in 1923 had started a plan to spend five months in each of three years travelling through Africa. After the first trip, during which he visited the Near East, Egypt and the Sudan, his programme had been interrupted, but he intended to continue it by tours through West, South, and Central Africa. He appealed to young Africans to widen their outlook by visiting American Universities and exchanging views with the leaders of their race there. Having travelled 3,000 miles for education in England, it should not be very hard for them to travel 3,000 more to take a course at one of the Negro universities under Negro heads, like Howard, of which he remained a member out of loyalty to Dr. Mordecai Johnson. It was particularly well situated to be a point of contact between Afro-Americans and their fellows from the Motherland; centrally placed between the Northern and the Southern States, it was in touch with both. The Black World was knitting itself together, but there was no short cut to racial reunion. Afro-Americans must master the technique of Western civilisation in America, while retaining the links with their racial past in Africa.

W. F. H.

NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN WEST AFRICA.

"Towards Nationhood in West Africa." By J. W. de Graft Johnson. (Headley Bros., 18, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E.C.2. 3s. 6d.)

To those interested in West Africa who have not had the good fortune to attend any of the thoughtful meetings held by the associations of African students in England, Mr. J. W. de Graft Johnson's little book on African aspirations is a good introduction to modern African youth. In expounding his views, the author takes the reader through all the sensations that are the portion of the European as, often somewhat painfully, he makes the acquaintance of his new friends. In the first place, the reader is surprised, and will probably be a little shocked, to hear all the well-meant notes on Africans that he has ever read summed up in the opening lines of the book as follows: "The African is a much-maligned man. Every other person but himself has expatiated on his mentality and character," but a closer acquaintance with Mr. Johnson's ideas will show that he is not about to preach a race-war against Europe for having her own views as to the correct evolution of African nationhood, but is trying to place before her as clearly as possible how those views appear to the African, and wherein the last-named differs from them.

Naturally, since Mr. Johnson is of the Gold Coast, he deals chiefly with the problems of that country, which, as he says, are broadly the same as those of other developing parts of the Continent. He denies vigorously that the educated Africans, in whose hands lies the future of his race, are denationalised, or that there is any "gap" between them and their illiterate kinsmen, but, while it is clear that no amount of education will alter the fact that they are African, in mind as in body, no one who knows Africa will agree that there is not a gap between the outlook and aspirations of the educated African and those of what are at present the masses, for the history of a number of advanced movements in West Africa testifies to the contrary.

Human destiny, Mr. Johnson says, is governed by three dynamic forces, law, education, and wealth. From this list a number of important influences seem to have been omitted, but, quite logically, he shows that almost all social welfare may be included under "wealth." The major part of the book is devoted to the first—law—from its production to its administration, and although at first Mr. Johnson seems to be far from agreeing with Government policy, he is surprisingly close to it in reality. In his view, the principal objection to the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927 is not that there is anything objectionable in its clauses, but that its method of production was totally against African custom. Had it been produced by the Attorney-General in the ordinary way, leaving the African members of the Legislative Council to suggest modifications, all would have been well, he thinks, but the mere fact of its production by African Chiefs seemed to Africans that their rulers were being encouraged to legislate on their own account, thus usurping the powers of the Oman Councils and violating traditional African constitutional principles.

Schemes for a new constitution are suggested that would avoid this appearance of trying to make the Chiefs rulers rather than administrators, and, in its final form, would make the following the system of government. At the head would be the Governor, or, later on, an elected President, with a Privy Council of officials and natural rulers, and there would be a "Council of Nananu," consisting of Paramount Chiefs, and possessing advisory, amending, and delaying, but not legislative, powers. To this Council, the existing Provincial Councils would act as local sections for the discussion of policy. The new Legislative Council would follow the lines of the present one, except that African membership would be greatly increased, and instead of the country being represented by Paramount Chiefs, the Oman Councils would elect their own representatives—a step which many of them have already shown themselves anxious to take. Except for the addition of a separate Council of Nananu, the above seems to be almost exactly the line of development that is foreshadowed by the existing Constitution, when once the Government has realised that the limitation of provincial representation to Chiefs is in accord neither with popular wish nor ancient legislative custom, and it may be that Mr. Johnson's book will hasten progress in this direction.

In the administration of the law, Mr. Johnson hopes to see the Native Tribunals evolve on the British pattern, but realises how difficult this is while the rulers are largely dependent on court fees for their revenue, and while there is such a scarcity of efficient registrars. An interesting letter from Sir Brandford Griffith, which forms an appendix to the book, shows what an important part the British system of administration of justice has played in securing our position in the country, and it seems only reasonable to suppose that any real improvement in the status of Native authority in Africa must be preceded by an approximation of the Native Tribunals to the British courts.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

"To Managers of Native Miss'ons Schools."

(By Rev. Makaluza.)

I wish to make few remarks in connection with the article which appeared in your issue of the 6th. November 1928 under the name of P. D. Mashicila. Whilst sympathising with teachers suffering hardship in the country and town locations, I do not agree with the views held by your correspondent. Mr Mashicila blames managers of native Mission schools for such a state of affairs and regards the Education Department as having absolved its.lf by the article in the Gazette of the 26th. August 1926. I read the article with regret at such misrepresentation of things by your correspondent. In that Gazette the Education Department showed that Ordinance No. 5 of 1921 did not abrogate the old rule as some headmen and people disclaimed their responsibility in the matter of providing house or accommodation for the teacher. If Mr Mashicila is a teacher in a Mission school as I presume, he ought to know that the school in which he teaches was brought about by effort of a Mission school manager. He says that teachers are fast losing confidence in the managers of Mission schools and suggests strive in order to do away with them. Who could imagine that a manager would not put up a decent house for a teacher if it is in the power of the manager to do so. The Department of Education does not say the manager has neglected his duty hence the reason for the article in the Gazette as your correspondent imagines. I know from experience that some teachers left the house near the school and made his own arrangements elsewhere far from school. If managers have taken the trouble of putting up a school building and did all secretarial work for nothing but for the kingdom of Christ and applied for a grant and then turn round and undo the work for which he toiled hard he would be regarded as a funny man under the sun. The Education Department never shirked its duty and it realises to day that it has not done what it wants to do for the native teacher but funds have not permitted hence the request to the headmen and the people not to the manager who is known by the Education Department that he is doing his work to the best of his ability for goodness sake. I hope Mr Mashicila will again read the last paragraph of the article. "In larger towns, where the salary scale is higher than in the country, teachers might be expected to secure accommodation for themselves out of the difference." If teachers would try to work against managers of Mission schools and force the pace at this critical time in the progress of the native man, they would find that they have adopted a dangerous course. "Unity is strength."

MENTAL HOSPITALS.

We have been shown a small booklet of the rules for management of asylums,—especially those of Valkenburg, Grahamstown, Port Alfred and Fort Beaufort. What strikes us most is that the scale of pay which was approved on 11th September, 1897 for attendants and nurses is a liberal one. Attendants, 3/- per day for the first and second years, 3/4 for the third year; thereafter an annual increase of 2d per diem up to 4/- if single, and 4/2 if married. For night attendants there is an increased remuneration as follows, 4/8 per diem if single and 5/3 per diem if married. The scale for nurses commences from 2/3 per diem to a maximum of 3/4 per diem. Now this scale of pay seems very liberal; but we are informed on what appears to be very good authority that the commencing figure at these institutions is £2 per month and the maximum £3 for attendants, and that nurses get a maximum pay of £1 per month. How this discrepancy can be accounted for perhaps the Department of the Interior may explain.

Native Administration Act

The draft regulations for the control of unsurveyed locations in the Native territories have been published in the Government Gazette No. 1732 of the 12th ult. The spirit that pervades the regulations is that of controlling the locations by the machinery of native commissioners. These officers have all the say in the affairs of the natives who, we may point out, recognise and highly respect the rule by their chiefs and councillors to an extent that should compel a modicum of recognition by the Minister of Native Affairs. Tribalism in the Native territories still holds sway, and if the government by the new draft regulations still means to break up this system of settlement on crown lands, further (as seems certainly the object of these regulation) in favour of the autocratic rule of the native commissioner, then the policy of the Prime Minister of allowing Natives to develop along their own lines is being negatived. The practice of consultation between such native commissioners and the chiefs and their tribes is positively being discouraged if not terminated, and that alone is not conducive to peaceful settlement. The Bungas' activities in the locations are circumscribed by law, and the rest of the control for administrative purposes is vested in the native commissioners. So it cannot be argued that the Bunga is sufficient to act as the mouthpiece and mode of consultation with Natives when so many of their affairs are handled by the native commissioners exclusively. Section 6 of the draft regulations makes a pretence of consultation between the native commissioner and the headman; but coming to examine these two functionaries closely, it is found that both are nothing more than government officials, paid for their services by the government. Nothing in the regulations seeks to provide for consultation between the chiefs and the people on the one hand, and the government on the other. This recalls to memory the words of the Secretary for Native Affairs who has stated that government recognises no Native chiefs in the native territories, and we see the proof of this utterance vindicated in these very regulations. Section 11 authorises the settlement by commissioners of persons in the locations whose occupation requires their presence there. This may involve the distribution among native location inhabitants of a government secret service force, which once detected, may be in danger of molestation. The The Natives are law-abiding and should not be harassed with clandestine methods of policing. The chiefs have been loyal to the government for many years past, and should now be taken into confidence in administering their own affairs to a large extent, unless of course some other object is had in view in depriving them of their power. Last but not least, in matters of dispute as to possession of allotments and removals and compensations, Section 18 of the regulations makes provision for appeal to the chief native commissioner within 14 days after the commissioner's decision but "all such proceedings shall be in the nature of administrative action and shall not be subject to the rules governing judicial procedure nor subject to appeal or review save as is hereinbefore provided." This excerpt is the sting in the tail of the scorpion. There is the pretence again that provision for appeal is made and yet such appeal is robbed of all the force of law. The chief native commissioner cannot enforce or reverse any judgment against the native commissioner if the latter is not willing to accede to such, and what purpose will be served by creating a superior court of appeal in these matters and putting litigants to all the trouble—all for a chimerical object. We trust the Minister for Native Affairs and the Native Affairs Commission will look into this aspect of the

regulations, and provide the necessary consultation before they come into force, otherwise we doubt if the Native Administration Act in this aspect will prove a helpful and peace producing enactment.

Race Problem-1928.

Africa.

Travesty of Justice in South Africa Discussed by Committee of Inquiry Headed by Professor Edgar H. Brookes

Headed by Professor Edgar H. Brookes, eminent educator, a committee has just completed an independent investigation into the administration of justice in South Africa, with special reference to natives.

The first part of the report, which is of a very informative nature, is here presented in its entirety:

WHITE JURY SYSTEM

The research which is presented here originated in the widespread feeling of disquiet aroused by the verdict and sentence of what is commonly known as the "Louis Trichardt case." Into the merits of that particular case it is not proposed to enter in this memorandum. It is but one of a number of cases of crimes of violence of white against black, where the discrepancy between the admitted facts on the one hand and the verdict and sentence on the other have aroused surprise and even indignation in the minds of many South Africans.

We should like to place on record, before going any further, our conviction that extreme and deliberate injustice in the type of case under discussion, although it may sometimes occur, is rare. Generally speaking, we have formed the impression that South African juries discharge their duties conscientiously, but upon the basis of certain unquestioned presuppositions not yet sufficiently analyzed. Within the limits of these principles our juries, in spite of some rare gross miscarriages of justice, do generally conduct themselves of their task. It is of the responsibilities of their task. It becomes all the more necessary to try, from our study of some hundreds of criminal records, to set down what we believe these unchallenged principles to be, and to demand that they be ruthlessly analyzed by those concerned in any capacity in the administration of justice in South Africa. We have limited our research to crimes against the person and have not dealt with crimes against property, although much might be said in regard to sentences for stock theft.

Six Assumptions

We feel that the assumptions with which the average juryman faces his task can be reduced to six heads, and may be expressed as follows:

1. A white man will naturally use a considerable amount of force in dealing with a native with whom he has a difference. Should the native die thereafter, it may be presumed that he has not died as a direct result of the assault, unless there is irrefutable evidence to the contrary.

2. No white man should ever be hanged because he has killed a native Hence as hanging is the only possible sentence for murder, a jury ought not to find a white man guilty if he is charged with the murder of a native.

3. If the verdict is such that the white man in such a case is sentenced to a short term of imprisonment, the jury has performed a laudable action and one calculated to meet amply the ends of justice.

4. Native evidence is frequently unreliable. Hence in the case of direct conflict between native evidence and European evidence, the latter should prevail.

5. Natives do not regard rape as seriously as Europeans.

6. This fact may be taken into consideration in mitigation where the complainant is a native girl, but not otherwise.

It is not suggested that all these assumptions are necessarily erroneous. It is, however, claimed that many of them cannot face the test of an honest and unprepudiced analysis. Should this assertion be true, there is prima facie a good case for the suspension of the jury system, unless and until the average juryman shall have been educated to feel in his average moments what the better type of South African feels when he reflects seriously on the validity of these assumptions.

It may be interesting to devote a little attention to items (5) and (6) of the list of assumptions, dealing with the crime of rape. The feeling of the courts on the subject is illustrated by the remark of one of our judges in imposing a sentence of imprisonment with hard labor for 18 months on a European found guilty of having raped a native girl aged 15. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 125 of 1926.) "We know generally," said the learned judge, "that natives do not consider rape as seriously as Europeans do." This sentence may be compared with that of seven years' imprisonment with hard labor and seven lashes on a native charged with assault with intent to commit rape on a European girl of 11. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 400 of 1925.) "Had you succeeded," said the judge, "I would certainly have sentenced you to death."

Native and European

Two consecutive criminal records in the Transvaal cases for 1925 (Transvaal Criminal Record Nos. 167 and 168) are illuminating. A European found guilty on two counts of rape on a white girl of 11 was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment with hard labor. A native found guilty on two counts of rape on a native girl of 10 was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labor. A European in the same year—we have chosen all our examples from the same province and from the years 1925 and 1926, so as to avoid all possible unfairness in comparison—was charged with the offence of assault with intent to rape two native girls in a public street. The jury found him guilty of indecent assault and the judge sentenced him to a month's imprisonment. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 114, of 1925.) It is interesting to compare this sentence with that of 12 months' imprisonment and five lashes imposed in the same year on a native for having had carnal connection with a European woman with her own consent (Transvaal Record, No. 34, of 1925) or with that of three years' imprisonment and six lashes imposed on a native for entering the house of a European woman with intent to commit an offence. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 170 of 1925.)

It will be noticed that the only guiding principle which can explain these discrepancies in punishment is that of protecting the white woman in all cases more effectively than is thought necessary in the case of the native woman. It is not suggested that the white woman should be protected less than she is. It is, however, submitted that no adequate reason can be shown why the native woman should not be protected more than she is.

It will be noticed further that in the examples quoted, lashes are reserved specially for native criminals. In all the cases examined by us we discovered one only where a sentence of lashes was imposed on a white man. In the not inconsiderable number of cases where a native was found guilty of carnal connection with a white woman with the white woman's consent, lashes were imposed without exception. This latter type of crime cannot be described as in any way a crime of violence. Hence the usual rule that lashes are reserved for crimes of particular brutality has become in South Africa the rule that lashes are reserved for crimes committed by natives.

Murder Cases

With regard to accusations of murder, culpable homicide and assault, the following cases selected from the same province and the same two years as before are not without interest.

A European, charged with culpable homicide against his native servant, admitted that he had hit the servant with a pick handle and killed him. He was found not guilty by the jury and discharged. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 383, of 1925.)

Two native servants were charged with attempting to administer poison with intent to murder their European master. They plead not guilty, were found guilty, and was sentenced each to three and a half years' imprisonment. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 360 of 1925).

In the following year a European was charged with culpable homicide on a native whom he had kicked in the back and who afterwards died. The medical evidence—not always the most satisfactory feature of such cases—showed that the native had been suffering from a tumor on the liver and that rupture of the tumor was the cause of death. The jury held that the evidence was insufficient to show that the rupture of the tumor was due to the blow given by the accused and found him guilty of common assault, with a recommendation for mercy. In passing sentence the judge said: "After you had time to cool down, you showed a want of consideration to the native, which in my opinion was cruel under the circumstances, and which I think I am quite entitled to take into account in passing sentence upon you." The sentence was one of two weeks' imprisonment without hard labor. (Transvaal Criminal Record, No. 124 of 1926.)

Four numbers away from this in the list of cases is the record of a native charged with the murder of his European master. The accused exercised his right to demand trial by a judge and two assessors, was found guilty, and sentenced to death. In his report on the case the judge said, inter alia: "I do not feel that the magistrate's finding that the condemned prisoner was not assaulted by any member of the police at..... is correct..... I think that the question of carrying out the death sentence should be dealt with on the assumption that the accused was illegally thrashed by the police in order to induce him to return to the service of an employer whom for some reasons he greatly disliked, and that resentment at having been thus forced into the deceased's service, and some feeling of desperation as to his prospects of ever getting away from deceased's service afforded the motive for the commission of this crime. I submit, therefore, that notwithstanding the gravity of the crime which he undoubtedly committed there is good ground for commuting the death sentence in view of the youth and ignorance of the condemned man and the serious grievance which must have been rankling in his mind. Had I had before me at the trial all the information which is now available, I should have added to my verdict a recommendation to mercy." (Transvaal Criminal Records, No. 128 of 1926.)

The native was duly hanged.

The Penalty for Murder

Two cases which stand together in the records are as follows (Transvaal Criminal Records, No. 180 and 181 of 1926):

A native was charged with assault with intent to grievously bodily harm a European woman. The woman was not actually hurt. Found guilty, the accused was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and eight lashes.

An illiterate European was charged with assault with intent to murder a native. He used a knife. The medical evidence was to the effect that at first the doctor thought that the native would die, so serious was his condition. The jury found him guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

In passing sentence the judge said: "The jury have taken the most lenient view that it was open for them to take of your offense. You inflicted a very serious stab on this native boy, and you are very fortunate not to be standing here on a charge of murder." The sentence was six months' imprisonment, plus a fine of £25 or, in default of payment, another three months' imprisonment.

A study of these and similar cases has convinced us that, if substantial punishment is to be inflicted upon a white man accused of murder of a native, death must become the maximum instead of the sole penalty for murder So long as the death sentence remains the sole penalty for murder, juries will refuse to convict white persons accused of murdering natives. From the idealistic standpoint of abstract justice this state of affairs may be deplorable. It has nevertheless to be reckoned with.

The Jury System

It may be argued that, if the jury system be abolished there is no need to make this charge as regards the death penalty. We are, however, convinced that the judges without an exception would welcome a change which would relieve them from the awful responsibility of bringing in a verdict which can only mean the death sentence. At present, the question of what sentence is ultimately to be imposed on a murderer is taken out of purely judicial hands and political advisers may in rare cases influence the final decision made. This remote possibility could be removed, and the sentence for murder like that for any other crime would be dealt with by the judiciary on judicial lines and in a purely judicial atmosphere, if the changes proposed were made.

It will be noticed here and later that although our investigation has been undertaken on the basis of the relation of color distinctions to the administration of justice, the main conclusions to which we have led are general in character and are independent of the peculiar race and color divisions of South Africa. We feel that this question of providing for an alternative penalty for murder is one of general importance and is an overdue reform in South Africa. Public opinion here is not yet convinced, as it has been in some countries, of the necessity for abolishing capital punishment; but would readily respond to any lead given it by the government in the direction of authorizing an alternative penalty.

The same remarks apply to the question of the continuance of the jury system. It is quite clear to us that the jury system, though not as black as some well-intentioned critics have painted it, has proved a failure in "mixed cases." The instances cited by us out of one province and one short period of two years are more than adequate proof of this fact. We feel, however, that our conclusions must rest on a far broader basis, and that one ought rather to raise the question whether the jury system as it operates today really serves any good purposes in South Africa. In our widely scattered country districts it means a very hard tax on the time of its members, especially of the farming community, who have to travel long distances often at very inconvenient times and for inadequate reimbursement, to fulfill the duties for which they are so freely criticized. We have had now for more than ten years an alternative system of trial by a judge and assessors, which has given general satisfaction. The whole country, white and black, has a great confidence in the judicial bench and no section would feel that there would be a lessening of impartiality or an infringement of the liberty of the subject if the jury system were replaced in all cases by the alternative system of a judge and assessor or by three judge courts.

Judges and Assessors

Much can be said for the simple solution of three judge courts. Although it might involve considerable additional expenditure, much would be saved on the present jury system and the results would be the best obtainable. Failing this, however, the system of trial by a judge with two assessors would be a great improvement on the existing state of affairs. We feel that if this system were to be generally adopted it would be useful to have a special list of assessors—public servants or others—familiar with native laws and customs, whose services could be utilized in cases where their special knowledge would be of advantage. We have spoken of the juries. It would not serve any useful purpose for us to speak of the judges. If ever there are cases where judges are open to criticism they are instances unavoidable by any merely mechanical changes; and in any case they do not detract from the general deep respect which the country has for its judicial bench.

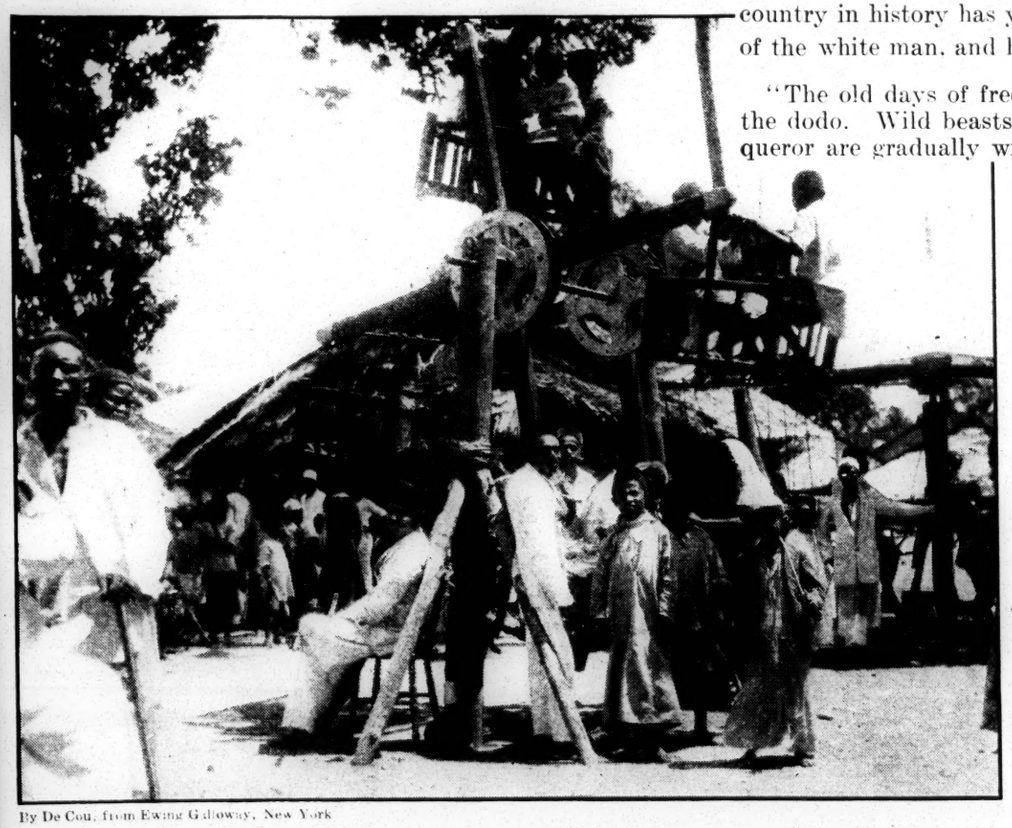
Race Problem - 1928

Africa

KENYA: A KEY PROBLEM FOR BRITAIN IN AFRICA

Literary Digest. Dec. 1928

THE FIRST VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES and his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to the British Colony of Kenya attracts wide-spread attention, because this British protectorate is being observed now, we are told, with extreme interest in all parts of the world. It is one of the most interesting colonies under the British flag, remarks the London *Daily Mail*, and, in an area more than twice that of the British Isles, it includes every climate, from that of the tropics to the cold of the eternal glaciers on its magnificent mountain. Moreover, this newspaper points out that it has—what is of special importance for our race—a considerable region which is in every sense of the term a white man's country. On his journey to Nairobi, the capital of the Colony, we are reminded, the Prince and his brother used the railway, built by the foresight and driving power of the late Joseph Chamberlain, at a time when most people believed that it could never pay its way, yet "to-day it is earning a million [pounds] or so a year in profit."



By De Cou, from Ewing Galloway, New York

"ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING COLONIES UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG"

In Kenya, of which it is said that no country in history has yielded so suddenly to the taming hand of the white man. Here is a Ferris wheel of a kind on the carnival grounds at Mombasa.

At the same time it is noted by various editors, including a Canadian, the editor of the Calgary *Daily Herald*, that grave problems are facing the local government of Kenya in "reconciling the demands and needs of an affluent employer class, directly represented in the legislature, and the 2,500,000 native inhabitants, agricultural and pastoral, whose labor is the mainspring of the country's prosperity." The vast and unique experience of the British Colonial Office and the highest qualities of fearless administrator and wise employer, it is declared, must be drawn upon if the interests of white employer, Indian trader, and African worker and cultivator are to be advanced equally, and this is why "the rule of Kenya is a key problem for Britain in Africa." A very vivid picture of Kenya in pioneer years is presented in *The Empire Review* (London) by Sydney Glanville, a settler of experience in Kitale, who says that no country in history has yielded so suddenly to the taming hand of the white man, and he continues:

"The old days of free, colonial pioneering are as extinct as the dodo. Wild beasts that have escaped the gun of the conqueror are gradually withdrawing farther and farther into the interior, and in their place roam car and locomotive. Towns, in which one can obtain the news of the world—never more than two days old—by wireless and cable, have sprung into existence with incredible rapidity.

"Where madam now buys the latest mode in gowns, and the various voices of the wild have been superseded by the clatter of office typewriters, I saw, in 1919, zebra and waterbuck grazing. In the same year I shot kongoni buck, upon the site of where stands at present the second largest hotel in Kenya.

"In 1913, it took two days of traveling from my farm to reach any sort of civilization whatever; now the sturdy young township of Kitale offers me dances and cinema shows to while away my evenings. The railway station was one hundred miles away in 1921; to-day it is one mile. Modern engineering is narrowing even 'darkest Africa.' We all have our cars or motorcycles to enable us to meet and talk with our fellow men whensoever we wish.

"Men of wealth, fully awake to the vast potentialities of the colony, are releasing her from her age-old bonds of savagery with a rapidity that stands unique in the annals of colonization. Farms frequently run into thousands of acres, and, where the lonely settler tilled the land with the aid of oxen a few short years ago, the native now drives merrily his master's steam tractor."

A presentation of a plague of locusts, as once experienced by him, is then afforded by this informant, who relates that northward, from Abyssinia and the Sudan, "swarms of locusts fly to harass us; they are myriads of reddish bodies darkening the sun." A swarm, six by ten miles in size, has come to visit this neighborhood, and "we must save what we can of our crops, tho that will be little enough," and he adds:

"We hear the news that these winged bandits, alighting to the north, have devoured eighty acres of maize in two hours: a loss to some unfortunate farmer of roughly $2,000. Blue skies, hitherto so peaceful, resound to the vibration of millions of tiny wings, beating in unison. Down come the evil-looking insects, bent on their work of the utter destruction of all that is green and edible. For three miles the road is thick with them. My car skids from right to left as I hasten home to lend a hand in the slaughter of the enemy; looking back, I can see the tracks of the 'flivver's' wheels like ruts, cut through a living mass.

"On the farm, pandemonium reigns supreme. Our native boys, armed with empty cans and sticks with which to beat them, run hither and thither in an attempt to scare the locusts away. Filled with anxiety, one behaves like an infuriated Touareg, which helps to keep the boys up to the mark in what seems a hopeless task. One requires several pairs of eyes and many limbs to deal satisfactorily with this crisis. Piles of rubbish have been lighted and are burning slowly; the thick smoke pours from them in volumes, to the obvious but trifling discomfiture of the enemy. One slides and slithers at every step; the smoke catches at one's throat and stings one's eyes. All around sounds the rattle and clash of the beaten tin cans and the yells of the boys, who look like grotesque black demons as they prance through the smoke. And yet, as if by magic, grass crops, and even the leaves of the trees, vanish before the greedy hordes of insects.

"The hoppers are, perhaps, even worse than the full-grown locusts. Like all healthy offspring, their appetites are insatiable. On their approach, we work with feverish energy to dig a trench across their line of progress and for a moment the rush is stemmed. But, urged on by their rear ranks, the hoppers fill it to the brim with their writhing bodies, and, while some of the boys hastily fill it in, others rush to dig another trench beyond. Life seems anything but 'beer and skittles' when we receive visits from these self-invited guests."

A night scene of the pioneer days in Kenya that must have been a fairly usual one, for all its shuddering horror, is presented by Mr. Glanville in his description of a leopard's raid on a farm. With the coming of night there is a stealthy movement in the bush, and he goes on to narrate:

"A great, spotted cat arises, stretching luxuriously, from his cosy bed of bracken and reeds. Padding silently through the undergrowth, he comes at length to where the bush meets the rolling plains. Here he halts for a second, and then continues his way, passing, like a dim ghost, by grassy stretch and leafy bower, maize field and plow land, until his keen nostrils catch the scent of his arch-enemy—man. Between a distant cluster of trees a light twinkles; he hears the dogs baying. The leopard crouches upon his belly and waits. The night is still, save for the myriad of insects which hum monotonously about him.

"Not until the twinkling light has disappeared does the great cat move. His going is as if a shadow had detached itself and moved away. By a roundabout route, he reaches the small shack which stands outside the ring of trees enclosing the farm. Again the dogs bark. The 'cluck' of a sleepy hen sounds from within the shack, and, with a single bound, the leopard is upon the roof. He searches for, and finds, a weak spot in the thatch, where he tears a large hole. Reaching in a paw, armed with murderous claws, he extracts a fat hen, her death squawk

causing the dogs to bay frantically. At last, they succeed in arousing their tired master. There is a sleepy rush for gun and lights, but the leopard, his victim tightly clasped between his jaws, is speeding away across the plain to enjoy a well-earned supper by the little stream which runs through the forest.

"Dozing after the meal, hyrax come and play about him, uttering their queer, police-rattle cries: 'Crrrrrrack! crrack! crr!' —pretty little chaps, with quaint hands and feet and beady eyes, their bodies a browny-gray with a white spot in the center of the back which is distended when they are angry or alarmed.

"Presently, a deep-throated roar disturbs the peace of the night. The hyrax scuttle out of sight, and even the leopard, feeling his position insecure, darts, with a snarl, up a tree as a great, tawny, hunting lion appears. Spitting with fury, the leopard watches him pass majestically to join his mate in search of prey."

Together the great beasts stalk through the star-jeweled night, we read, until they catch the scent of a distant kraal. With infinite caution they move up-wind until near their quarry, and then, it is related, "the lady crouches and waits while her mate makes a wide detour in the opposite direction," thereby bringing their prey between them, and then—

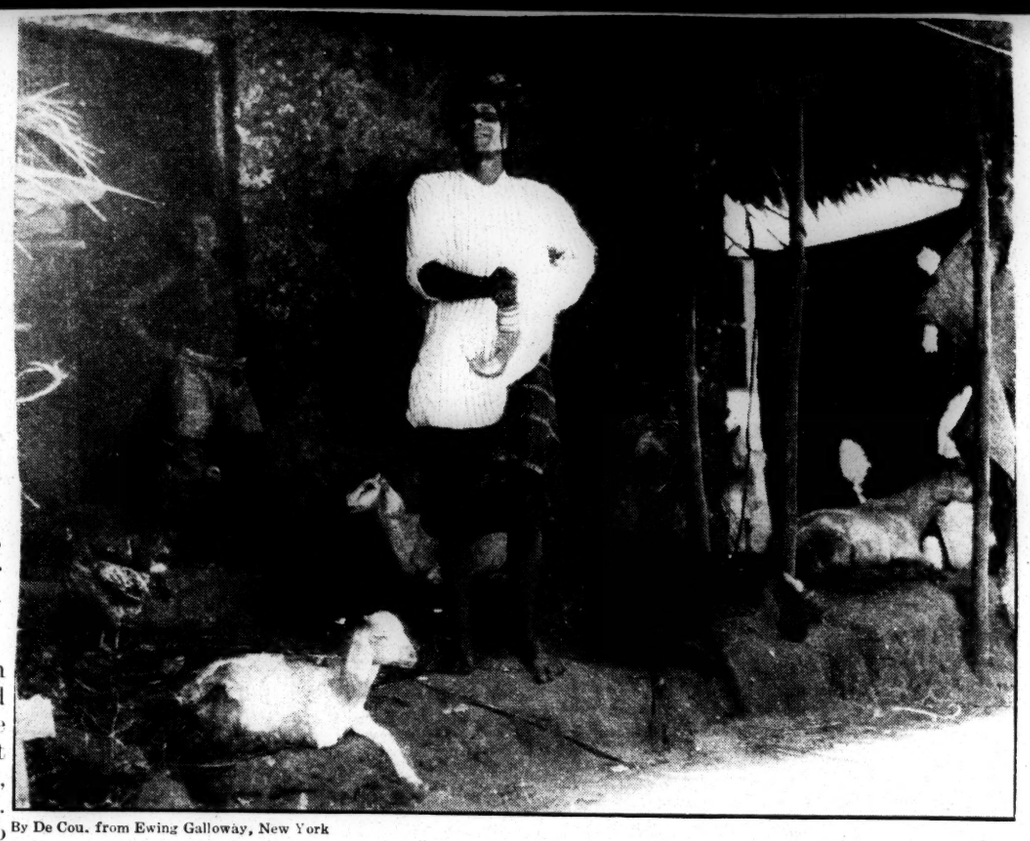
His scent and his nerve-shattering roar send a terror-stricken herd stampeding out through the kraal-fence, straight toward his watchful mate. One magnificent bound takes her on to the back of a great, lumbering trek ox, and, with a blow of her great paw, she fells it to the ground with a broken neck. Together, the couple drag their prey away for a few hundreds of yards. Hastily they feast, until lights, shots, and yells warn them to depart and leave the remainder to the hyenas."

On the subject of native laborers, Mr. Glanville observes that to be successful with them, one must be just, keep one's word; be generous, but not so much as you would wish to be; swiftly punish any wrong; feed them well, and always be ready to listen to their little complaints. What is more, he says that you must never wholly lose your temper, and know when to crack a joke with the laborers, and the boys will worship you. But allow them to get away unpunished for any misdeed, or be too generous, he avers, and their liking will instantly change to contempt. Leniency and generosity are beyond their comprehension, for to them these prize virtues of the white man are signs of weakness, and he proceeds:

"Such is the make-up of the sons of Ham at their present stage of evolution. Cecil Rhodes spoke of them as 'these poor children,'—and the title is singularly apt, for, like children, they can appreciate justice, and are essentially happy, irresponsible, and laughter-loving at heart. Childlike, too, are their tantrums and their capacity for imitation.

"Indian labor has supplied us with two good stories which have probably run the length of Africa. A certain English nobleman, noted for his short temper, was delayed at a station some time ago, and, becoming impatient, he began abusing the Indian station-master. The latter was imprudent enough to argue on the principle of 'you're another,' and the Englishman promptly applied the toe of his boot to the station-master's anatomy. A few hours later officials in Nairobi were astonished to receive a wire containing the ambiguous message: 'The Lord has kicked me. What can I do?'

"The other story relates to a Sikh station-master posted at Voi, who received the news during the war that six hundred Germans were approaching his station. He immediately wired to his superiors in Nairobi the optimistic demand: 'Six hundred enemy coming. Please send gun and six hundred rounds of ammunition.'"



By De Cou, from Ewing Galloway, New York

"HAPPY, IRRESPONSIBLE, AND LAUGHTER-LOVING"

Such are the natives of Kenya, whom Cecil Rhodes described as "these poor children."

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Justice in Native Courts

Proposed Proclamation

PART II.

WHEREAS it is desirable to define the relations and duties existing between the Basutoland Administration and the Basuto Chiefs and between the Basuto Chiefs and the people under their authority.

Star 6 Basutoland 19/9/28

NOW THEREFORE under and by virtue of the powers in me invested I do hereby declare proclaim and make known as follows:—

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

1. In this Proclamation (a) Assistant Commissioner shall includ. Deputy Assistant Commisioner and Officer-in-Charge;

(b) Chief Sub-Chief and Headman shall mean any Native Chief, Sub-Chief and Headman who is recognised as such by the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland;

(c) Tribal area shall mean the area occupied by any Natives placed under the control of a Chief or Sub-Chief;

(d) Native Court shall mean any court of Chief, Sub-Chief or Headman recognised as such by the Resident Commissioner.

SUPPRESSION OF DISORDER.

2. The Resident Commissioner may call upon any Chief or Chiefs to supply men for suppression of disorder and rebellion within the borders of Basutoland and may call upon such Chiefs personally to render such service; the order may be given through the Paramount Chief or to the Chief concerned through an Assistant Commissioner.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS.

3. Whenever an Assistant Commissioner shall consider that for the proper administration and good government of the area within which any Chief has jurisdiction, it is necessary or desirable that any order or orders should be issued for the purposes enumerated in Section 10, he may direct the Chief to issue and enforce (or may himself issue and enforce) such order or orders as aforesaid to the Assistant Commissioner may seem proper.

CANCELLATION OF ORDERS.

4 Whenever an Assistant Commissioner shall consider that any order issued by a Chief in terms of Section 10 should not have been issued or should not be enforced, he may direct the Chief to cancel the order or to refrain from enforcing the order, and if any person shall have been convicted before any Native Court of failing to comply with such order, the Court which has power of supervision over such Native Court may quash the conviction and order the repayment of any fine which may have been recovered.

PENALTY FOR NON-ATTENDANCE.

5 (a) An Assistant Commissioner may direct the attendance before himself or before any Government Official or before any Chief of any Native residing in the area to which he is appointed.

(b) Any Native who, when so directed to attend before any such person, shall without reasonable excuse fail or neglect to attend as and when directed, may be arrested and taken before such person as aforesaid.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF CHIEFS.

6. It shall be the duty of every Chief to maintain order in the area within which he has jurisdiction and for such purpose as he shall have and exercise the jurisdiction and powers hereinafter mentioned over the Natives residing or being within such area in addition to and jurisdiction and powers which he may otherwise enjoy by virtue of any law or Native custom for the time being in force.

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES.

7. A Chief may employ any person or persons subject to his jurisciction to assist him in carrying out his duties imposed upon him under this Proclamation or otherwise by law or Native custom and any person or persons so employed may carry out and give effect to any lawful order given by a Chief.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHIEFS

8. A Chief shall be responsible within his tribal area for:

(1) The general good conduct of the Natives under his control;

(2) The immediate notification to the Assistant Commissioner of all crimes or offences or serious attempts at crimes, of all suspicious deaths and disappearances, of any epidemic or prevailing disease either among the members of the tribe or their stock, of any prevalent or threatening public unrest, of all rumours and matters affecting or calculated to disturb the public peace;

(3) The due publication of all such public orders directions or notices that may be notified to him;

(4) Preventing to the best of his ability the commission of any crime or offence by any Native within the limits of his local jurisdiction;

(5) Aiding and assisting by all means in his power in apprehending and securing offenders against the law;

(6) Assisting in collecting taxes when they become due;

(7) Siezure and detention of any cattle or livestock or other property of any description on information that such cattle livestock or other property has been stolen outside local limits of his jurisdiction and has been brought and is within such limits; and

(8) Monthly reports of description and number of all stray stock to the Assistant Commissioner with a view to advertisement in the local papers or otherwise as may seem fit to the Assistant Commissioner;

(9) Responsibility for and control of books of bewyses issued for stock or for young men leaving the Territory in search of work;

(10) Destruction of noxious weeds such as burrweed, mexican poppy and mexican marigold and any other weed declared from time to be noxious.

ATTENDANCE OF NATIVES.

9. (1) Any Chief may direct any Native within the local area of his jurisdiction to attend before him or before a Native Court or before any Government Official,

(2) Any Native who when so directed to attend before such person or Court, shall, without reasonable excuse, fail or neglect to attend as when directed may be arrested by or under the orders of such Chief and taken before such person or Court as aforesaid,

ORDERS BY CHIEFS.

(10) Subject to the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Territory, any Chief may from time to time issue orders to be obeyed by the Natives residing within the local limits of his jurisdiction as follows:—

(1) Any order which such Chief may issue by virtue of any law or custom in force for the time being in his area: Provided that such law or custom is not repugnant to morality or justice;

(2) Any order for any of the following purposes:

(a) prohibiting or restricting the carrying of arms;

(b) prohibiting any act or conduct which in the opinion of any such Chief might course a riot or a disturbance or a breach of the peace;

(c) regulating the cutting of timber and prohibiting the wasteful destruction of trees;

(d) preventing the evation of any tax or legal duty;

(e) perventing the spread of infectious disease, whether of human beings or animals, and for the care of the sick;

(f) requiring any Native subject to his jurisdiction to report the presenee within the local limits of his jurisdiction of any property stolen or believed to have been stolen outside such local limits;

(g) destruction of noxious weeds such as burrweed, mexican poppy and mexican marigold and any other weed declared from time to time to be noxious;

(h) for any other purpose which the Resident Commissioner may from time to time deem necessary to give orders upon.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF SUB-CHIEFS AND HEADMEN

11. Sub Chiefs and Headmen shall be responsible to the Chiefs and Sub Chiefs over them for

(a) the good conduct of the Natives placed under their charge,

(b) the prompt notification to such Chiefs or Sub-Chiefs of all occurrences specified in Section 8 of this Proclamation,

(c) the carrying out and furtherance of any lawful order given by a Chief or Sub Chief.

DUTIES OF NATIVES.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Justice in Native Courts

Proposed Proclamation

Star 6 Basutoland 1928

PART II.

WHEREAS it is desirable to define the relations and duties existing between the Basutoland Administration and the Basuto Chiefs and between the Basuto Chiefs and the people under their authority.

NOW THEREFORE under and by virtue of the powers in me invested I do hereby declare proclaim and make known as follows:—

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

1. In this Proclamation (a) Assistant Commissioner shall include Deputy Assistant Commissioner and Officer-in-Charge; (b) Chief Sub-Chief and Headman shall mean any Native Chief, Sub-Chief and Headman who is recognised as such by the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland;

(c) Tribal area shall mean the area occupied by any Natives placed under the control of a Chief or Sub-Chief;

(d) Native Court shall mean any court of Chief, Sub-Chief or Headman recognised as such by the Resident Commissioner.

SUPPRESSION OF DISORDER.

2. The Resident Commissioner may call upon any Chief or Chiefs to supply men for suppression of disorder and rebellion within the borders of Basutoland and may call upon such Chiefs personally to render such service; the order may be given through the Paramount Chief or to the Chief concerned through an Assistant Commissioner.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS.

3. Whenever an Assistant Commissioner shall consider that for the proper administration and good government of the area within which any Chief has jurisdiction, it is necessary or desirable that any order or orders should be issued for the purposes enumerated in Section 10, he may direct the Chief to issue and enforce (or may himself issue and enforce) such order or orders as aforesaid to the Assistant Commissioner may seem proper.

CANCELLATION OF ORDERS.

4 Whenever an Assistant Commissioner shall consider that any order issued by a Chief in terms of Section 10 should not have been issued or should not be enforced, he may direct the Chief to cancel the order or to refrain from enforcing the order, and if any person shall have been convicted before any Native Court of failing to comply with such order, the Court which has power of supervision over such Native Court may quash the conviction and order the repayment of any fine which may have been recovered.

PENALTY FOR NON-ATTENDANCE.

5 (a) An Assistant Commissioner may direct the attendance before himself or before any Government Official or before any Chief of any Native residing in the area to which he is appointed.

(b) Any Native who, when so directed to attend before any such person, shall without reasonable excuse fail or neglect to attend as and when directed, may be arrested and taken before such person as aforesaid.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF CHIEFS.

6. It shall be the duty of every Chief to maintain order in the area within which he has jurisdiction and for such purpose as he shall have and exercise the jurisdiction and powers hereinafter mentioned over the Natives residing or being within such area in addition to and jurisdiction and powers which he may otherwise enjoy by virtue of any law or Native custom for the time being in force.

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES.

7. A Chief may employ any person or persons subject to his jurisciction to assist him in carrying out his duties imposed upon him under this Proclamation or otherwise by law or Native custom and any person or persons so employed may carry out and give effect to any lawful order given by a Chief.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHIEFS

8. A Chief shall be responsible within his tribal area for:

(1) The general good conduct of the Natives under his control;

(2) The immediate notification to the Assistant Commissioner of all crimes or offences or serious attempts at crimes, of all suspicious deaths and disappearances, of any epidemic or prevailing disease either among the members of the tribe or their stock, of any prevalent or threatening public unrest, of all rumours and matters affecting or calculated to disturb the public peace;

(3) The due publication of all such public orders directions or notices that may be notified to him;

(4) Preventing to the best of his ability the commission of any crime or offence by any Native within the limits of his local jurisdiction;

(5) Aiding and assisting by all means in his power in apprehending and securing offenders against the law;

(6) Assisting in collecting taxes when they become due;

(7) Siezure and detention of any cattle or livestock or other property of any description on information that such cattle livestock or other property has been stolen outside local limits of his jurisdiction and has been brought and is within such limits; and

(8) Monthly reports of description and number of all stray stock to the Assistant Commissioner with a view to advertisement in the local papers or otherwise as may seem fit to the Assistant Commissioner;

(9) Responsibility for and control of books of bewyses issued for stock or for young men leaving the Territory in search of work;

(10) Destruction of noxious weeds such as burrweed, mexican poppy and mexican marigold and any other weed declared from time to be noxious.

ATTENDANCE OF NATIVES.

9. (1) Any Chief may direct any Native within the local area of his jurisdiction to attend before him or before a Native Court or before any Government Official,

(2) Any Native who when so directed to attend before such person or Court, shall, without reasonable excuse, fail or neglect to attend as when directed may be arrested by or under the orders of such Chief and taken before such person or Court as aforesaid,

ORDERS BY CHIEFS.

(10) Subject to the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Territory, any Chief may from time to time issue orders to be obeyed by the Natives residing within the local limits of his jurisdiction as follows:—

(1) Any order which such Chief may issue by virtue of any law or custom in force for the time being in his area: Provided that such law or custom is not repugnant to morality or justice;

(2) Any order for any of the following purposes:

(a) prohibiting or restricting the carrying of arms;

(b) prohibiting any act or conduct which in the opinion of any such Chief might course a riot or a disturbance or a breach of the peace;

(c) regulating the cutting of timber and prohibiting the wasteful destruction of trees;

(d) preventing the evation of any tax or legal duty;

(e) perventing the spread of infectious disease, whether of human beings or animals, and for the care of the sick;

(f) requiring any Native subject to his jurisdiction to report the presenee within the local limits of his jurisdiction of any property stolen or believed to have been stolen outside such local limits;

(g) destruction of noxious weeds such as burrweed, mexican poppy and mexican marigold and any other weed declared from time to time to be noxious;

(h) for any other purpose which the Resident Commissioner may from time to time deem necessary to give orders upon.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF SUB-CHIEFS AND HEADMEN

11. Sub Chiefs and Headmen shall be responsible to the Chiefs and Sub Chiefs over them for

(a) the good conduct of the Natives placed under their charge,

(b) the prompt notification to such Chiefs or Sub-Chiefs of of all occurrences specified in Section 8 of this Proclamation,

(c) the carrying out and furtherance of any lawful order given by a Chief or Sub Chief.

DUTIES OF NATIVES.

12. (1) All Natives shall carry out orders given by Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs and Headmen in the exercise of their functions under this Proclamation, and shall when required to do so, act as messengers in the promulgating of public orders and Government regulations and in the notification of deaths and diseases and shall actively co-operate in any measures taken for the destruction of locusts, eradication of noxious weeds, prevention of grass fires, repression of cattle and other diseases and in similar matters of public urgency.

(2) In addition to carrying out the duties specifically prescribed by this Proclamation, all Natives shall promptly obey and comply with any lawful or reasonable order or direction of any Headman, Sub-Chief, Chief or Assistant Commissioner In determining whether or not such order or direction is lawful or reasonable regard shall be had as to whether or not it is in confirmity with Native law or custom, consistent with natural justice and morality and calculated to promote good government among Natives or their general advancement or welfare.

PENALTY FOR DISOBEDIENCE

(3) Any Native who shall, without lawful excuse, disobey or fail to comply with any lawful order issued under this Proclamation shall be guilty of an offence and shall on conviction by a Court of an Assistant Commissioner or of the Native Court having jurisdiction over such Native be liable to a fine not exceeding £10 and in default if tried in the Assistant Commissioner's Court to imprisonment with or without hard labour for three months.

(4) Any Native who shall turn the door of his hut against his Chief shall be guilty of an offence and shall on conviction by the Native Court having jurisdiction over such Native be liable to a fine not exceeding £20 and the Court trying the case may order the offender, if considered expedient, to remove to such place as may be determined by the Court, subject to the confirmation of the Assistant Commissioner of the District to which the offender is to be removed and in other cases subject to the confirmation of the Resident Commissioner.

PENALTY FOR OFFENCES COMMITTED BY CHIEFS, SUB-CHIEFS AND HEADMEN.

13 Any Chief, Sub Chief or Headman who shall be convicted before the Court of the Resident Commisioner, a Court of an Asssitant Commissioner or Native Court having jurisdiction over such Chief Sub-Chief or Headman of any of the following acts or neglects, that is to say,

(a) If when directed by the Resident Commissioner or an Assitant Commissioner to meet or to send his representative to meet any Government official he shall, without good and sufficient excuse, neglect to obey such direction,

Race Problem - 1928

Agrees.

LECTURE BY PROFESSOR JABAVU.

Jerusalem Conference and Segregation.

At the meeting of the King William's Town Native Welfare Society held in St. Andrew's Hall on Friday evening Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., of the Fort Hare Native College, delivered a most interesting lecture on "Segregation, with reference to the Jerusalem Conference." Some 60 Europeans and Natives were present, with Mr. A. S. Weir in the chair. Mr. Jabavu attended the World Missionary Conference at Jerusalem as representing the Native peoples of South Africa up to Uganda.

At the outset Mr. Jabavu spoke of the tremendous possibilities which lay in Native Welfare Societies for the Natives. People thought that because they lived amongst Natives they knew everything there was to know about them and their problems. He had to confess however that he did not know everything about the conditions of his own people, and there was great need to read about themselves and find out what other people had to say. He strongly recommended the reading of literature that was apposite and in this connection mentioned works by Professor Raymond Buell, Basil Matthews, and L. Marquard.

The lecturer went on to describe his journey to Jerusalem. He travelled via England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Venice, Trieste and the Mediterranean to Alexandria, Cairo, Port Said, Kantara, and across the Suez Canal to Palestine, the account of his troubles over language and currency causing much amusement. He also detailed the historic places he had visited in the Holy Land, one result of his experiences being that the Bible had been made a new book to him.

Race Relationships.

The personnel of the conference, Mr. Jabavu said, was very striking, representing all the great missionary organisations of the whole world and 51 languages were spoken. The findings of the conference had been published. He quoted resolutions on the subject of race relationships. The subject of contiguous races and subject races was dealt with, and discrimination of colour and race was discountenanced. He submitted as the criterion of race relationships the social and economic standards of a given community as a whole, and the aim, self-government, ultimate principles of respect for personality; exercising a sense of proportion and the maintenance of the ideals of civilisation.

Answering the question, "How is South Africa continuing the Jerusalem idea?" Mr. Jabavu mentioned visits paid to Fort Hare and Lovedale by members of the National Union of South African Students and the Students' Christian Association, when students of both races had opportunities of meeting each other. He also mentioned various joint conferences held of recent years, and said that in consequence the feeling about the future was more optimistic. Exclusiveness was due to ignorance.

Professor Jabavu spoke of the large number of tourists now coming to South Africa, and said that last year a record number of Americans visited Fort Hare. He went on to quote Professor Raymond Buell as saying that South Africa is not destined to lead in African policy, but that the lead would come from Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Congo and France, for the reason that South Africa is confused beyond salvation by land vested interests, and multiplicity of policies all entrenched in historical tradition. Professor Buell outlined four existing African policies, viz.: Nigeria, which has only the blacks to consider because the climate is unsuitable for Europeans. Tanganyika (mandated territory), which acknowledges priority and native interests (as also do Egypt and Palestine). South Africa and Kenya, where Europeans assume the inferiority of the blacks; claim to develop the natural resources for the benefit of all mankind; assume that the highest destiny of the inferior race is to supply manual labour; and demand that Native interests shall be subordinated to those of the Europeans. French territories, where full citizenship is granted Natives, with military training as the paramount consideration.

The lecturer proceeded to examine how far Professor Buell's analysis was true of South Africa, and contended that it was true only for the North—not for the Cape. Professor Buell said there had been 200 years of drill.

"Hertzogian Segregation."

Coming to the Prime Minister's segregation scheme, Mr. Jabavu said he named it Hertzogian because it was original and unlike any other. Historical segregation belongs to territorial boundaries of nationality settled and crystallised by prehistoric conquests. Ordinare segregation was never dictated by internal legislation but was always the spontaneous result of mutually accepted convention as in intermarriage, race fusion and social intermingling, protected and bolstered by will power and national pride in race integrity; hence the existing international groups in religion, education, agriculture, art, music, all cutting athwart the frontiers of political states. Gen. Hertzog seeks the power of the legislature to hinder the natural progress of one section of the population in their legitimate development, i.e., those who have risen by their efforts of self-sacrifice, character, education and achievement to the top of success, are to be automatically suppressed, e.g., education. The Premier's type of segregation is based on the brute power of conquest and arms, and aims at maintaining European domination by brute force, probably the Defence Force. Here it has a tremendous advantage, because the Europeans have everything on their side in the way of military science, capital, brains, and stable administration. It may thus seem as if the European has every right to do as he pleases: conquer and plunder—Vae Victis! Hence the obvious corollary of the "civilised labour" and colour bar policy that uplifts the "poor whites" by repressing the blacks on the plea of self-preservation, with its concomitants of the pass laws, curfew bells and Lands Acts and Native disfranchisement. Against this we have

The Cape Policy,

of which King William's Town is the centre and origin. I was born under it in King William's Town. I lived and grew up under it. I love and adore it because it made my respected father what he was. With all due respect to the Prime Minister I do not believe that it was a premature and mistaken policy. It has justified itself by its results and made us the happiest group of natives in the Union. And I trust this Society will as a group work to uphold it against all its new enemies who are bent upon abolishing our privileges one by one on the ground that we are too well treated as compared with others elsewhere.

I believe in the Cape policy, continued Mr. Jabavu, because (1) It never needed pass laws and Land Acts. (2) It never adopted intermarriage nor intermixture in religion, education, agriculture and art, but left these to the natural judgment of its wise citizens on both sides of the colour line. (3) It circumvented all this by its spirit of giving a square deal (justice). (4) It assumed that Europeans need not fear black competition because they are well able to take care of themselves, being 2,000 years ahead. (5) It adopted the Native in the firm of the British Constitution as a junior partner with equal rights. (6) It took the long view and gave the Native at once and in accordance with his stage of development whatever he would ultimately aspire to at the end of his history. (7) It pursued the course of reasonableness at all times and taught us Booker T. Washington's principle that we may be as separate as the fingers in matters social, but as strong as the hand in national solidarity; thus inculcating the fact that we are not a separate nation within a nation—a imperium in imperio—but an integral part of the single state of South Africa. (8) It ensured that whensoever the development of the Native should see, even at its extreme moment of mental aberration, to force any racial issue, it should be countered in advance by the existence of undiluted justice. (9) It eliminated racial snobbery such as we find in the northern provinces. (10) It recognised that colour or race prejudice was due to mutual ignorance. (11) It realised that fear, fear of Native advance could be entertained only by one inwardly conscious of his own inferiority in open competition. (12) In a word, the Cape policy opened wide the door to all civilised men and originated the famous dictum of Cecil Rhodes of equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi. Thus it gives us the nearest approximation to the Christian principles enunciated in the findings of the Jerusalem Conference.

A Vital Necessity.

Therefore, this Native Welfare Society, which is a type of many others now existing in the Union represents a vital necessity to those who think imperially and who love South Africa and desire its best interests for future generations. It should take the lead by showing that the true salvation of the Native lies in the full working of the British Constitution and all the implications of what used to be known as British justice, which afforded all men the opportunity of full self-development and the acquisition of a just share in political influence.

Every citizen of King William's Town, proud of the traditions of his home town of Kaffraria, ought to regard this Society, not as an optional matter that can be left to the care of a few enthusiasts, but as something precious, by means of which he can be in a position to make his individual contribution to insure that the future of South Africa, so far as he is concerned, shall have its foundations of national policy well and truly laid. (Applause.)

The Menace of Islam.

Questions being invited, Mr. H. Britten asked if when at Jerusalem Mr. Jabavu heard anything about the Mohammedan menace in South Africa.

Mr. Jabavu said their attention was never drawn to that matter—only to its menace to Christianity generally. He believed that Mahommedanism worked underground and very quietly and would give them a surprise as to its extent.

Mr. Britten mentioned that Prof. Brookes said that the Natal Native was the best off in South Africa.

To this Mr. Jabavu's reply was: "Where ignorance is bliss 'twere folly to be wise." (Laughter.)

In reply to the Rev. M. H. Wilson, Mr. Jabavu said his impression was that the conference fulfilled a tremendous need and represented possibilities that few of them could gauge. It had tremendous possibilities for good for Christian organisations.

Mr. Britten raised the question of the lauguage difficulty at the conference, Mr. Jabavu replying that English was the official medium. Speeches in other languages were interpreted into English.

Proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, the Rev. T. Aitken mentioned that he received last Wednesday a letter from his son in Palestine to which country he had travelled over the route described by Professor Jabavu. His son hoped to come to South Africa to give himself to doing what he could in helping to solve the Native or other problems. Mr. Aitken also mentioned the appeal made in England by King Atta, of West Africa, that his people should be saved from the drink evil, and in conclusion expressed the hope that greater interest would be taken in the work of the Native Welfare Society.

Mr. R. Haya seconded the vote, which was carried with acclamation and conveyed by the Chairman.

Race Problem – 1928

Africa.

KENYA AGRICULTURE IN 1927.

The Problem of Agricultural Research.

THE recently published annual report for the year 1927 of the Department of Agriculture of Kenya Colony (Government Press, Nairobi) gives the area possible for European occupation as some 7,000,000 acres, of which 4,737,920 acres are now alienated, an increase of 150,103 acres over 1926. The number of occupiers is given as 1,901, an increase of 92 over the previous year; and the total area cultivated was 512,543 acres, an average of 269 acres per occupier, against 256 for 1926. The average development by each European occupier was 1,338 acres—which shows the extensive character of farming operations in the Colony. 11-29-28

The areas under coffee, sisal, wheat, sugar cane, and barley are increasing. The total area under European crops was 438,035 acres, and the following table gives the percentages of increase and decrease of the various crops:—

Crop	1927 Acres	1926 Acres	Increase %	Decrease %
Maize	192,592	193,187	—	0·3
Wheat	65,036	43,765	48·4	
Barley	4,093	2,644	54·8	
Coffee	74,662	68,950	8·14	
Sisal	71,213	60,197	18·30	
Tea	3,156	1,689	86·09	
Coconuts	8,113	8,766	—	7·4
Sugar cane	6,811	6,747	1·00	
Miscellaneous	17,194	18,525	—	7·2
Total acreage of crops grown	442,770	404,470	9·5	
Less catch crops	4,735	3,427	38·1	
Net area under crops	438,035	401,043	9·2	

Maize and Wheat.

Maize.—The acreage planted yielded a total of 1,314,643 bags, or an average of 7.39 bags of 200 lb. per acre, which was better than that of any other year except 1924, when the average was 7.68 bags per acre. During the year steps were taken to establish a plant breeding station from which selection work and maize breeding could be more largely and expeditiously carried out. Selection work with Mr. Simpson's Ol' Bonaita white maize was continued at the Scott Agricultural Laboratories, but the type cannot yet be said to be fixed, although on the average as a cropper it is on the high side. The Report remarks:—

"It is seen that the claims of crops other than maize are being given practical consideration by farmers. It would assist were variety plots of numerous different arable crops laid down at a large number of centres, in order that more specific advice could be given on the subject of alternate crops and green manures for the different districts. The fact that the Department has no District Agricultural Officers in the European areas has largely prevented the prosecution of such fundamental trial work. Farmers themselves have from time to time tested large numbers of different crops, but not in such a way that comparisons are possible and their experiences are not collated."

Wheat.—The area under cultivation yielded a total of 120,569 bags of 200 lb., or an average of 2.58 bags per acre, though where wheats of suitable varieties were grown on properly prepared land yields of 5 to 10 bags per acre were obtained. The Department advises farmers to go carefully with wheat, and preferably under advice from the Department; but it states that there is a much greater feeling of security with the wheat crop to-day than ever before. It continues:—

"The application of a phosphatic manure is likely to improve the yield of wheat in almost all cases, also any slight acidity in the soil is much more detrimental to wheat than it is to maize. The application of one ton of ground limestone to acid soils or soils deficient in lime has a beneficial effect which lasts over a period of years. Where farmers are uncertain, it is cheap and easy for them to experiment with phosphates and lime on a small area, when they may find results which subsequently may turn to advantage on a much larger scale."

On the other hand, Mr. G. J. L. Burton, the Plant Breeder, at the meeting of the First Wheat Conference, held in August, 1928, warned farmers that continued use of phosphates, though increasing yields, would the more readily exhaust other plant foods in the soil.

Nine wheat mills were in operation during the year, and they dealt with 67,602 bags of wheat, which produced 19,083 bags of fine flour and 31,511 bags "atta" flour. The wastage was 17,008 bags, or 25.1% of the total milled.

Coffee.

Coffee.—In spite of a dry season, the 749 coffee planters, with 53,800 acres actually in bearing (8,000 acres more than in 1926), exported 209,843 cwt. of coffee (70,000 cwt. more than in the previous year), to a value of £1,140,549 (£727,453 in 1926), or 42% of the Colony's total agricultural exports. Yet the Coffee Officer declares that the crop produced is only two-thirds of what it should be. In a measure he attributes this to drought and disease, but he admits that manuring to preserve soil fertility and improved methods of cultivation deserve closer attention.

"The cultivation of coffee in Kenya," he writes, "has been largely undertaken in so haphazard and discontinuous a manner that it is impossible to lay down with exactitude the most suitable cultural methods for any given district. Various methods of cultivating coffee are advocated by different people, but without considering existing conditions some of these methods may lead to disaster. Excellent results have been noticed from subsoiling, but as to how often this work should be carried out can only be decided after careful observations on soils of various texture and under different climatic conditions."

Of his own work he says:—

"Fifty per cent. of my visits to plantations were made mainly in connection with observations on experimental work or trials which are being carried out. Owing to the fact that there was no one to carry on my work during my absence from the Colony, some of the trials have been abandoned, besides which some coffee planters who undertook to carry out co-operative experiments have abandoned them, as for many reasons I found it impossible to keep in close touch with all these trials, and the planter either loses interest or finds he must abandon the work as he does not know how to carry on without further advice; in other cases, the trials are abandoned as they interfere with the general routine work on the plantation and the planter may not be sufficiently interested after they have been going for some time to be bothered with them."

The Report adds:—

"It would be ultimately of the greatest benefit to the industry were an experiment station established at which the details of plantation treatment and management, together with factory methods, could be exhaustively studied. At the same time the breeding of coffee for yield could be regularly undertaken there. When it is considered that the industry has not yet evolved a definite system of management and will not do so until specific and accurate data and information are secured from trials it would be wise to have this aspect fully studied so that at a much earlier date the country would be proceeding with its coffee work on systematic lines."

Other Crops.

Sisal.—The output of sisal was much increased, but owing to the fall in prices the value of fibre exported was only £468,974, as against £579,499 in 1926. "The people interested in this industry are as heretofore energetically pursuing investigations into methods and systems with a view to lowering working costs and increasing acre outturn."

Sugar Cane.—The area was not increased, but the production rose, and 25,320 cwt. were exported. Mosaic disease was found to be more widely spread than was at first thought.

Barley.—Interest in barley is increasing, and farmers are advised to "try a small acreage each year until they understand the culture." It is expected that barley will become one of the main crops, especially as mixed farming advances.

Coconuts.—The time is not far distant when most if not all of the Colony's production of copra will be absorbed locally.

Miscellaneous Crops.—These include lucerne, tobacco, pineapples, English apples, plums, nuts, limes, potatoes, buckwheat, groundnuts, and many feeding and hay crops. Says the Report:

"At various points in the Colony one finds enthusiasts who do try these crops, and whilst the immediate reward may be meagre, it is on their experience and their efforts that probably important and valuable lines of agricultural work will arise, to be followed no doubt by the establishment of local agricultural industries. It is unfortunate that the sort of record which should be kept of the efforts made oftentimes is not kept, and in this connection the Department could help."

Research.

The total cost of the Department was £117,681, of which £45,005 was spent by the agricultural side and £71,778 by the veterinary section, which, contrary to usual Colonial practice, is under the Director of Agriculture. It is interesting to note that what may be called agricultural research work was

confined to the Scott Laboratories, which absorbed £7,763, and the Plant Breeding Services, which took £2,665—a total of £10,428—while £29,888 was devoted to the veterinary research division, in addition to £6,516 for Rinderpest Services—a total of £36,404. The report of the veterinary division occupies 178 pages of the 309 pages comprised in the Report, and gives very full accounts of important investigations into diseases of stock, both large and small, which should prove of great value to farmers and ranchers. Especially good work was done on the Laikipia lung disease of sheep. Details are not shirked; technique is set out thoroughly; and those interested can follow the discussions and understand the results. That is real research work.

From certain indications it would seem that the Director does not see altogether eye to eye with his research officers. The first paragraph of the Report says:—

"It is becoming increasingly important that men of good calibre be appointed, who will have the will to envisage the work over a country of such varying conditions, and to realise that their work is not that of the ordinary set task but that it calls for the exercise of more than ordinary consideration and apprehension."

And a little later:—

"It would, however, be wiser were scientific officers required to make experimental and research work at their laboratories their main function, using the travelling laboratories where an occurrence has to be worked out *in situ*. It is unwise wholly to use scientific officers for the giving of advice to farmers in the field; the District Agricultural or Veterinary Officer in most cases should be the general peripatetic advisory officer. The tendency there is of having a large number of specialists, particularly research workers, advising farmers generally and directly should be checked; it leads to loss of working time, lack of concentration on specific problems, and in some cases ultimately to a distaste for real research work on the part of the officer."

On the other hand, the Plant Breeder's view is:—

"This work of inspection would not appear at first sight to lie within the province of a plant breeder, but it is of great value to him in his work and enables him to advise farmers on all matters relating to wheat. This advisory work also does not normally come within the sphere of plant breeding, but in this Colony circumstances are such that the plant breeder is the officer in the best position to advise and the work has been put upon him."

Elsewhere the same officer complains that, contrary to his advice as the officer responsible for doing the work, the rust experimental stations are 120 miles apart, so that it will be impossible for him to become fully cognisant of the characters of the wheats under trial; and he considers it unfortunate that his report on the wheat trials could not, as last year, be made to coincide with the wheat year (January to January), so that his report might be made more conclusive.

The Inspector of Plantations, who acted as Mycologist during more than half the year, has also a word to say:—

"It is my ouinion that . . . the scientific officer will have to be relieved of what might be called 'police duties.' . . There seems to me to be no reason why a highly-trained scientific officer should be so employed. Such duties could be equally well performed by a less specialised individual, and, in the interests of economy, much money could be saved."

Of research into manurial problems it is possible to find only two records in the Report—one on maize at the Scott Laboratories, of which it is stated that "A long time must elapse before any significant result is to be expected from these trials," and the other at Kasarini, Kyambu, also presumably on maize, though the crop is not specified, in which "the whole of the crop removed from these plots this year was, unfortunately, not weighed, so that no reliable yield results will be available for this year."

Native Agriculture.

As for Native agriculture, the main functions of the officers of the Department have been advisory to administrative officers and instruction in the agricultural schools at the Scott Laboratories and at Bukura. It has been possible owing to larger staff being available to import more direct instruction in the Reserves, both by means of Native instructors, demonstration plots and *barazas* addressed by officers.

A serious hindrance to helping the Natives was their suspicion. In the matter of seed distribution, "considerable suspicion is shown by the Wakikuyu of any kind of seed issue, and they are disinclined to accept such issues except under persuasion." Elsewhere it is recorded that:—

"Suspicion appears to be one of our greatest hindrances to the work. They (the Natives) rarely accept our intentions as clean and free from ulterior motives. They fear their land being taken from them, and it has often been evident that our *shamba*-to-*shamba* visits have been looked upon as land-prospecting. It was even found, in making an issue of maize, that the Natives hesitated to take it, in case of being fined in some way later on. Such a condition has delayed progress considerably, and the whole scheme of reserve agricultural assistance will be slow and not too encouraging at times."

Race Problem - 1938

Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN NON-EUROPEAN ATHLETIC UNION.

In December 1927 a programme for Olympic Games in Alexandria, Egypt, was circulated and passed on to the Bloemfontein Non European Football Association. This programme gives detailed events of the first African Games organized by Egyptian Olympic Committee and the games to be held in Alexandria in April 1929. The games are under the patronage of His Majesty King Fuad 1st of Egypt and the International Olympic Committee. The president is described to be H. H. Prince Omar Toussoun and Mr A. C. Bolanachi is the General Commissioner of the African Games, and presumably is the organizer.

The general rules state that African Games incorporate athletes of all African nations on equal footing. The number of entries are:— Three competitors per nation with no substitute for individual events; for team events, one per nation with eleven substitutes for Football; two substitutes for Relay Races, and and three substitutes for Water Polo. The official programme discribes these African Games to include Athletic Sports in Cycling; Gymnic Sports; Weights and Dumbbells; Exhibition in Gymnastic; Fencing; Greco Roman Wrestling and Boxing; Rowing and Swimming; Lawn Tennis and Football. Accompanying the printed programme is a circular stating that only amateur athletes born in Africa may compete in the 1st African Games; that Navigation Companies and Egyptian State Railways will on application, make reduction of tariff to athletes and officials taking part in the games and that special terms will also be accorded to officials and athletes by Hotel Syndicates of Alexandria.

When this invitation arrived a certain amount of interest not without curiousity was at once aroused amongst the Non-European sporting section of the community. The Non European Bloemfontein Football Association sounded the other Provinces in the matter and the result has been a Conference of various sporting delegates from Durban, Capetown, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein to consider the advisability or otherwise of being interested in the projected Olympic Games in Egypt and this Conference was held on the first and second of September 1928 in Bloemfontein and was warmly welcomed by Mr J. R. Cooper, Superintendent of Location in the Community Hall. The first point of consideration in this Conference was the need for authentic information about the organisers of these games in Alexandria as to whether they were an officially recognized body or whether it was merely a private concern and how far Non-Europeans in South Africa could place reliance upon such scanty information, and that this point was left in abeyance for further inquiry.

This invitation to take part in Olympic Games in Egypt, however, has given such impetus that the Conference felt it was time sports generally were organised in South Africa and that occasionally Olympic games be conducted on international basis. The Conference therefore resolved: as a first step towards that direction:—

"That a South African Non-European Athletic Union be formed."

A provisional Committee was appointed consisting of Messrs: T. M. Mapikela, R W Msimang, L Mtimkulu, A R Ntuli, J B Pusho, S G Senaoane and T G Lowe.

That this Committee shall draw a Constitution and that the first meeting of the Union to be held in Durban on the 16th of December this year and that one of the first duties of this Athletic Union shall be to organize and arrange for Olympic Games in South Africa at an early date where all sporting associations will be invited to attend. All sporting organizations are asked to communicate with the Joint Secretaries: Mr T G Lowe Box 660, Bloemfontein and Mr Sol G Senaoane, Box 4767, Johannesburg.

Elimination of Scrub Stock.

[By Hard Hit]

Sir, In the leading article of your issue of 21 August 1928 appeared the above subject in which we are informed that "the Native Affairs Department has started with a proclamation in Transkeian Territories that makes it an offence to allow a bull, stallion or ram that is not registered as of pedigree stock to run on a pasturage. In parts of the Cis-Kei the officials of the Department have notified the headmen and chiefs of the intention of the government in this regard but so far as we are aware, the Natives have not yet made up their minds on the project." We are grateful for this information and hope to be given sufficient time for consideration as you advise the government to adopt the policy of festina lente or not to hurry.

Subsequently, my object in quoting you, Mr. Editor, is not to answer your statements but to voice my opinion on the subject, and to point out where I agree or disagree with you, as the case may be; and hope to be pardoned in so doing.

You state, inter alia that this restriction will be met by the introduction of a measure that will enable a Native farmer to pay his way by investing in a small number of pedigree animals worth more money than in a big herd of very low value but tremendous devastating capacity without reserve, I may not agree with you in this respect, as I am not in favour of elimination of scrub stock, still holding the old mandate "Ungalahli imbo yako ngopoyiyana" or "what is doubtful to accept with caution." But I agree when you state "it is the technical man who is in a position to answer the many (awkward?) questions that are being asked by stubborn—(amagogotya) members of our race on this far reaching change, some of which are: Have the pedigree rams the same capacity to multiply as our old rams? Can they survive on the grazing we at present have? Can they withstand the droughts so common in these parts as well as our stock? But I do not see the necessity of going further and put the fourth question which I omit, because it has been a ready answered by the Bunga agricultural farms in the Transkei.

The english word "agriculture" has no equivalent in our language, because it means both stock raising and crop raising, but the Xosa word "ulimo" does not include stock raising as testifies the saying inyama ayilinywa.

In the first place let us consider the imported seeds and the amount of trouble or toil incurred in growing them, By preferring the Bangela to the imported mealie seeds the natives are beginning to realise their mistake. I cannot speak too highly than it has already been said concerning the Bangela mealie and the Bomvanaland Bont mealie seeds in withstanding drought, the caterpillar and decay in acorn pits; and grow well on unfertilised lands. With regard to price of produce sold to Natives the traders charge the same for any kind of grain mealies, beans or cattle. On attending stock sales, in the Cis-Kei, we find that any breed is inferior as long as it belongs to a Native and it is a bit of my experience that pedigree cattle on a poor veld or in Native locations are inferior to Native cattle in size and condition. Sometimes in order to realise better prices for their stock in the sales Native farmers have to entrust white farmers with the ownership of their cattle To prove the value of Native cattle to Natives, who are chief buyers, one may attend stock sales at Umtata where Native cattle fetch higher prices than European cattle; but in all the Transkeian Terrritories there are no finer spans of bullocks and herds than in Pondoland.

In exchange two tollies or young oxen are often obtained from European farmers in the Cis-kei for one full grown ox regardless of breed. With regard to agricultural shows we have had information that the Native stock exhibited and fetching prizes were either artificially fed or raised on European farms through hire of grazing rights. The initial step to improved stock raising in Native locations is fencing of private lands no matter how small, as no pedigree animals can survive without artificial feeding, then the small patches of grounds within the enclosure may be

cultivated at any time of the year. But it will not be an easy task in these hard times of drought to keep a span of six or eight pedigree oxen, and three or four pedigree cows on artificial feeding, especially as they have tremendous devastating capacity.

If Native bulls are not allowed to run on a pasturage it will mean another annual tax of one pound or more for the services of a pedigree bull on each cow as in towns and town locations, and the death rate among infants will be higher than it is as the health of a weaned child depends on milk regardless of quantity.

SEXUAL MORALITY AMONG NATIVE RACES.

A consideration of sexual morality among primitive peoples, especially those in Africa in the light of the Christian ethic was the subject of a conference, which closed on Tuesday, at High Leigh, Hoddesdon. Those present represented science, the missionary societies, the administrators, and the gathering was convened by the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries and the British Social Hygiene Council.

A remarkable support for the Christian standards of sexual relations was received from the scientists present. Important resolutions regarding further consideration of these matters by all three sections of the gathering were passed.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the former Governor of the Gold Coast, and now Governor of British Guiana, acted as chairman. Those present included such authorities as Dr. Malinowski, Professor of Anthropology, and Dr. D. M. S. Watson, Professor of Zoology, both of the University of London; Dr. Douglas White; Dr. J. A. Hadfield; Prof. Heath, of Swansea; Major Hanns Vischer, secretary of the African Education Committee of the Colonial Office; Mr. S. A. Hammond, Director of Education in Jamaica (late of Nigeria); Mrs. Donald Fraser, of Nyasaland; Rev. H. D. and Mrs. Hooper, of Kenya; Rev. W. H. Murray Walton, of the C.M.S., Japan; Canon Spanton, of the Universities Mission to Central Africa; Rev. Alex. G. Fraser and Rev. Kingley Williams, Principal and Vice-Principal of Prince of Wales's College, Achimota, Gold Coast; Miss Higson, of the Josephine Butler Homes, Liverpool; Miss Shepard, who is shortly going out to investigate the tolerated areas in Calcutta; Mrs. Neville-Rolfe, Secretary of the British Social Hygiene Council; and Rev. William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Great Judge.

West Africa will join with Great Britain in mourning for the death of Lord Haldane. In the minds of his countrymen, Lord Haldane's services, as War Minister, have thrown his legal career, culminating in two terms of office as Lord Chancellor, into comparative obscurity. To West Africans his tenure of the War Ministry was merely an episode in his legal career; he will be remembered by them as a learned, impartial and painstaking judge. As President of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it fell to him to pronounce the judgment of the committee in several important appeals from judgments of West African Courts. In some of these judgments principles of far-reaching influence were established. Among the most important were the Lagos Foreshore case, the Oluwa land case, and the recent "Eleko" appeal, all deeply affecting the property or liberty of the West African peoples. These were from Nigerian courts; among appeals from the Gold Coast one of the most important was in the case of ex-Omanhene Ofori Kuma and others v. Omanhene Yao Buafo IV. In all these judgments his Lordship showed a complete grasp of the facts, which he marshalled in a masterly concatenation leading up to the conclusion at which the committee had arrived. In reading the reports of these cases I am constantly impressed by the tenacity of his Lordship's references to other West African appeals which had been brought before the committee, sometimes after an interval of several years. In a Gold Coast case mentioned he made a serious analysis of the position of a Chief under native law, and drew the conclusion that "the government is not an autocracy, but to some extent a constitution." In the land case two most important principles were enunciated. First, that the local legislature could not deprive a British subject of his right of appeal to the King by enacting that the decision of the Supreme Court of the Colony must be considered final; and second, that owners of land taken for public purposes must be adequately compensated. Both these pronouncements have already borne good fruit.

A Pillar of Strength.

His Lordship was a shining exemplar of that impartial administration of justice which is the proud tradition of the British judiciary, a tradition which has descended to the occupants of the West African Benches. The confidence of the people of British West Africa that their plaints will be patiently heard, the evidence carefully sifted, and the judgment arrived at without partiality or favour, is one of the pillars of British strength, binding the peoples to their rulers with a loyalty which the mere display of power could never evoke or retain. The trust founded by the even-handed justice of the pioneers—Maclean and Glover—has been maintained by a line of worthy successors, Marshall, Chalmers, Macleod, Nicholl, Logan and others, who have been judges since the British courts began to function. Over and above the faith in the local courts is the knowledge that they can "appeal to Cæsar" through the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the highest court of the Empire, the keystone which binds together the arch of Imperial law and justice. It is his emphatic assertion of the inviolability of the right of all British subjects to appeal to the King, the fountain of justice, which will longest preserve Lord Haldane's memory among West Africans.

The Drink Question.

The question of the effect of the consumption of alcoholic liquors upon the African races is of such overwhelming importance that all friends of those races must be interested in the proceedings of the International Congress Against Alcoholism, held at Antwerp last week. The representatives of thirty-two Governments joined in the welcome of the 400 delegates by the Belgian Government. Though the British Government was not officially represented there were a number of British delegates, including Sir Arthur Newsholme, K.C.B., who read the opening paper dealing with modern administrative and legislative action in relation to alcoholic beverages. One of the most animated discussions arose on the question of "Personal Liberty in Relation to the Consumption of Alcohol," which revealed a weakening of opposition to the enforcement of prohibition by the State during the last thirty years. While there had been strong opposition, on the ground of its interference with personal liberty, at the Conference of 1890, this argument now found few supporters. The most ardent advocates of the right of the State to restrict individual liberty in this matter were priests of the Roman Catholic Church. A Moslem doctor from Egypt quoted, with great effect, the Prophet's injunction:—"To do what is lawful is not to do what is harmful to ourselves or others. Intoxicating drinks are harmful both to a man and to his neighbours; therefore, let your people stop drinking them." Another exemplar of the trend of opinion was the general appreciation of the importance of America's action in enforcing prohibition, shown in the discussion on an address by Dr. Doran, the Chief Prohibition Commissioner at Washington (U.S.A.), who said that in his considered opinion the effect of prohibition had been most salutary. As a "Social Student," who contributed a report of the Congress to last Sunday's "Observer," remarks, its most important feature was the "significant indication that Governments throughout the world are modifying their Gallio-like attitude to the question, and recognising with differing degrees of intelligence that alcohol is not the least important factor in the social evils with which their respective countries have to deal." We can only trust that this modification of view may soon be extended to the liquor traffic in Africa.

W. F. H.

NIGERIAN AGRICULTURE IN 1927.

So much information regarding the progress of agriculture in Nigeria is now available in the occasional "Bulletins" of the Agricultural Department that there is little left for Dr. O. T. Faulkner, the Director, to describe in his report for 1927. The internal re-organisation of the department, completed in 1926, has proved satisfactory, and promises greater continuity of policy than hitherto possible, but during the year the staff suffered two serious losses, that of Mr. Browne, a Superintendent with six years' service in Nigeria, apart from other tropical experience, by death through a motor accident, and that of Mr. Barnes, chemist, by transfer to Zanzibar, a change which has hampered the development of the cooker-press system of palm-oil extraction just as it was passing from the experimental to the extension stage. Six recruits were received during the year, five superintendents and a chemist, trained under the Colonial Agricultural Scholarship scheme, and the quality of their work created a favourable preliminary impression of the scheme, although Dr. Faulkner trusted that it would still be possible to recruit some part of the staff from other sources. Nothing is said of the African staff, but the new Agricultural School building was opened during the year and the school had been thoroughly re-organised. There were over 200 applications for 15 scholarships, and the general result, judging from 10 old boys who have been given employment in the Department, is likely to be successful.

A joint British West African Agricultural Conference was held, with extremely educative results, early in the year, as may be seen from the official account of which some months ago.

Definite, if not great, progress had been made in the improvement of palms and palm-oil. The use of presses for extraction, as has been mentioned already, is getting beyond the experimental stage, and one Chief at Azumini has used the complete cooker-press system successfully, although the Department does not yet recommend it for general use. Most encouraging progress was made in the improvement of local palm-groves, for 11 experimental plots were started in Owerri and Calabar—no mean achievement, when one thinks of all the difficulties, social and technical, that have to be overcome before the Africans concerned can be found to try the new ideas of their own freewill. It is hoped that three or four years will suffice to show whether there is any prospect of success from the methods now being tried. The scheme for the subsidising of factories was not completed when the report was being written, although it has since been published separately, but Dr. Faulkner tries to minimise misunderstanding with regard to the intentions of the Government by quoting verbatim Sir Graeme Thomson's pledge that *all* leases in connection with such factories would be *entirely dependent upon the freewill of the African owners.* In that statement, of course, lies the whole weakness and strength of the scheme.

There was a big slump in cotton production during the year. In the Northern Provinces, the exports fell to 15,500 bales, chiefly because fear of famine drove farmers to the cultivation of grain, for the yield of cotton per acre planted remained as before, and the staple, which had shown deterioration in 1926/7, returned to its former standard. In the Southern area, lower prices for cotton had led to a reduction in the area planted, and bad weather lowered the average yield per acre, so that the estimated export was only 4,500 bales, as against 10,000 in the last three years. It may be that Southern Nigeria is on the eve of a great increase in cotton production for the improved Ishan seed was ready for distribution, and the variety had retained its superiority even in the adverse conditions of 1927.

The attempted introduction of ground-nuts into Ilorin as an export crop had been persisted in, and 596 tons had been purchased for export, as against 309 in the previous year, while a few keen farmers in Oyo and Meko were about to try what they could do in their districts. The co-operative fermenting scheme for cocoa was producing good results and 802 tons of properly fermented beans had been marketed compared with 589 in 1926, and 956 in 1925. The merchants had helped in this matter by offering a premium of from £4 to £8 per ton for fine quality beans, and a sign of the permanent improvement effected was that farmers in the areas where the scheme was first introduced are showing an increasing tendency to sell fermented cocoa direct to the merchants.

The produce trade generally has benefitted from the extension of inspection, for there were definite improvements in the quality of kernels, soft oil, and cocoa, and practical testimony of the efficacy of the scheme was to be seen in the fact that at the desire of the merchants inspection had been extended to the Eastern Province.

The experimental work of the Department has already been fully noticed in the reviews of the periodical "Bulletins," and the only research work that receives notice in the present report is that dealing with plants suitable for the sandy areas that occupy a large part of the Southern Provinces, and are typified by the soil around Benin and Umuahia. It has been found that the oil-palm is most readily introduced, and kola, while it is possible to grow cocoa in certain localities, and Liberian coffee. The last named, however, has a doubtful commercial future, and the Department is therefore not recommending it to local farmers, but near Benin a few planters have introduced it in spite of this, and a small local consumption has already grown up. No reference is made to the improvement of African food supplies, probably because the experiments in regard to these have already been described in the "Bulletins" mentioned above, but the subject has not been neglected, and the Department has wisely become diffident of expressing itself too dogmatically regarding its findings without careful confirmation.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Health in West Africa.

Everyone going to West Africa should be informed with regard to such everyday matters as what he should eat and drink and what he should wear, and especially what he should avoid. He should know what housing conditions are best suited to tropical climates, and should be instructed with regard to storage and preparation of food and supervision of the living habits of servants. A simple knowledge of the questions of water supply and sewage disposal is necessary, and something of the habits of flies, mosquitoes and other insects, and of the ways in which they spread disease. To meet this need, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine have made arrangements for lectures and practical demonstrations at suitable intervals for the guidance of employees of business firms and other bodies about to proceed to West Africa, or who, being employed there or in other tropical countries, are Home on leave. These courses of instruction, in addition to providing simple rules for guidance in regard to preparation for personal hygiene, will embrace a short account of some of the more common diseases with advice in regard to measures of protection against such diseases, and some guidance in simple methods of self-treatment. This part of the course will be particularly valuable to men and women going up-country where no doctor may be available.

WEST AFRICAN VITAL STATISTICS, 1927.

The returns of West African Vital Statistics of Non-Native Officials for 1927 (Crown Agents, 4, Millbank, S.W.1, 6d.) seem to show that the high-water mark in European health has been reached. The number of officials on which the return is based is Gambia, 64, Sierra Leone, 247, Gold Coast, 1,019, and Nigeria, 2,184. One-ninth of the total are about 50 years of age or over, while the Gold Coast boasts two aged 60, and one aged 68, as against Nigeria one each of the ages 60, 61, and 62. The death and invaliding rates for each Colony were as follows:—Gambia, nil, nil; Sierra Leone, 12 and 32 per 1,000; Gold Coast, 10.7 and 10.7; and Nigeria, 9.6 and 16.2. Perhaps the table that best shows the progress made in health is that reviewing the figures of the past quarter of a century. The average number of officers employed has risen from 1,259 to 3,637, while the death rate has fallen from 20.6 to 9.9, and the average length of service of those who died has risen from one year nine months to six years nine months. These periods of service include, of course, time spent on leave and in travelling to and from the Coast. The death rate for 1927 was the third lowest on record, the lowest being eight per 1,000 in 1922, followed by 8.6 in 1926. The invaliding rate during the quarter-century fell from 65.1, of two years' service, to 15.4, of nine years three months, a rate which is the lowest yet reached, while the death rate among pensioners, one in 13.1 over 10 years, is by no means excessive when it is remembered how many of these gentlemen were originally invalided from the Coast.

Yellow Fever Immunity Asserted.

The Paris correspondent of the "Morning Post" says:—Yellow fever will, thanks to a discovery revealed to the French Academy of Medicine by Professor Petit, shortly be as uncommon as smallpox is in Europe. Researches by Professor Petit on behalf of the French Ministry of Colonies at the Pasteur Institute have led to the discovery of a vaccine with which those who are going into dangerous districts can be rendered immune. Six hundred flasks of this vaccine have been prepared and sent to the Governor of French West Africa, where in 1926 and 1927 serious epidemics of the disease broke out. An English scientist, Professor Hindle, first established that a monkey could be vaccinated against yellow fever. Professor Petit, working in independence, made the same discovery later. Professor Petit and his collaborator, Dr. Stefanopaulo, were the first to prepare a serum (obtainable from a larger type of monkey or from horses) for injecting into the patient during the actual disease.

Professor Petit's researches have confirmed the fact that yellow fever is due to an invisible germ and not to a "spirochete."

CLAIM BY MANAGER OF A WEST AFRICAN FIRM.

A claim for damages by a customer of a Liverpool restaurant, who ordered fricassé of chicken, and found himself with a portion of wishbone stuck in his throat, failed at the Liverpool County Court recently before Deputy Judge A. T. Crosthwaite and a jury. Plaintiff was Mr. Francis Howard Bason, of Rose Mount, Oxton, Birkenhead, manager for a London firm of African merchants, and the defendants were the Liverpool Restaurant, Ltd., of Rumford Street, Liverpool.

Mr. Wilfrid Clothier, for the plaintiff, said Mr. Bacon was a regular customer at the defendants' restaurant. On March 23 he was eating chicken when something stuck in his throat. It subsequently turned out to be part of the wishbone of the bird, included, it was alleged, through negligent carving. Failing to remove the obstruction, Bacon rushed off to the infirmary in a taxi, and was X-rayed. An operation followed, and a piece of wishbone was extracted. Subsequently he suffered from shock and insomnia, and had to undergo special treatment.

Cross-examined, the plaintiff said that the portion of chicken served to him was the leg and not the breast, but this was contradicted by the waitress and the manager.

Dr. J. C. Matthews, who examined the plaintiff on September 6, said he found him to be a normal healthy man, and he could not understand why it had been necessary for him to go to hydros for anything that might have arisen from the accident.

Judgment was given for defendants with costs.

West Africans in London Examinations.

Mr. I. Asafu Adjaye (Gold Coast) passed in the junior clinical surgical examination held last month, being placed third in the First Class Division in a list issued on October 11 by University College Hospital. Mr. Ansah Obuadabang Larbi, inter B.A. (London), of the Gold Coast, passed in the external intermediate examination in laws, LL.B., held at the University of London, South Kensington, on September 24, 25 and 26. The result was announced on October 12. Mr. R. O. Staveley (junr.), of Lagos, has passed in the matriculation (full) examination of the University of London held in September. Mr. Staveley is a second year engineering student at the day technical college, Battersea Polytechnic. By passing this examination in the necessary subjects for exemption, he has qualified for an exemption from the A.M.I.C.E. preliminary. He is to take the inter science examination shortly.

CRADLE-OF-MAN THEORY.

Possible Birthplace in Kalahari.

JOHANNESBURG, October 9.

Dr. Cable, of the American Cameron-Cable Expedition, which is seeking man's birthplace in the Kalahari desert, telegraphs that the explorers have found further evidence to strengthen the theory that man originated in Africa. The facts of geology and the history of the human race, he says, appear to throw a new light in harmony on this possibility.

The explorers have found Bushmen of the most primitive type. Too low in the scale of civilisation even to build shacks, they are living in enlarged ant-bears' holes.

The expedition has also discovered a race members of which are not allowed to touch a dead body. In consequence of this taboo anyone taken sick is immediately buried alive.—"Morning Post."

*** The Cameron-Cable expedition was financed by Mr. Will J. Cameron, of Chicago, and the original plan was that its members should travel by ten-ton motor trucks through South Africa and British strike northwards for 1,200 miles into British Bechuanaland. One of their duties was to collect every possible evidence found in caves, deserts, streams or valleys throwing light on the evolution of the Bushman.

In a message quoted on September 22 our Johannesburg Correspondent announced that the geologist of the expedition had discovered that there has been no geological change in the Kalahari desert since man began.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CONVENTION.

Dissatisfaction Tempered by Good Relations.

LOURENÇO MARQUES, Sept. 19.

The recently signed Convention between the Union of South Africa and the Colony of Mozambique naturally does not give entire satisfaction in either country. It is impossible to arrive at an agreement that will please everyone. But those who take a broad view of present conditions in the Transvaal, especially regarding its gold and coal mining, accept the agreement with satisfaction.

The Convention speaks well for the Colony of Mozambique. As the Portuguese daily paper, "Noticia," stated, there were only two paths to follow—the one mapped out by the late Commander Joao Belo, to look only at the development of Mozambique; or, by sacrifice, to assist the mining industry of the Transvaal.

Much has been said against the attitude that Portugal and the Colony of Mozambique took up and maintained right through. It showed the changed conditions that have taken place in the colony itself, the awakening to development of its natural riches, and the new spirit of the population—a population which has greatly changed since the Transvaal-Mozambique Convention was framed and adopted.

Steady Progress.

In the meantime steady progress was being made with the port and railways of Lourenço Marques. Types of cranes deemed obsolete were scrapped, locomotives of the most modern and powerful type were obtained, landing and loading of vessels with the least possible delay began to mark the ships that called at this port, and the number, as well as the tonnage of cargo increased month by month. Facilities for night work on boats berthing after sundown were arranged, and thereby a good name was secured for the harbour and the despatch of goods by the railway. Time told, and cargoes were marked for this port which in the past went elsewhere. Thus a strong hold was obtained on shipping and forwarding.

Then came the time when pressure was brought to bear upon the authorities to give some share of control over the port and railway. But Portugal and the Colony stood firm on that question. Influential persons tried to persuade the Mozambique Government to listen to the Union, backed by the Press, and gloomy forebodings were pronounced regarding the future of Lourenço Marques port and railways, picturing the time when another port in the British Dominion would be constructed, and the fine port and railways here would become a scrap heap. But the Mozambique Government knew better than to be persuaded by such a gloomy outlook.

The Union Changes.

Such a strong position and attitude had its effect on the Union and at last the changed conditions of the Colony began to tell. It was most tersely summed up in the last issue of the Transvaal "Sunday Times" in its column "People Say."

"That it has taken the Union and Mozambique just five and a half years to negotiate a new Convention in succession to the Transvaal-Mozambique Convention of 1919, which lapsed in March, 1923.

"That, although there is cause for general satisfaction in the fact that the relations between the two territories have once more been placed on a definite and friendly footing, the satisfaction will be greater in Mozambique than it is in the Union.

"That while the Transvaal is displeased with the curtailment of native recruiting in Mozambique for its gold and coal mines—a position that may seriously affect the prosperity of the whole Union—the Union ports are equally disappointed that Delagoa Bay is to retain from 50 to 55 per cent. of the imported 'competitive area' traffic—a concession that is a great deal more valuable now than it was in 1910."

The Johannesburg Press takes a favourable view of the Convention, only stressing the fact that the number of natives will be insufficient to cope with gold mining.

Natal Grumbling.

All the grumbling comes from Natal. Mr. Karl Gundelfinger informed the "Rand Daily Mail" that he considered the bargain was not a mutually satisfactory one, but was far too one-sided. The Portuguese Government, he stated, being fully alive to the importance of Mozambique natives for our gold mining industry, took the utmost advantage of the strength of its position and extracted the highest price possible, short of risking an open rupture.

"There is no gainsaying that our friends from across the border have driven a hard bargain, and I must confess to a sense of surprise that our friends from Portugal, who have the reputation of being in the front rank of diplomatic negotiators, should have so far transgressed as to ignore the old-time and well-founded axiom that a bargain is only a bargain if it is mutually satisfactory. . . . Neither can we disguise from our own selves the fact that under existing conditions the people of the Union have no practical alternative but to accord their approval and support of the agreement."

But the "Rand Daily Mail" takes a very sensible view of the conditions under which the new Convention has been accepted. In a leading article on the 14th it says:—

"The great outstanding value of the Convention lies in the fact that it has placed relations between the Union and Mozambique upon a firmer and more amicable foundation. 'New bases for future co-operation,' said General Hertzog the other night, 'have been established, to the mutual satisfaction of both sides. . . . I would suggest,' he added, 'that as neighbouring countries with a common task imposed upon us by a common civilisation we ought to adopt as our common steadfast rule of action the principle of consultation and co-operation, not only in the field of trade and industry or economy, but everywhere where it concerns a question affecting the general interests of South Africa.' It is in this light and from this angle that the Convention should be regarded. It does provide an excellent starting-point for closer and more effective co-operation between the two countries. To arrive at this position, concessions, and even sacrifices, were worth while. For the development and civilising of a vast area of the African continent South Africa and Portugal have need of each other. The Convention, if carried out in the right spirit, should, therefore, open a new and fruitful chapter in African progress."

X. X. X.

Republic of Liberia.

SYRIANS IN LIBERIA.

In the course of an interesting series of articles on "Liberia as I Saw Her," the Hon. E. S. Becku-Betts, M.L.C., writes as follows in the "Sierra Leone Guardian":—

On March 24, 1928, the responsible department of the Republic of Liberia published the following notice:—

"It is hereby ordered that all Syrian traders carrying on trade interior-ward beyond Ports of Entry within the Republic of Liberia to return therefrom to Ports of Entry of the Republic, within 15 days as from date hereof.

Any Syrian trader found within such areas at the expiration of this period will suffer the penalty as provided by law."

A little of the history preceding of this order may be interesting. The Liberian Government for good reasons originally limited the trading operations of all aliens to ports of entries.

I understand that one reason for this was to prevent exploitation of the unsophisticated natives of the interior. And during the operation of this law, no alien could trade beyond places known as ports of entry in the Republic. Representations were made for the modification of this law, and an amendment was effected by which all nations which had entered into trading treaties with Liberia were permitted on fulfilling certain conditions as to the employment of Liberia to trade interior-ward. The Syrians took advantage of this amendment, and extended their operations interior-ward. Their methods of trading and other habits did not commend themselves to the people of the interior; and complaints poured in to the Central department. The Republic is under obligation to protect the best interest of the citizens, and since it has become recognised that self preservation is the highest law the question of the limitation of Syrian traders was considered. It soon became clear that in trading in the interior, the Syrians were infringing the provisions of the law. The Syrians were not among the nations to which the amendment applied, as "Turkey" to whom they originally belonged had entered into no trade agreement with Liberia.

The other point was, were they subjects of France?

After careful consideration and advice, the Liberian Government decided they as "Mandated Subjects" of France they could not claim any of the privileges granted to the subjects of France, and therefore they had no right to trade in the interior of Liberia.

Rather than immediately enforcing the law and inflicting punishment for breaches of the law, the Liberian Government adopted the step of issuing an "order," which acted as information on the offence.

The order, however, did not prohibit the trading of Syrians in the Republic, but limited their operations to "ports of entries" where their activities could be easily supervised, and opportunity offered the Government for the verification of the complaints.

NATIVE VOTERS

The head committee of the Cape Native Voters' Convention met on Friday, the 14th instant to consider the Liquor Act. A strong protest was registered against the entire absence of consultation with the Natives on the part of the Government in a measure that takes away existing rights of Native voters and introducing yet another piece of colour discrimination in South African legislation.

With regard to the Pass Laws a protest was made against the introduction of pass regulations hitherto unkown in the Cape Province, especially that okerating in the Transkeian Territories which is calculated to deprive the Native voter of his liberty of movement.

"We are heart and soul in support of the grim fight waged by our people in the Transvaal against the Pass Laws," ran the resolution.

It was agreed to instruct all branch associations to adopt a uniform policy at the coming general election by supporting only those candidates who will oppose all change or compromise on the Native franchise. A vote of thanks was passed, in this connection, to those Natives and European sympathisers who in the last three numbers of the "South African Outlook" had contributed articles opposing every semblance of compromise on this question, viz. Messrs D. D. T. Jabavu, R. V. Selope Thema, R. W. Msimang, Howard Pim, J. R. Jones, Rev. B. J. Ross and others.

Standing votes of condolence were passed for the relatives of the late Chief Jonathan Molapo of Basutoland, Paramount Chief Jongilizwe of the Tembus, The Rev. Elijah Makiwane of Tsolo and Mr. Ben Tele of Middledrift.

It was urged that a general conference of Native Urban Advisory Boards be convened at King Williamstown at the earliest possible opportunity.

PRETORIA HALL FOR NATIVES.

Memorial to Mr. John Dougall.

An event that attracted widespread attention in the Union was the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the John Dougall Memorial Hall in Pretoria. The building is to be used as a recreation hall for natives, and is a memorial to the late Mr. John Dougall. The tablet on the stone is inscribed,

"This hall bears the name of John Dougall, friend of the Bantu. August 11, 1928."

Representatives of the Native Affairs Department were present, also of the Pretoria Municipality, the Pretoria Civic Society, Native Welfare Society, and clergy of many denominations.

The Pathfinders (the Native Scouts) were in attendance with their bugle band, also the Waiffons (the Native Girl Guides). The proceedings opened with a prayer by the Rev. C. Bourquin, of the Swiss Mission, followed by a hymn sung in English and Sesuto.

Dr. Edgar H. Brookes said that the foundation of the hall represented the confidence which the white and black citizens of Pretoria had in each other. That it was possible to meet at all at the ceremony was due to the existence on either side of the colour line of a band of moderate men and women ready to make conciliations. He referred to the spirit of the Joint Council movement, as not only the inspiration of the John Dougall Hall, but also of that other temple not built with hands, whose foundation was being laid in spirit that day. The building of the hall was a recognition of the claim of the natives to communal activity, to legitimate recreation, and to opportunities of mental advancement; and to the right of free speech, which it was expected would never be repressed or abused within its walls. It was also a symbol of the fact that they were fellow-citizens entitled to some share in the amenities of life promoted by the civic authorities. Dr. Brookes expressed thanks to the municipal authorities for their interest and help, also the guarantors, Mrs. Christie and the Civic Society, and all who had helped.

Homage to a Great Man.

He reminded his hearers that they were met to pay homage to a great man, upright, honourable, and just. He likened the late Mr. Dougall to the granite of Scotland, but said that behind that stone there burned a fire. He spoke of the love and faith Mr. Dougall had always had for the Bantu people and said that in a spirit of reverent gratitude the hall was named in his memory.

The stone was then laid by Mrs. John Dougall, who was presented with a silver trowel. She addressed a few words to the audience, and was followed by her son. He reminded the Bantu people that the day was a milestone in their progress, and hoped that the building would be a symbol of toleration and good will.

Councillor Mrs. Greenlees apologised for the absence of the Mayor of Pretoria, and conveyed his greetings to the natives present. She traced the progress of the idea of building the hall, and hoped it would be the forerunner of many good things in the location.

Reorganisation of Congress.

[By S M Bennett Newana.]

The history of the African National Congress in the country requires more space than can be given in this article. Sixteen years of useful service amongst the Bantu people the African National Congress is still regarded no doubt as the first beam of hope in the development of our national political life. But it takes no prophet to see that through inobservance of certain vital laws of political economy the African National Congress has had to face its waterloo—a financial crush which sent it down to the bottom rung of the ladder and in the words of one of our noted savant, the African National Congress is not yet out of the wood. It means therefore that the African National Congress, to be given a new life, must be with the new spirit of the day. To organise Congress we must first of all have energetic and subtle managers who must be drilled to understand that the nation's desire is that from henceforth the African National Congress shall be run on strictly business lines and on those conditions only the managers of the Congress will retain their positions. If the African National Congress is truly the parliament or say the future government of the Bantu people it must show the nation now in this generation that it is capable of managing the resources of the country. The managers of the Congress must be men of sharp business minds and experts in the management of the household and its expenses, management of the resources of a large community and the management of the destinies of the nation. To make the Congress a lively and active national institute to which the whole nation might look with hope and confidence; at all costs we must rid ourselves of the claptrap leadership which is the curse of the people of the South. We have so called leaders managers of the Congress people who, unfortunately for the Bantu cannot even manage their own household affairs with any marked degree of success, for, after all, household management is the a b c of political economy. We have leaders whose mental sterility and their constant criminal jump at shadows for the substance is becoming a pernicious danger to the race at this critical stage of our development. I think we have had enough of this dare devil leadership which can never benefit any people in their ephemeral epoch, and I suggest that the managers of the Congress should make it their job to stop this farcical humbug.

RE ORGANISATION SCHEME

WAR ON FLIES.

The attention of teachers is recalled to the articles which appeared in the Education Gazette of the 19th July last on the house fly and the mosquito. The Administrator has launched a campaign to rid the Province of these pests; and in furtherance of this object he has caused a placard to be issued, graphically suggesting simple means of dealing with the fly pest. A copy of this placard is being enclosed with each copy of this Gazette sent to the principal of a school in the Province. Every principal is asked to take the matter up in earnest, to display the placard prominently in the school, and to enlist the interest and co-operation of the pupils in the campaign. A vigorous, concerted effort throught the Province to deal with this menace to health is urgently wanted; and the schools can do much to help.

Copies of the placard may be obtained gratis on application to the Department.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

N.A. Commission in "King"

Major Herbst and Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts met the members of the Ciskei Local Councils of Peddie, Tamacha, Victoria East, Middledrift and Keiskama Hoek in King Williamstown on the 11th. June, at the express invitation of the taxpayers under the control of the three last mentioned Bunga areas. The correspondence between the Native Affairs Commission and the taxpayers bore the signature of Chief G. S. Kama on behalf of the taxpayers, but the final communication received from the Secretary to the Commission consenting to the request to visit the districts of Kaffraria gave notice that the Commission was prepared to meet only the Councillors of these Bungas on the 11th. inst. The taxpayers arranged in large numbers to be present at this important conference to listen as they hoped, to their grievances on the mal administration of the Local Councils being rectified and their possibly unfounded fears dispelled. On Sunday the 9th. the streets of our town and the services were filled with visitors, composed principally of chiefs who came in anticipation of the arrival of the members of the Commission and Major Herbst.

At 10.15. a.m. sharp the Native Courtroom was surrounded by a sea of dark but comely faces, but alas the order rang out from the Native police orderlies—only Councillors allowed into the courtroom and no others!! Frenzied attempts by the chiefs to gain admittance were fruitless A representative of our paper made a plunge past the janitors to make a personal assurance from the Additional Magistrate that even the presence of the press was not to be tolerated, and the reply was that the press were not allowed in. One can imagine the disgust felt by the Native public who had travelled over 40 miles in some cases to witness the proceedings when told to remain outside. Among the ostracised figured the well-known Chief Gushipela Siwani (the leading chief of the Tamacha area and the Ciskei,) Chief G. S. Kama Middledrift (who actually was the cause of the meeting being held,) and many sub chiefs. The disaffection outside at the action of the government leading officials in holding the interview in camera was characterised by occasional outbursts of heated language. To guage the ugly mood of the Natives, our representative was approached by Chief Gushipela Siwani and specifically asked to report in his paper (reporting him *ipsissima verba*) "tell the government that I am most disappointed with their action of closing doors against me after asking me to attend this meeting. I have faithfully served the government for a long time and this is what I get in return. I cannot listen to the discussions about my own Council on matters concerning my people!"

To say the least of it, the whole arrangement was a complete disappointment and a fiasco in so far as the public was concerned. The press was excluded, and therefore no reliable report can be given of the hole-and-corner interview of the Secretary for Native Affairs and the one member of the Native Affairs Commission with the Councillors. True enough, the Councillors are representatives of the people, but we cannot see the sense in holding the conference in private on public grievances—grievances whose investigation had in reality been insisted upon by the taxpayers themselves. If there is anything more liable to fan the flames of disaffection and distrust in government officials it is the procedure adopted by the officials responsible for this private conference. It has more than ever instilled in the Native mind the firm belief that government officials do things which they cannot explain to a representative *indaba*—therefore their obscure methods are designed not for their happiness, but for the ultimate undermining of their (Natives') aspirations.

In addition to this palpable failure in administrative tact, the weakness of the officials was disclosed beyond doubt in neglecting to meet the request of the King Williamstown Native Vigilance Association, who had sent in a written request to the Senior Magistrate almost a week before Major Herbst's arrival that an interview be arranged for them. We say it is neglect, because the executive of this body was not even done the usual courtesy of an acknowledgement of their letter of request by the office of the Chief Native Commissioner to whom the letter was referred for attention At the eleventh hour, (9 a.m. of the 11th. inst.) a telephone message was transmitted through two or three channels to the Chairman of the Vigilance Association, through the confusion of which (as was only to be expected) the time of the interview was communicated erroneously. This Association with very important grievances to present, thus failed to meet the Secretary for Native Affairs. Some of the grievances which were mentioned in the letter to the Senior Magistrate are of four years' standing, e.g. the Messenger's Fees open sore. Redress on this matter has never been obtained by the Natives in spite of repeated representations to the Native Affairs Department here a d in the columns of this paper which the government at Pretoria are in a position to utilise for information.

Now-a-days it seems to be the common practice to avoid meeting Natives on very contentious matters, but the Department at the same time is wondering why Natives of Kaffraria are always dissatisfied with the administration in the locations. Here we say, lies the root of the evil. We are aware that theories have been advanced, accounting for the seething discontent in these areas—theories like the agency of the I.C.U., the misleading influence of certain news papers which aim at fomenting distrust in government officials; but we can candidly assure the Prime Minister that it is not our hobby to throw stones at officials, and that if he included in the second portion of his tour the Native territories of Kaffraria, and organised a mammoth meeting of all Natives, he will surely find that the grievances of Natives here are perfectly genuine, and not due to the absurd theories of those who desire to shield their own weakness by damaging the reputation of Native organisations and newspapers. This invitation to the Premier to visit us as Native Affairs Minister we extend in all earnestness. The government, to retain its respect by the Natives has never to show an inclination of fearing a meeting with them, as such tactics only breed contempt for authority. Our people still want to meet the government on matters of policy in the administration of crown locations here which is causing so much bewilderment in the Native mind through inconsistency as to be fast approaching chaos. Natives in Natal, Zululand and the Free State can naturally be expected to be far less unsettled than Natives in the Eastern Province of the Cape because the former do not feel the economic pinch of landlessness and overcrowding which our contemporary "Umteteli wa Bantu" of the 9th. inst. fittingly characterises thus: "The Eastern Province of the Cape is notoriously overcrowded. Natal and Zululand are notoriously under populated."

HAPPY ARE THE KRAAL FOLK OF SOUTH AFRICA

Their Homes Are Little Affected by the Culture of Nearby Whites and They Retain the Ancient Customs of Their Tribes

ON the fringe of the white man's advance among the primitive Zulus and other tribes of South Africa one finds the strange spectacle of two different races within easy walking distance of each other, living under totally dissimilar conditions, the whites with all their intricate modern conveniences, the blacks with still only the rude utensils and implements that have been handed down to them for centuries.

Families of the tribesmen dwell a few miles from white settlements in their isolated homesteads. They are not a communal people, like the whites, but rather take small holdings, on the grant of their chiefs, and set up their own farms at some distance from their neighbors. Looking over a valley as far as the eye can reach, one will see scarcely more than half a dozen kraals. These consist of a small circle of huts surrounded by a thick growth of brush, as in a stockade, and enclosing in the centre a kraal that serves as a stable for the cattle.

The father has a hut near the gate, and grouped around the ring come the huts of the wives, of which there are sometimes as many as twenty. Here and there among them will be small huts for the children. Outside the kraal the family will have a roughly laid out plot of ground, which is farmed as long as it remains fertile and then abandoned for a new holding.

Stories of how the black man lives at home, and how he is taking his contact with the whites are brought here by Alfred R. Martin, an English artist. Mr. Martin was a pupil of Augustus Johns and is now Senior Lecturer in the School of Art at Durban, Natal, and also lecturer at the University of South Africa. For eleven years he has spent much of his time going about among the natives with his sketchbook. The result has been a striking collection of oil paintings, a group of which he recently exhibited here at the American Museum of Natural History.

They show the admiration he felt for the natives when they are living under their natural conditions. He presents them as a happy people, now making play of the simple bits of work by which they carry on their lives, now held spellbound by the beauty of a vast stretch of landscape, or again at the height of their glory when decked out with primitive weapons for a tribal war.

White civilization, he says, is drawing more and more of them because it offers convenient ways for them to make a livelihood. As children they often work as herd boys on the white farms. Without fear they run among a herd of cows to drive them in the desired direction; and when two bulls are fighting they will separate them by twisting and pulling their tails.

As older boys they plow the fields of white farmers with the white man's implements, or work for the wattle farmers, cutting wattles to sell to the mines or for use as fences. Women, too, do this work. Tall and powerful, they are quite as good at manual labor as their brothers. They are often seen tying up huge bundles of the cast-off wattles, such as a white man would find difficult even to lift, and carrying them home on their heads—perhaps a walk of miles. Young men and girls work in the towns as servants.

The chief appeal that civilization has for the primitive youth is that it gives him a chance to earn the money for his marriage. Brides, among the natives, are bought outright. Fatness being a virtue, the price depends on the girl's sleekness. For a girl reasonably plump the price is seven or eight cows; for a better one, particularly if she is a chief's daughter, it runs up to as many as thirty.

Even among the cultured natives this conception of the solid worth of the bride still lingers. Mr. Martin tells how Mrs. Martin's maid, an advanced girl who had been to college, clung to the idea that a daughter must be held at a price consistent with her dignity. She asked Mrs. Martin one day "how many cows" she was going to get for her daughter, and when Mrs. Martin explained that she did not expect to receive any at all, the girl asked in amazement, "Don't you love your daughter?"

A youth about to set up his kraal must first acquire the necessary number of cows for his bride, and the simplest means is to take a job with a white man until he has saved the money—about $10 for each cow. The white employers find this arrangement highly satisfactory. Since the youth usually applies himself persistently to his job while he is saving the money, and since the pay amounts, in the country districts, to not more than 35 cents a day, he is sure to remain on hand for several months.

While living in the towns the natives adopt many of the white man's ways, especially his notions about clothing. On Sunday afternoons in Durban they have what amounts to a fashion parade.

Yet the rude kraal with its thatched roof and its pounded dirt floors calls them back. The urge comes upon them after they have been away about a year, and they will quit their jobs and go back for several months. Off come the few bits of European clothing, and in their place is worn the simple covering at the waist and the heavy hide apron. White food is given up for the plain fare of mealies, a kind of corn, ground and boiled.

The attachment for the quiet hut in the valley is not entirely sentimental. The man, though he may be turning his back on conveniences, probably goes to a life of comparative ease, since his wives do most of the work. They do the chores and most of the plowing and harvesting, if there are enough of them, and are even sent off to nearby farms to earn extra money.

When the beer-making season is on, open house is held by all the kraals. These affairs are always merry and sometimes homicidal. The beer-making season comes when the "mabella," also a kind of corn, is ready for harvesting. First the natives go about from one kraal to another, reaping, gathering and flailing. A week later, when the beer has been made, the whole party returns and takes its share of the fruits of its labor. With all the kraals entertaining, each in its turn, the social season is long and active.

The Native Vote.

The Editor Imvo:—

Sir,—It is with regret that I see there is a small war arising among the friends would be guides of the Natives over this vexed question. If it continues there can be but one result obscuring the issue: Confusing some Natives and causing the enemy to rejoice.

Having for long years had a good deal to do with the Tembuland Native Voters; seeing eye to eye with the majority at times and with the minority at other times I was quite satisfied that they were well able to see and take the right line at this critical time hence I made no public effort to guide them.

It was however inevitable that I should talk the matter over with individuals and now that this war among friends has arisen I feel that I had better say in your paper what I said a good while back in private, I said then, and say now

Stand together: stand on a clear simple issue: refuse to bargain and refuse to discuss any compromise

You have the vote: you have full standing as citizens. These you hold as a right you have used well and for the good of the state for long years. You hold these as a trust for those who are to come after you and as a precedent also for those who have not yet got these rights. Stand on that as a right and refuse to bargain or compromise.

At the time I was rather afraid that eagerness to get "some sort of vote" for kith and kin in the North might lead Native voters in the Cape to think of bargaining. It was with pleasure that I learned that this fear was groundless and it was with added pleasure that I learned that the Natives in the North had rather be without a vote of some kind if their gaining involved those in the Cape losing the real thing

Now many friends say bargain: give and take: &c &c. If leaders of the Native Voters in the Cape take this line to-day all I can say is Ichabod!

I am Sir, yours,

B J ROSS.

THE GOLD COAST AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Dear Sir,—My attention has been called to a letter in your issue of August 25 by a Mr. W. Addison in which he brands me as an enemy of the Gold Coast because in a letter to the "Times" recently I ventured to call attention to, and supported an earnest public appeal of one of the most important Chiefs of the Gold Coast (Sir Ofori Atta) that something should be done with regard to the liquor traffic which he said was doing so much harm to his people. The figures I gave, which Mr. Addison quotes, were those stated in the House of Commons on June 11 by Mr. Amery, our Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Addison's remarks, which do not hurt me, show that he is ignorant of the fact that the chief countries of Europe interested in the welfare of West Africa at the League of Nations in 1919 and since, and so recently as a year ago at Geneva, expressed regret at the big increase in the liquor traffic with West Africa since the war.

Some of our Colonial Secretaries, such as the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the late Lord Long, and the present Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, have publicly said far stronger things on this question than I have done. Perhaps Mr. Addison will brand the European nations and our statesmen named as enemies of the Gold Coast and West Africa?

What I have more than once ventured to plead for in the Press and elsewhere is that our country should take the lead, and our Government consult with the British West African merchants and with the other European Powers and Liberia to see what can be done to protect the native races from the admitted evils of the liquor traffic. Is there anything inimical to the best interests of the Gold Coast or West Africa in that?

—Yours faithfully,

ARNOLD HERSCHELL.

September 5, 1928.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 23 1928

UTCH GUIANA NEGROES KEEP AFRICAN CULTURE

An Expedition to a Little-Known Country Brings Back Objects of an Ancient Art Which Has Persisted In the Jungle of the Western World

BY H. GORDON GARBEDIAN

THE strange and fascinating story of a unique people which still adheres to the primitive culture of the African jungle while living on the edge of Western civilization in South America is related by the scientific expedition headed by Dr. Morton C. Kahn representing the American Museum of Natural History, and Dr. Melville J. Herskovitz, representing Northwestern University, which returned recently from two months' study of the Djukas, or Bush negroes of Dutch Guiana—descendants of slaves who won their independence 200 years ago from their Dutch masters.

The Djukas live a peaceful and contented life in their little villages of thatched huts in the jungles above the cataracts of three rivers—the Surinam, Marowyne and the Saramacca—which they control. Only a few white men have ever penetrated the country, and fewer still have observed closely the customs and the craftsmanship of the medicine, the religion and the form of government of this people. The Djukas do not welcome white intrusion and keep themselves so isolated from the affairs of the outside world that they first heard of the World War from the scientific expedition which visited them.

Wearing only breechcloths and communicating with each other in a language that is a mixture of African, Dutch, French and English, they go about finding their own living. Game, fish, oil-bearing nuts and a little fruit are furnished by the jungle. The land is fertile, and, although a terrific battle must be constantly waged to keep back the ever encroaching jungle and the insect and bird pests, each village has its little provision ground, which furnishes cassava, yams, peanuts and occasionally sugar-cane and peppers. When the Djurka is not busy stalking through the jungle with his bow and arrows and a shotgun, or speeding along the turbulent waters in his frail canoe, he is usually found cross-legged in front of his hut carving wood.

Exhibition Brought Back.

An idea of the way in which the Djukas live is given by the collection of 900 weapons, household utensils, religious and ceremonial objects and gods, clothing and ornaments which the scientists have brought back.

The collection, soon to be displayed at the American Museum of Natural History, includes many beautiful examples of delicate wood carving and of basketry and pottery. There are carved combs, bracelets, necklaces and other decorations used as gifts to woo a wife; carved paddles; carved sticks, with one end for stirring food and the other for combing hair, and a large number of charms and gods, all of which have their special purpose in warding off "the evil spirits." Among the rarer objects are the pieces required for playing the game of adjiboto, in which a board and some red seeds are used. Also brought to New York are some of the antique seats of office of the old men's assembly of the village of Lombe. Another object is an elaborately carved drum which is used to hold "telegraphic communication" with other villages.

Polygamy, the marriage of a widow to her dead husband's brother, the functioning of the chief in settling legal disputes, the setting up of food taboos, associated with a system of clans, and the decoration of the skin by incisions into which charcoal is rubbed are among the customs of the Djukas. The practice of skin decoration is particularly common among the women, few of whom dare to make any claim to beauty without a pattern cut at one place or another upon their bodies.

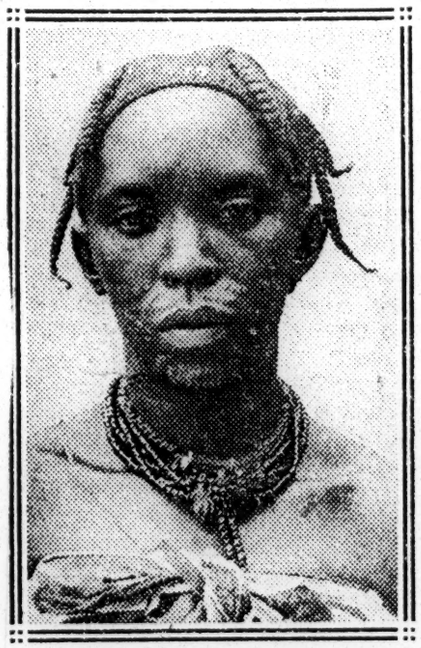
Drum Speaks to Gods.

Strongly suggestive of the culture of the Dark Continent is the highly developed system of drum telegraphy found among the Surinam River Djukas. The telegraph drum is hollowed out of a single log. It is about two feet long and a foot in diameter. Like most of the articles of the natives, it is covered on all sides by an elaborate snake motif. With a code signal system of drum calls, the signaler in one village beats on one side of this instrument with his fist. On a clear night, the sound can be heard three or four miles away. The "telegrapher" may signal: "The white man comes," "Come quick, sick," 'Beware o visitor in canoe," or "Call the Gran Mau" (the captain or ruler of the village). Arrivals are heralded in th same way by this tom-tom code, and if the visitor has made a bad impression the news is sent up-river. The blacks will refuse to assist or travel with the offender. Uncomfortable indeed is his plight.

But telegraphy is not the only purpose for which the drum is used. Some of the natives employ it for communicating with their "Gran Gadu" or great spirit, as they feel that the throbs of the instrument are more likely to reach celestial destinations than mere words or thoughts. A third use for the telegraph drum is at dances and special religious rites, one of which the returned scientists were privileged to see. The natives, seized by the spirit of the drums and the gods of the place, their faces painted with the sacred red and white clay, dashed about in a frenzy of religious fervor. With razor-edged cutlasses they slashed about, foaming at the mouth, destroying what came to hand, while others swam the dangerous rapids up-stream, aided by their supernatural strength. This particular manifestation of religious ecstasy of the Bush negroes had never before been witnessed by white men, according to the explorers.

Art is esteemed very highly by the Djukas. They decorate everything. Even their sticks for stirring pots are finely shaped and delicately engraved. While collecting specimens of their wood carvings the scientists found the Djukas loath to part with their implements. They finally succeeded in obtaining the specimens only by offering exceptional inducements.

A BUSH BEAUTY



Dutch Government Photograph by Curiel.

A Surinam Negro Woman.

Money Little Valued.

Money was not among those inducements. The Djuka holds money in little or no esteem. Candy or leaf tobacco is, however, quite another thing, and with leaf tobacco the expedition did most of its bartering. The use to which the natives put the tobacco is unusual, to say the least. Instead of smoking it as we do, most of them prefer to draw up through their broad nostrils a dark brown fluid made by soaking the tobacco leaf in water, to which a little wood ash has been added. They offer to their guests a small vessel containing this liquid, as we would offer a friend a package of cigarettes.

But some treasured possessions the natives would not let go even for the much-desired leaf tobacco. It was, for example, only after many unsuccessful attempts that a specimen of one of their most valued objects, the telegraph drum, was obtained. And the final attempt was successful only because its owner had lately been ostracized from his village and was willing to trade his drum for provisions. One young woman, however, surprised a member of the expedition by voluntarily offering him a bracelet of delicately filed iron because she said that his eyes reminded her of her dead husband. This incident is taken by the scientists to mean that sentiment is not absent among the Djukas.

To win a wife, a man must show ability in artistically decorating kitchen utensils, household objects and articles of personal decoration. The man who is able to carve in wood is looked upon with high favor by the women of the tribe and he has also the respect of his own sex. The ability to hunt, fish and successfully to provide for a family are qualities essential in every young man seeking a wife, but these are taken more or less for granted, as few Bush negroes cannot hold their own on the game trails or along the swiftly swirling rivers.

Divorce Is Easy.

After winning a wife, a man must continue his output of highly adorned domestic articles, or he will lose her. Divorce is easy to obtain. All a wife has to do to get it is to show the council of the tribe that the husband is not doing his part and she divorces him.

The Djuka men decorate practically every implement which is used in the daily life of the tribe. Small wooden paddles are gracefully decorated and the low stools and fantastically shaped benches upon which they sit. Combs used for keeping their kinky hair in order, the small, low tabourettes which serve at times as tables, the calabash gourds which are used for plates and spoons are always splendidly wrought.

There is one curious and striking exception to the rule that the Djuka decorates every object that he uses

The two gods in the collection of the scientists consist of a single piece of hardwood, about three feet high, with two seeds for eyes in a crudely carved face. A charm of ordinary grass, the significance of which the expedition could not learn from the natives, is hung around the neck. Each village has its own separate god, and there are a number of minor deities such as the alligator, the silk-cotton tree and the boa constrictor.

The Djukas allow their dead to remain for days in the tropical heat before burial. They do their best, often, to alleviate the suffering of the living. Their priests and witch doctors have a concoction highly prized as a cure for snake-bite. It consists of the roasted head and tail of a venomous snake, and is believed to have the power to turn poisonous reptiles from one's path.

The Medicine City.

Buried in the thickest part of the jungles is the sacred medicine city of Dahomey far up the Surinam River. White men are not permitted to enter this domain, for it is thought that the god who watches over it would be deeply offended by their presence. To this sacred place the seriously ill are brought from nearby villages and ministered to by special witch doctors.

There is little doubt in the minds of the members of the expedition that the origin of the Djukas is wholly African. "Experienced ethnologists who have made a special study of negro art have arrived at the conclusion that this art work [that of the Djukas] and the motif displayed, though now modified in some degree, is very probably a survival of the African jungle," Dr. Kahn wrote in Natural History, journal of the American Museum of Natural History, following his return from a visit to Dutch Guiana last Summer to collect parasites of tropical diseases for the Cornell Medical School.

"Linbloom, one of the best known authorities on this subject, states that the snake motif shown so often in Djuka carvings is very closely related to designs of the same character found among the tribes of African Guinea and Dahomey. Other units of decoration he has been able to trace to the Ashanti and Benin people. The wooden combs, with their gracefully pierced ornamental work, are an almost unaltered remnant of African origin, as they are being made and used today by the negro tribes in the northern part of the Ivory Coast Colony and other regions of Africa as well.

"Specimens of these combs taken from many parts of Africa may be found in the collection displayed at the American Museum, but, curiously, they are not as delicately wrought nor as symmetrically carved as are those made by the Djuka artist in the South American jungle, 4,000 miles and 200 years away from his fatherland.

"Many other instances could be given to show how closely related to West African art is that of the Bush negro, especially to that found on the Gold and Slave coasts and in the Cameroon. The districts mentioned are among those from which large numbers of blacks were shipped to the Americas and in all probability the similarities are not accidental. Further, the snake designs which occur so often are religiously emblematic for the Bush negro and likewise in West Africa, where at Dahomey and Whydah, whence came so many thousands of slaves, snake worship has one of its principal centres."

African National Congress

Circular to Vice Presidents

Dear Sir,

In view of the inability of the Provincial Congresses affiliated to the African National Congress to send in their contributions to the Head quarters, presumably due to the sickness on the part of organisers to carry on the work of organising the Congress properly,

I have come to the conclusion that I must appeal to you to prepare a programme for me to visit your Province, with the object of starting a vigorous organising campaign.

I shall be indebted to you if you will kindly furnish the Head quarters here with a list of enrolled members, branches with names of office bearers and their stations.

9-11-28

The Head quarters will be obliged to you for any constructive suggestions, you may send in writing and please give a full explanation of the difficulties that may be existing, which may be barring and delaying the effects of the organisers.

Your faithfully
J. T. GUMEDE,
President General.

To the Vice President of the African National Congress

Constitution of Anti-Pass Committee Movement

Hardship of the Pass Laws

The Head quarters shall appoint a Committee which shall be known as Anti Pass Central Committee composed of 20 members including the Chairman, the quorum, of which shall be 5 members including the Chairman. The Executive Council of the African National Congress shall be a part of the Central Committee above mentioned.

DUTIES

The duties of this Committee shall be,

(1) To compile cases of hardship arising out of the operation of Pass Laws.

(2) To see that committees are formed in all the provinces all over the Union of South Africa whose duties shall be (a) To have all the residents in the Provinces informed of the aims and objects of the Anti-Pass Movement. [b] To receive all instructions from the Central Committee and pass same to residents, workers and farm labourers. [c] To hold mass meetings regularly and collect funds, which shall be immediately transmitted to the Treasurer General of the African National Congress, P.O. Box 31, Jeppe, Johannesburg, Transvaal. [d] To keep the General Committee well informed of the activities. (e) No Committee shall be free to act without instructions from the Central Committee. (f) That all resolutions passed by Committees shall be forwarded immediately to the Central Committee for approval. [g] No Committee having passed a resolution and forwarded same to the Central Committee shall have right to act on it without a written authority of the Central Committee.

Yours faithfully,
J. T. GUMEDE,
President General.

THIS PICTURE AND THAT

The Bantu in the Union have for a long time felt that in carrying out justice in the law courts there was always discrimination between white and black, and what made the discrimination to be more regretted by our people is that it was practised not only in the lower courts but also in the higher courts. The judges have often qualified this discrimination in the decisions by observing that to a Native four years in prison is no stigma whereas to whites the mere fact of being in prison branded him as an outcast. It was therefore refreshing to find "The Cape Argus" commenting on these one-sided decisions as follows:—

"While we are always reluctant to criticise the decisions of a Magistrate who day after day is faced with the knotty problem of apportioning punishment for crimes, criticism does seem to be called for in connection with two recent cases in the Magistrates' Court at Cape Town. On September 6 two white youths aged 17 and 18, pleaded guilty to breaking into 83 telephone boxes and stealing from them nearly 1,500 "tickeys." They escaped with a suspended sentence of imprisonment and an order to repay the Government £123/13/3 at a monthly rate which will spread the payment over three years. On September 10, a coloured youth named Moses, charged with the same offence in regard to one telephone box and pleading guilty, was sentenced to 90 days' imprisonment with solitary confinement and spare diet. Moses, it is true, had eight previous convictions whereas the brothers had none. But his total of offences, so far as known, was nine as compared with 83, and it is pretty clear that the two brothers were accomplished and successful thieves who had given endless trouble and supplied occupation for a number of police and officials before they were finally caught. We doubt very much if the suspended sentence was intended for employment in such a case, and we doubt still more if it can be reconciled with the sentence imposed upon Moses which seems in no way excessive for an impudent and troublesome form of theft."

Sports.

Mafeteng Native cricketers this week have began their usual practice at the new recreation ground. We are informed that official members were re-elected at the General Meeting being held. It is also rumoured that the first match will be against Bloemfontein. We would ask our local players to keep their record this year and maintain their good name.

Visitors.

Though some people think that Mafeteng is an isolated little camp this is not true, for we are having visitors from far and near. As we go to press some notable visitors arrived from the Free State and the Cape, Rev A. Pitso, Rev Z. R. Mahabane, Chief Fenyang and Mr Lenka.

Native Education.

Our Native readers will find elsewhere in this issue an interesting article from the pen of Mr E. A. Ball, Headmaster, Secondary School, Healdtown, in which he urges the Native students who intend to qualify as teachers to take the proper and most important course.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

K. K. Hoek Local Council.

[Contributed]

A large gathering of Natives assembled for the opening of the Keiskama Hoek Local Council by the Chief Native Commissioner in the Drill Hall on the 28th May. Among the Europeans present were Mr. E D Beale, Chairman of the Council, Mr. B O Schonegevel, M.P.C., Rev. Alexander Macpherson, Rev. J Macdonald, Rev. A Cardross Grant, Mr. H Thornhill Cook, the Mayor of Keiskama Hoek (Mr. A H Kopke) and others.

The proceedings were opened by the Chairman who said that this was an event for which the Natives had long been waiting. They would rejoice that at length the Council had come into being. The Council system had been provided in order to give the Natives a voice in the management of their own local affairs; and he hoped that the Native representatives who had been chosen to form the first Council would do good work. He briefly described the constitution of the Council and the work that would have to be done. They would have to take over stock dipping, road repairs, the care of commonages, plantations and so forth. There was one thing that must be regretted and that was that the area of the Council had been made so small It would have been better if the district had been extended so that there might be more money for Council services.

Before calling on the Chief Native Commissioner to open the Council, Mr. Beale welcomed all visitors, and said they were specially glad of the presence of certain ladies—Mrs Norton, wife of the Commissioner, and Mrs. T Stewart, who for so many years had been associated with work for the Natives as the wife of Dr. Stewart of Lovedale—a name known to the people far and wide throughout the country. They offered her greetings (applause).

The Chief Native Commissioner said he was very pleased to be present that day. He thought their children later on would look back upon that occasion as an historical one It was important to have in the Council mutual trust and he exhorted the Natives to trust their Councillors and their officials. Keiskama Hoek was a place where the Natives were known to be enlightened and aiming at progress. As an example they had a good Farmers' Association and he was told that during the recent time of distress the Association had imported grain and distributed it at cost price to needy people.

Referring to the power of veto vested in the Government, lately the subject of attack by certain newspapers, he thought wise men would realise that the Native Affairs Department considered the best interests of Natives in whatever it did. They had a great advantage in having a Magistrate whom they knew well and trusted, and who knew them well and who had their interests at heart.

He then explained how the difficulties in bringing the duties of the Divisional Council and those of the Local Council into agreement had been solved, and the way the financial matters had been arranged.

With regard to the ruling to the effect that European officials should be appointed as Secretaries and Treasurers it was due to the Department's desire to save the Councils expense. He understood the Secretary for Native Affairs was going to hold a meeting of Councils and Chairmen at King William's Town and therefore he would say no more on that subject. He referred to the fear that their land tenure might be affected by the Council being established, a fear, which he was informed, a small minority felt. They need have no fear. They had been put into the Council area simply so that they should pay the tax and benefit by Council's activities He said the position of Councillor was an honourable one and a responsible one, and advised them to do their duty regardless of criticism. Addressing the people of Keiskama Hoek, he said "Trust your Chairman, trust the Native Affairs Department. Look after your Councillors and come to their meetings. He declared the Council opened and wished them a successful term of office. The Reverend Cardross Grant said he felt honoured by being present and he had long looked forward to that day. He emphasised that good government consisted in governing rightly. He recommended the reports of the proceedings of the Transkei General Council to the notice of everybody as they would be struck by the wisdom, dignity and clear thinking of that body.—(To be continued).

TRIAL BY JURY.

It has been the general complaint amongst Natives that trial by jury in cases where Europeans and Natives are concerned has been a complete failure, and what has been a disquieting phase of the whole ugly business is that presiding judges cannot help acquiescing in these decisions of the jury, being tied down by the law.

During the late session of the Union parliament Mr Marwick much to his credit, when the Natives Affairs vote was under discussion, brought to the notice of the Minister in charge of the department that 48 Natives during the past year had been done to death by Europeans—either by shooting or otherwise, and yet, remarked the honourable member, none have been convicted of the capital charge. The conviction invariably had been reduced to one of common assault. No wonder Natives feel agitated over these decisions and that they have long lost faith and confidence in the jury. This state of things ought not to exist. The Bantu as a rule, in their tribal life, have the highest esteem for their courts, and hold them as sacred institutions. Their decisions are based on strict justice, regardless of the social standing of the litigants. They were under the impression that courts that boast of Christianity and civilisation would be strictly colour-blind in their decisions; but the result is often abuse of the honour. Some time back in these columns, when Native agitation against the continuance of the jury system was at its pinnacle, the late Sir Andrew Smith made an announcement to the effect that white people could not forego this life-long custom, and advised that Natives should agitate for a Court of Cassation as is in vogue in France, whereby if the verdict of the jury was contrary to the evidence adduced, the case automatically went to the court of judges. He instanced the famous Dreyfus case and the result which was the acquittal of Captain Dreyfus. Of late there are signs that the controversy of trial by jury in cases where Europeans and Natives are concerned has been revived by recent outrages on Natives, and the subsequent incomprehensible findings of the jury. Of more interest is the reply of General Hertzog to Mr Marwick in parliament. It was in the following terms: "With reference to remarks made by Mr Marwick regarding the ill-treatment and the subsequent death of a young Native, General Hertzog said the circumstances certainly were most revolting if they have been as stated. He doubted however, whether the facts as displayed justified any reflection being made on the jury system. At the same time there was a great deal to be said for the contention that eventually a new system would have to be devised in respect of cases as between white and black." It now remains whether our people will take up the cue and insist on the change of the trial of cases as suggested by the Prime Minister, particularly now that a considerable section of our European influential friends has found the persistence in unfair verdicts by juries most revolting and a down—right disgrace to Western civilisation. We cherish some hope to realise that Native Welfare Societies are making a resolute attack on these glaring onslaughts in justice.

A Benefactor of Natives.

It would amount to base ingratitude on the part of the Native population if we omitted to comment in our columns on the benevolent endowments made to the cause of deserving Native institutions by the late Mr. T R. Arthur Edwrrd Haviland, of "Haviland," Estcourt, Natal. For the rarity of such bequests made by Europeans who have amassed wealth among Natives this deserves singular mention. Most often white men who are sympathetic and have the welfare of Natives at heart are unfortunately not blessed with an accumulation of wealth, and almost without exception it never occurs to the white magnate who owes his riches to Natives patronage, to bequeath the dusky contributors to his wealth a thousandth of his belongings. It is therefore with a sense of deep

gratitude that we, on behalf of the Bantu race thank the Haviland family for the memory of a gift made in a form that will descend to many a future generation as a token of goodwill between the European and Bantu races whose home is South Africa. We also hope that our humble appreciation of the generous donations will be acknowledged if possible by the inclusion among the administrators or trustees of the bequests of a notable Bantu representative even if in an advisory capacity, to ensure the most beneficial allocation of funds, as in the Phelps-Stokes Fund The account heralding the good tidings reads as follows :—

"Unusual consideration for the welfare of the Natives is to be seen in the will of the late Mr T. Raelf Arthur Edward Haviland, of "Haviland," Escourt, who directs that a hospital for the treatment of Natives and Coloured people is to be established in Weenen County, to be known as the "Haviland Memorial Hospital." Preference is to be given to a duly qualified Native practitioner. A portion of a farm in the county is bequeathed for the establishment of a Native school on it by the education authorities and also certain properties in Rhodesia are to be sold and the money realised from them is to be given to the Government for a hospital in Bulawayo for the exclusive benefit and medical treatment of Natives preference being given to those employed in any outdoor work there being carried on amongst the Rhodesian Natives. Annuities are left to certain Natives on the farm occupied by deceased, the total value of his South African estate being £28,920. Provision is also made for the establishment of bursaries for the training of Native medical students."—Imvo.

The Empire Farmers' Conference.

Lord Melchett's Message.

I regret very much that most urgent work connected with the Conference on Industrial Reorganisation and Industrial Relations makes it impossible for me to welcome personally the Empire Farmers at lunch to-day The future of Empire agriculture is a problem to which my companies and myself have paid a great deal of attention and thought and I should like to have imdicated what we are doing and what we propose to do to further its development

Imperial Chemical Industries Limited is engaged in developing large scale manufacture of fertilisers and Billingham is promoting a great new national industry of the utmost imperial significance The plant itself is a great triumph of British engineering and expansion on a large scale is taking place pregressively

We are also engaged in devising forms of fertilisers to suit the varying requirements of soils and transport conditions obtaining throughout the Empire Our aspirations is to co operate with the farmers of the Empire who supply such a large and increasing proportion of the food and raw material require ments of Britain by providing them with fertilisers which will make their crop yields larger and remunerative.

The success of the production on a large scale of fertilisers depends upon the agricultural prosperity of the Empire. depends upon the application of fertilisers. In order to achieve this dual object Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd, have established a Research Station and gathered together a staff of research workers under the direction of Sir Fredick Keeble F R S, an eminent authority on agricultural questions The results of the work of this station and staff are at the disposal of the farming communities of the British Isles and the British Empire

As a link and liasion between the of the Empire and the headquarters rasearch staff the services of Lord Bledisloe, who has such an intimate knowledge of the agricultural problems of Britain and the Empire, are available Lord Bledisloe as you all know is a late Secretary for agriculture and is himself a practical and experienced agriculturist. We recognise, of course, that the building up of an agricultural organisation in all parts of the Empire must of necessity be a slow laborious process. Our aim is to study and provide for the needs of all The research staff must therefore be representative of the Empire because for advice in agricultural matters to be of economic value must be specific and not general

We contemplate the creation of a great edifice which should be both serviceable and enduring. It is natural therefore that we shall start our structure in the British Isles but throughtout we shall have before our eyes the needs of the Empire. One of our first steps will be to establish a British agricultural association in order to apply the new principles of grassland management and of applying fertilisers in relation to crop rotations in this country. That association will gradually be extended to other parts of the Empire

I have perhaps underestimated the Empire significance and servicer of our organisation. Already in Australia, we have a productive capacity and at the present moment a special mission studying the agricultural problems of that great Continent. In South Africa too we have an associated company which produces fertilisers arranges their sales and distribution and is in close touch with the ever increasing range of agricultural problems and production in that country

Very fruitful results have already been obtained in this country. I hope that our guests will visit the demonstrations of the new system of grass land management which are being given in different parts of the country They will thus have the opportunity of judging for themselves on the results which have already been achieved Modern commerce applied to the most ancient and the largest industries will restore prosperity to agriculture and plenty to the peoples of the Empire.

New Chief Commissioner

That Mr. Meredith Gywnt Apthorp, B.A. late chief clerk and secretary to the Transkeian Administration has been appointed to the Chief Native Commissionership of the Ciskei is hailed by Natives with the deepest satisfaction. From the glowing tributes that have appeared in the vernacular columns of this paper from time to time, contributed by our well-known correspondents of the Glen Grey and Kentani districts, we have cause to believe that the appointment of this gentleman is a most fortunate one. In the latter two Native districts, Mr Apthorp distinguished himself singularly in his keen interest in the development of our people in agriculture and education. The co-operation attained by Natives of Kentani and Glen Grey in local public affairs was due to the sympathetic influence he wielded during the terms of his magistracy at those centres. It is a blessing that an official promoted to higher spheres in the civil service can always enjoy the good reputation he earned at the earlier stages of his career. It not only stands him in good stead for the higher post, but instils confidence and hope among those who come under his new field of work, thereby dispelling any unwarranted chariness with which a new official usually meets in assuming a new and dignified office. As from the beginning of this week, we learn that the Tamacha, Keiskama Hoek, Middledrift, Peddie and Victoria East areas are being transfered from the Department of Justice to the Department of Native Affairs, and though we do not think this means any new departure from the old order of things in relation to administration, it may possibly mean better concentration to our affairs by the department responsible. We trust this change is preparatory to the introduction of the Native Appeal Court for the Cape Province, under the Native Administration Act, and that this court will be established in King Williamstown, the capital of British Kaffraria where, as Bantu history shows, the old treaties between the government and the Bantu were concluded. We thank the government for the appointment of an official with proved sympathies for Native aspirations. This tallies with what we have always maintained—that to be a success in administering Native Affairs it is essential for an official to have sympathetic tendencies, apart from ordinary long experience among Natives

Basutoland News.

IT was reported in the Leselinyana that the late chief Jonathan left in the bank the sum of £90,000. We were further informed from a different source that there was a will left by him made in favour of his principal wife Tholoana, his grandson, and his son Motsarapane. The total amount to be divided between these three persons is £20,000

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

A GREAT BLACK CHIEF.

By Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the "Evening News."

One of the most interesting figures in the Empire, Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E., has arrived in London from West Africa. Here Sir Gordon Guggisberg, late Governor of the Gold Coast, tells of Sir Ofori as a man and a ruler. African World

When the name of the Honourable Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E., appeared amongst those of men honoured by the King on his Majesty's birthday last year for services to the Empire, he achieved the distinction of being the first African chief in the Gold Coast to be knighted. 6-16-28

Sir Ofori Atta has had a remarkable career. He is an illustration of what an African who has not had the advantage of a higher education can become. Educated entirely in the Colony, on leaving his mission school he began work as a clerk in an African barrister's office in Accra. There he would possibly have remained had it not been for the institutions of his country.

Through the Female Line.

In the Gold Coast, succession to the Stool (which in this case may be read as the Chieftainship) of a tribe or native State is matrilineal. On the death of a Chief one of the sons of one of his sisters is selected by the royal family as his successor; and, after compliance with certain recognised native customs, he is elected by the people as the head of the State, and duly enstooled with the necessary ceremonies and rites. Obviously the custom has much to recommend it in that the man best fitted to rule is so chosen from several who are eligible by blood.

From the British Government's point of view the system has its disadvantages in that it conceals the identity of a chief's successor and thereby prevents steps being taken to educate and train him for his coming duties. On the other hand it has the advantage of giving the State a ruler not so far educated as to be out of touch with the mass of his people. As a matter of fact the watch kept on possible successors to the Stool is generally very close, and those charged with the duties of selection have, in most cases, made their choice long before the moment of succession arrives.

It may therefore be gathered that the character of the young clerk had been noted some time before he was called to the Stool, over twenty years ago, and so Nana (which in this connection may be taken as a term of affectionate respect equivalent to "grandfather") Ofori Atta became Omanhene or Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakwa.

Not many years after his enstoolment the Omanhene was nominated by the Governor to be one of the three African chiefs sitting as unofficial members in the Legislative Council, the law-making and finance-controlling body in the Gold Coast Government. It was here that his education for life may be said to have really begun. His quick intelligence enabled him to grasp the white man's ideas of progress and to understand their benefits to his own people. On the other hand, a Chief is not an autocrat. Although the chief executive officer of the State, he has a State Council, and any decision or ruling given by him without his Council's consent may not be accepted and enforced. He may be, and he not unseldom is, destooled for defying his State Council or for acts of bad government.

So there are pitfalls in plenty for a progressive chief. His duties demand high qualities, a strong character, wisdom, tact. That Nana Ofori Atta possesses the necessary qualities is shown by the fact that Akim Abuakwa during his stewardship has become at once the most progressive of the native States of the Gold Coast and the stronghold of native institutions.

In his own headquarters at Kibi, surrounded by his chiefs, councillors, elders, and other State functionaries, and his people, with golden crown on head and State insignia to right and left, he is every inch a fine example of a native potentate. In Legislative Council with his white confrères—he clad in a multi-coloured, native woven silk gown, speaking with descriptive gestures, and a fine command of simple English—he is a politician who has risen more than once to the level of statesman.

A Good Cigar.

To-day, under a recently introduced Constitution, he is the elected president of the Council of Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province of the Colony. By that council he has been returned to the Legislative Council as the elected representative of the Akan peoples of the province.

In private life, for which his duties spare him little time, he is simple in his tastes, likes a good cigar, is director of certain European gold and diamond mining companies, and thoroughly enjoys watching cricket, Rugby, or hockey matches at the schools in his town. He is scrupulously observant of native custom, and has never been seen in European dress.

Although he may sit at dinner, he never eats or drinks in public, nor is he ever unattended by a linguist or other member of his Court.

SIR OFORI ATTA, K.B.E.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

West African Knights.

All West Africa will unite in congratulating Nigeria on the honour conferred on her by the knighthood bestowed on one of her most distinguished sons. Sir Kitoyi Ajasa has long held a leading position among the public men of Lagos by his private and public activities, in the practice of his profession and in the Chamber of the Legislative Council, of which he is the senior unofficial member and representative of the Colony Division. He has always given his time and labour to the promotion of the interests of his country and people; an advocate of constitutional methods, he has constantly fostered co-operation between the people and their rulers in the development of natural resources and of the welfare of the people by education and sanitation. Each of the major British West African Colonies can now count a knight among its children. Sierra Leone's eminent son, Sir Samuel Lewis, was knighted about thirty years ago; after a long interval the fountain of honour has again flowed to the West Coast. The Gold Coast is represented on the roll of knighthood by Sir Ofori Atta, and Nigeria by Sir Kitoyi Ajasa. African World 6-16-28

The many friends of Sir William Prout will join in hearty congratulations to him on his promotion to a knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and in the hope that this honour is not the prelude to his retirement from active service. Sir William Prout must be the doyen of the European officials on the active list of the West African service. His connection with it has now extended over forty years. I remember him as Assistant Colonial Surgeon at Cape Coast in 1889, and as District Commissioner in 1890, for in those days West African officials had to be ready to take over any job to which the exigencies of the service and vacancies through invaliding might cause them to be posted. In this way, when removed to the Gambia, Dr. Prout acted as Chief Magistrate, and gave satisfaction to those with whom he had to deal in that legal capacity. His longest term of service was in Sierra Leone, where he took in hand the sanitation of Freetown, in which he effected great improvements. As Medical Adviser to the Colonial Office he has long been known to members, both old and new, of the West African service, who have often benefited by his advice and experience.

The Nigerian Oil-Palm Industry.

Persual of Sir Graeme Thomson's scheme for encouraging the economic development of the palm-oil industry will reassure native landowners in the oil-palm belt that there is no intention to interfere with their control over their lands. The official scheme gives no support to the "plantation system." The Government of Nigeria, while prepared to give financial assistance to factories on "approved sites," does not propose to give assistance in procuring the sites. The "approved person" is left to procure his site from the native owners by the ordinary process of bargaining, and leasing for such term as he may consider necessary to secure him an adequate return on his capital. As the proposals are now the subject of discussion between the Colonial Office and the West African sections of the London, Liverpool and Manchester Chambers of Commerce we await the announcement of the outcome of these discussions before dealing with their probable effect on large scale production. The native producer who has the enterprise to instal machinery is protected only to a small extent in competing with the large European capitalistic enterprises. He will not be permitted "the use of machinery for the extraction of palm oil and kernels within 20 miles from any assisted factory . . . (unless) the Government is fully satisfied that it is intended for the extraction of palm oil and kernels produced or collected by the owner of such machinery from his own trees." Does the prohibition extend to the use of hand-operated machines, or only to power-driven plants? Again, what would be the position of an association of natives, some members having no right of ownership in the trees but supplying capital to set up plants to operate on fruit collected from trees belonging to the other members? Will such associations be precluded from operating because they are not all operating on *their own* trees. It is a supportable thesis that West Africa is a land of peasant farmers, and that the best hope for the future of the West African oil-palm industry is in the education and encouragement of the Native producer.

Inter-Imperial Trade.

Lord Kylsant's address to the shareholders of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd., at their annual general meeting is always an important pronouncement on West African affairs, but his speech at their latest meeting is of greater interest than usual because of its references to inter-Imperial trade. It has been an anomaly that, although the West African colonies are situated half-way between Great Britain and the Cape of Good Hope, travellers from the West Coast can only reach the Cape by travelling in the opposite direction, to the Canary Islands, and there joining a South African steamer. The Elder Dempster service plying between Canada and South Africa via Freetown has not only done something to remove this anomaly, but has brought West Africa into touch with one of the most progressive of the Dominions, whose importance as producer and consumer is rapidly growing. The participation of Sierra Leone in the recent Canadian Exhibition and Mr. Dawe's tour through the Dominion have done something towards attracting Canadian attention to West Africa, which will be followed up by the joint participation of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone in the exhibition to be held at Toronto this year. Although the amount of trade between Canada and West Africa is as yet small, it is the beginning of the forging of a link in the chain of inter-Imperial trade which is gradually binding the scattered Empire into a great self-sufficing economic unit. The complexity of the problem of adjusting the claims of the different parts of the Empire to trade directly with each other is illustrated by the trade in cocoa. The preference given by Canada to West Indian cocoa under the treaty between these two members of the Empire in order to encourage direct trade between them instead of indirect trade through the United States, which were gradually absorbing the West India trade, is at present hampering the sale of West African cocoa in Canada. As Lord Kylsant said, the granting of equal terms to West Africa would appreciably improve the prospects of increased facilities for direct communication, but "it is, perhaps, unreasonable to expect Canada to grant a preference to the West African Colonies as long as the West African Colonies are precluded from giving a reciprocal preference to Canada." Free trade within the Empire is being advocated from many quarters, but every effort to attain it makes it more evident that Imperial free trade cannot be realised without an Imperial tariff policy.

W. F. H.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION ACT.

An I.C.U. official named Absolom Gobia was apprehended at Koffiefontein O.F.S. on the 21st. October 1927 for contravening the gazetted "order" of the Supreme Chief of the Natives, in this case the Governor-General of the Union by holding a meeting at a location without first obtaining permission from the magistrate or headman. The particulars of the case have been given in the columns of this production and they speak for themselves We are indebted to the "Cape Times" for the account which was not published by the bulk of South African European newspapers in spite of the far reaching importance of the decision as condemning the spirit in which this act i some of its phases was conceived. It is gratifying to note that the Attorney-General took it upon himself to see the case brought before a judge for review when the convicted I.C.U. man had forfeited a "fiver" for what seemed a most unreasonable prank of despotism.

The judge in turn referred the matter to the Provincial Division as a matter of appeal This procedure is one of those very rare occurences in South Africa where Natives can hope to behold a silver living of true justice in lower courts and in circuit courts where cases are tried with a white jury. The almost untarnished reputation of the judiciary for maintaining an unimpeachable standard of justice in face of the reeking prejudice of what is popularly called "public opinion" (meaning in South Africa the opinion of Europeans only) is very praiseworthy. Such singular cases of the practice of true christian principles as professed by so-called civilised races, go a long way to placate Natives in the knowledge that it is not all Europeans nor European public bodies that are contaminated beyond purgation with the curse of race prejudice. The Native Administration Act in giving extreme autocratic powers to the Govenor-General as Supreme chief of all Natives is a distinct case of ignorance and vague conception on the part of legislators of what a typical Bantu paramount chief's rule consisted of. This is not to be wondered at, when we remember that the only evidence invited by the Select Committee on this Act did not come from Natives, but was taken from "experienced" native Commissioners whose aver, can never surpass the Native in the knowledge of his own laws and however long the Commissioner worked among Natives. We have very many European experts in Native law and custom, but in reality very few indeed who can be regarded as authorities on the subject. Let us hope this decision will influence our legislators in the direction of granting the Native subject the liberty of free speech in his own country which every alien enjoys under our government Laws designed to supress the expression of opinion by the aborigines only breed discontent which may end in unconstitutional methods of righting grievances being adopted. If full liberties of free speech were given Natives it would be an easier task to lay hands on the mischievous activities of dangerous agitators. By muffling all leaders, irrespective of what their organisations stand for, the feeling engendered in the Bantu proletariat is that the white man arrogates to himself the privilege of working out the black man's destiny. This, of course they cannot countenance, since the white man has said that he means to turn South Africa into a white man's country. This is how the "Dr" Wellington movement in the Transkei got such a strong hold of our people there. If the magistrates had not made so much ado about expelling foreigners under the seemingly protective proclamation prohibiting the entry of Native propagandists from without the Territories, the movement's emptiness would have been exposed, and its immediate collapse would follow. The hasty action of the authorities before the Natives had given their verdict of "Dr" Wellington was the cause of many gullibles being led to believe that the herald of their salvation from economic underdogism was being surreptitiously kept away from them. If the authorities took the Natives seriously and credited them with being capable of distinguishing between a good and a bad leader without the aid of a government interdict, the regrettable depredations would never have occured in the Transkei. The oft—mentioned fact that "Dr" Wellington was given too much latitude in his activities, in our opinion is not the factor that gave him the huge following of his adherents who deserted their original churches and schools. If this was so, the Ciskei and other provinces with no banishing proclamations would have fared infinitely worse than the Transkei from the doctrines of Wellington and his prototypes.

In view of these facts it is apparent that the government would do well to "scrap" all restrictions on free speech by Natives among other Natives, and leave conclusions to the audiences who are never poor judges of false and self-seeking leaders.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, October 10.

The Congo's White Population.

On January 1, 1928, there were 20,702 white inhabitants in the Belgian Congo (Ruanda and Urundi excluded), of whom 14,147 were Belgians. On January 1, 1918, there were only 6,270 white, 3,285 being Belgians, and, on January 1, 1908, there were only 2,943 whites, including 1,713 Belgians. Amongst the foreign residents at the beginning of this year were 1,517 Portuguese, 1,032 Italians, 859 English, 588 French, 455 Greeks, 435 Americans, 345 South Africans, 334 Dutch, 241 Swiss, 182 Luxemburgese, 145 Russians, 124 Swedish, 35 Poles, 27 Spanish, 24 Danish, 24 Rumanians, 23 Germans, 18 Norwegians, 18 Turkish, 9 Serbians, and 8 Canadians.

Katanga is always the one of our four provinces which has the largest white population —7,734 whites, of whom 5,460 are Belgians. Of the total 3.084 were residents of Elisabethville, and the number of Belgians there was 2.161. At Léopoldville the white population was 2,465, 1,770 being Belgians.

328 Congo Companies.

On the 5th inst., at the monthly meeting of the Brussels Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges, Mr. Vanhulst, chairman of this important body (the Congo Chamber of Commerce), stated that 300 of our 328 Congo companies had their headquarters at Brussels.

The Chevrolet Expedition.

Mr. Spanjaard, one of the managers of General Motors Continental, wires me from Triest that the Chevrolet expedition, which had left Cape Town on March 7, arrived at Triest on the 6th October, and is expected in Belgium in about four weeks from that date.

The expedition, it may be remembered, is led by one of the brothers Lacey, of Elisabethville, who, with a Chevrolet, made themselves famous in beating by several hours the mail train Elisabethville-Johannesburg. Of the few trans-African motor-car expeditions already performed, the Chevrolet has had to overcome the worst difficulties—and that successfully. This gives the greatest credit both to the car and its drivers. Amongst them is a correspondent of the Johannesburg "Star." Mr. Gordon Meake-peace.

The Air Lines.

According to the Antwerp "Neptune," the Sabena aeroplanes in the Congo carried 306 passengers in September last. As all last year they carried a total of only 650 passengers, this indicates the greatly increasing popularity of the air routes.

Apropos the airlines, the Brussels "Conquete de L'air" announced that at the end of this year the Sabena will extend up to Kabalo (the terminus, on the Upper Lualaba, of the railway from Albertville, on Lake Tanganyika), its mail line Luébo, Luluabourg, Lusambo, inaugurated a few months ago. This route, Luébo-Luluabourg, Lusambo, Kabalo, is one of the two branches of the Boma-Léopoldville air line, the other connecting Léopoldville with Coquilhatville.

Lower Congo-Katanga Railway.

The Elisabethville papers which arrived this week publish the new time-tables of the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway. According to these, there is, fortnightly and both ways, a passenger and mail train covering Bukama-Port Francqui (or vice-versa) in a little over two days and a-half, and there is, weekly and both ways, another but slower passenger train performing the same journey in a little over five days and a-half eastwards, and in a little over eight days westwards.

Westwards, the mail train leaves Bukama on Mondays, October 8 and 22, November 5 and 19, December 3, 17 and 31, at 5 p.m., and the slower train leaves every Thursday at 5 p.m. also.

Eastwards, the mail train leaves Port Francqui at 10 p.m. on Fridays, October 12 and 26, November 9 and 23, December 7 and 21, and the slower passenger train leaves every Wednesday at 11.30 p.m

J. ROUSSEAUX.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

WHITE SETTLEMENT IN KENYA COLONY.

Further Alienation of Crown Lands Proposed.

The case for increased white settlement in Kenya was argued in the Legislative Assembly at Mombasa when Mr. T. J. O'Shea moved that the Government immediately proceed with the alienation of such areas of land in the settled area as can be made available, and such further areas as do not involve any question of native rights.

Mr. O'Shea remarked on the relatively small number of agriculturists in the country, and urged that it should be the aim of the Government to constantly increase that number. The Colony's annual expenditure was large, and the liabilities had now reached a respectable sum. It was, therefore, advisable from every point of view to broaden the basis which was to carry the burden of annual expenditure. Mr. O'Shea declared that he was not antagonistic to any of the other schemes which had been put forward, though the authors of them had assured the country that they were somewhat in the nature of novel experiments. Those schemes had been holding up land settlement for the last three years, and they were, at the best, only in comparatively small areas.

No Labour Crisis.

He did not think that a large influx of new settlers would result in a labour crisis. It was true that when the "dual policy" was inaugurated there was a serious labour shortage, but the situation was different then, the position not being clearly understood either by Government servants or the natives themselves. Difficulties had since been removed, and there had been a satisfactory flow of labour during the last two years. There were numbers of people waiting for land to be made available for settlement. The schemes actually on foot were not adequate. There were numbers of farms, unoccupied, in the settled areas, which could be included in an alienation scheme, and which would form in bulk a considerable area. There were also two large blocks of land in which no native rights were involved. The opening up of these two areas would result in a very rapid development of lands which were now idle and vacant.

The Hon. E. M. Kenealy said the Government should experience no trouble in accepting the proposal, because it endorsed a policy already put forward by the Government.

The Hon. Alex Holm, Director of Agriculture, said he wished to take that opportunity to declare that the interests of the natives were to be most fully considered.

"Statements have been made," he stated, "to the effect that the best lands have been given away to settlers, and that the natives have been left with inferior lands. I wish to state, with all the authority I may be able to exercise, and with all the knowledge at my disposal, that this is not so. Natives are to-day in possession of the most fertile lands in the Colony, as fertile, indeed, as are to be found in any country in the world. This applies not only to the best pastoral land, but to the best agricultural land also. I think it is time that these unfounded statements should be denied in this Council."

No Better Method.

Colonel the Hon. J. G. Kirkwood, D.S.O., C.M.G., submitted that no better method for inducing settlement was available than the principle of the alienation of Crown land. This would have the effect of increasing the population and thereby of production. He expressed the hope that the Government would introduce a system of ballot.

The Hon. Conway Harvey and Lord Francis Scott also supported the motion, and Canon Leakey, representative of African interests, expressed pleasure at the evident sincerity with which the subject of native rights had been approached.

"I believe," he said, "that the settler community is beginning to see that natives must have their rights, and the first right of the native is to live, and have room to cultivate in Africa."

The Acting Colonial Secretary emphasised that one point was the general recognition of the fact that justice had been meted out to the native in his reserves in the matter of securing his lands to him. He would like to refer briefly to the possible future needs of the Africans. Africans or non-Africans were both subject to similar processes. Both communities were trying to make a more economic use of their land. He believed the future needs of both communities would be secured in this way, and that closer settlement should be the common policy of both communities.

The Government welcomed and was prepared to accept this motion, which he thought would fully justify the confidence Government was prepared to give it.

MORE ACTIVE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN COLONIES.

Sir Edward Denham's Views.

On the occasion of a luncheon given at the Royal Colonial Institute during the week in honour of Sir Edward Denham, formerly Colonial Secretary of Kenya and Governor-Elect of Gambia, the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, spoke of "new stage, fascinating in its complexity," in the relations of the parts of the Empire.

Henceforward, he said, there would be more active co-operation between the Colonies—as distinct from the great Dominions—in regard to experience and technical service, and this would be the basis of their progress.

Sir John Sandeman Allen, M.P., Chairman of the Council of the Institute, presided, and referred to the twenty years service of their guest in Ceylon, before he passed on to Kenya, a new and fascinating country with entirely new problems. Sir Edward was passing now from east to west of Africa to a small colony which had a wonderful river, and offered possibilities of future air development.

Sir Edward Denham, responding, said that Gambia offered to the world a good port, abundance of nuts for export, and a history.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, said that the whole structure of the Colonial Office was changing in respect to the relations between colony and colony. Every individual colony had its separate problems. The future of the Colonial Empire, and particularly of the Tropical Empire, lay in co-operation between the colonies. The old days of establishing rules and law and peace were largely gone now, and a new stage, fascinating in its complexity and presenting entirely new problems, had been reached.

Henceforward a more active co-operation between the colonies—as distinct from the great Dominions—in regard to experience and technical service was to be the basis of the real progress of civilisation in those great communities. It was, therefore, the view of the Colonial Office at the present time that the most important features to which attention could be paid were the development of communication and the application of science to the problems of production. With the more progressive and ever-advancing application of science to agriculture, to the problems of public health, and to education of the right sort lay the line of development. Much harm could be done by the wrong kind of education; much good by the right kind.

Those present included: Lord Lugard, Sir Godfrey Lagden, Sir Ransford Slater, Sir Edward Crowe, Sir Edward and Lady Davson, Colonel W. H. Franklin, Sir Cecil Armitage, Sir Frederick Seton James, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Galway, Sir Thomas Mackenzie, Sir Montague Barlow, Sir Sydney Henn, M.P., Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Eccles Snowden, Major T. L. McClintock Banbury, Major H. Blake Taylor, Colonel W. R. Stratton, Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Kindersley, Major C. H. Dale, Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker, Sir Algernon and Lady Aspinall, Lieut.-Commander C. J. Davis, Major Leslie Renton, Mrs. Patrick Ness, Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Lupton, Professor F. G. Vial, Mr and Mrs. Clifton Tabor, Mudaliyar T. N Rajepakse, Major H. Scoble Nicholson and Mrs. Nicholson, Rev. A. Tonkin and Mrs Tonkin, Mr. and Mrs. J. Reid.

Elimination of Scrub Stock

The Native Affairs Department has entered into a huge campaign in the Native territories of Transkei, Glen Grey and the Cis-Kei of introducing legislation which is calculated to improve the quality of cattle, horses and sheep raised by the Native peasantry. To attain this, the Department has started with a proclamation in the Transkeian Territories that makes it an offence to allow a bull, stallion or ram that is not registered as of pedigree stock to run on a pasturage. In parts of the Cis-Kei the officials of the Department have notified the headmen and chiefs of the intention of the government in this regard, but so far as we are aware, the Natives have not yet made up their minds on the project.

No one with a knowledge of the conditions of land hunger, over-stocking, lack of grazing (particularly in mountain areas where the Forest Department refuse to allow Native stock to graze in the forest-clad mountains) will attempt to question the wisdom of restricting herds of cattle and sheep to within the limits of profitable stock raising. This restriction will certainly be met by the introduction of a measure that will enable a Native farmer to more than pay his way by investing in a small number of pedigree animals than a big herd of very low value but tremendous devastating capacity.

Be that as it may, it will greatly facilitate matters if the desired change is not flung upon the Natives with unwarranted precipitancy. Our people are well known for their inborn habit of conservatism. A matter that entails giving up so many of their rams, stallions and bulls for an object new to them must of necessity be allowed an adequate lapse of time to be drilled into their heads. Of much assistance to the Department would Native Farmers' Associations the Cis Kei Chiefs' Convention, and the like be in convincing our backward folk. Agricultural supervisors and demonstrators among Natives will do much if they inculcated the superiority of pedigree bulls over ordinary stock now owned by Natives. This could be done at the ordinary meetings of associations, monthly meetings of magistrates with chiefs and headmen etc. It calls the technical man who is in a position to answer the many awkward questions that are being asked by stubborn members of our race on this far-reaching change, some of which are: Have the pedigree rams the same capacity to multiply as our old rams? Can they survive on the grazing we at present have? Can they withstand the droughts so common in these parts as well as our old stock? If we cannot all buy pedigree rams or stallions is the government to run a stock farm within easy reach specially for the benefit of those who have no registered stock?

We daresay the government would need to arrange for its officials a reply to some of the questions, but in the meantime we cannot do more than advise a policy of *festina lente*, as any misunderstanding might easily lead to an unpleasant state of affairs which we are sure no one desires.

Notes and Comments.

IT will always be remembered for many years to come that General Hertzog in his segregation scheme was forced to say out the truth that he had always witheld from the public, before a Zulu Chief and his compatriots of Native audience. He does not aim at complete segregation of the two races. He admits that such a solution was impossible. This will let the Natives themselves and the European friends to know where they are with General Hertzog solutions. The Natives have always been told that segregation will give them something that will be theirs but what experience shows is that the Government policy is to take away what the Natives have and put nothing in its place. The Natives are the people going to suffer by solutions so uncertain as the one General Hertzog is advocating. 9-10-28

NATIVE FRANCHISE.

One of his four Bills which he proposes to lay before Parliament during the next session take away the oldest privelege which the Natives of the Cape Provinces received early in the old Victorian days, and the privilege was never abused in any manner by these Native and which has never been responsible for any kind of bitterness among Europeans and Natives of that colony. Nothing pernacious has ever been connected with that franchise which gave equality of vote and representation to both black and white. The General in his Bill proposes to take away that franchise and without the lame representation he is proposing his Bills, this old representation will be substituted by Native Council system. But before he has made any attempt with his Native Councils he has already declared publicly that he is in harmony with Natal views, and these Natal views are against institution of Native Councils.

THE WEATHER.

The weather has been very cold in this district during this week. In the Free State and on Basutoland mountains snow has fallen. Already drought is threatening at most parts of Basutoland. As this is the last month for sowing wheat it is anticipated that this crop will be a failure this season. Some people are already appealing to the churches to pray for rain while it is still time for late wheat.

DESTRUCTION OF BURRWEED.

The messengers of the Paramount Chief, headed by Letapata Letsie were out here this month for the purpose of coming to inspect how far the order for destruction of burrweed has been complied with by the chiefs and headmen of our district. In their report the only clean places are the reserve, Diphiring at Chief Samuel's ward, Matholeng and Sekoati's and at Khojanes. All other places that are not mentioned are reported to be full of this obnoxious weed, and those who are responsible who are in charge of these places within which burrweed was found were ordered to pay a fine of £5 each.

Joint Council Conference.

As has been stated in the South African Press we are looking forward to the National Conference convened under the auspices of the Associated Joint Councils and Welfare Societies to be held in Johannesburg late in the year. The Conference is destined to follow immediately after the conference of Native leaders which the Government proposes to convene to consider the Prime Minister's Bill. The dates have not yet been announced. The following is the provisional agenda: (1) The Prime Minister's Bills as revised by the Commission of the Select Committee which is to meet shortly; (2) administration of justice as affecting racial relations; (3) the Native Administration Act with special reference to the pass laws; (4) the organisation of social work in rural and urban areas—health, recreation, etc.; (5) special resolutions submitted by constituent bodies. The names of delegates and resolutions for the agenda should reach the Secretary, Box 1176, Johannesburg not later than October 15. It will thus be observed that very little time is left for the various Native Welfare Societies throughout the country to discuss the provisional agenda and to elect their delegates to this conference. In most centres these societies, according to their constitutions are set down to meet once monthly, but owing to some unaccountable apathy on the part of the officers in charge these meetings are not convened regularly. This is regrettable indeed, in view of the numerous far reaching political and domestic issues requiring an expression of opinion from these councils. Questions like (1) the proposed Native Bills being made the next election issue by the leaders of Nationalist party (2) the matter of the increase of wages paid to Natives in the towns and farms throughout the Union as originating from the deliberations of the Wages Board and the Bloemfontein commercial community are among those that require the serious and urgent consideration of the various welfare societies. True, these matters are of a thorny nature; but to neglect or evade them in any way does not make them any less thorny. They have to be tackled, if serious complications and unpleasant clashes are to be avoided; and we opine that this is exactly what the aim was in forming these bodies throughout the Union. As for the Native Bills being made the next election issue by the Nationalist Party we can only point out that this, if insisted upon, would be a nasty breach of faith between the leaders of the S.A.P. and the Nationalists. Gen. Hertzog had solemnly asked Gen. Smuts when compromising, not in any case to make the Native Bills a party issue. What do we find now though—the Nationalist Cabinet Ministers throwing this pledge overboard when they realise that their chances of success at the next election will be jeopardised owing to their Labour allies sinking into a hopeless political quagmire.

Russians Plan Negro Republic In South Africa

London, November 8.—(AP)—A Russian plan to create in South Africa an independent negro republic is described by Riga correspondents. They say that the communist party has issued final orders to the communist party in South Africa for intensified agitation among the negroes. The instructions are based on a personal report of Miss Rebecca Bunting, South African "comrade," who visited Moscow specially to describe the progress of the "racial war" in South Africa.

Observers in London regard the dispatches from Riga as throwing light on the speech of J. Tielman Roos, minister of the government of the Union of South Africa, which he made at Johannesburg on Saturday. In it he attacked what he termed bolshevist attempts to put "new-fangled ideas" into the heads of South African natives.

"As nationalists," Mr. Tielman Roos said, "we shall fight to the utmost any attempt to develop natives along lines which will endanger the white standard of the union."

Selection of Thoroughbreds.

In our support of the introduction by the Native Affairs Department of pedigree stock among Native-owned cattle, sheep and horses in the Native territories may we be permitted to sound a note of warning in the method of selecting the desirable male. We assume that the well-known breeders of imported sheep, cattle and horses or the leading officials of the veterinary department are being consulted by the different chairmen and members of Local Councils to advise in picking out the best animals for the improvement of Native stock. Any mistake made by inexperienced hands during the selection will recoil disastrously on the Government and conservers and all others who heartily support the scheme if results do not respond to expectations. It is up to us to see that all possibilities of errors are eliminated. It is not any thoroughbred stallion, ram, or bull that will suit for Native stock purposes, but the best of them.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Smuts and Native Franchise.

Gen. Smuts, leader of the S.A. Party speaking at Graaff-Reinet on the 22nd September 1928 made the following cogent observations which are well worth assimilating

Addressing a large meeting of non Europeans General Smuts referred to the Native Bills and other matters affecting the interests of the Native and Coloured people. Addresses presented to him on behalf of the Native and Coloured communities referred to the poll tax burden upon Natives, the fear of segregation proposals, and the differentiation against Natives in the matter of old age pensions.

General Smuts, in reply, alluded with appreciation to the way in which the Native and Coloured people had kept the laws of the country, and the way in which they stood by the Government in the difficult days of the past. The only solution to the great question before them was education. They would only see a happy South Africa if the Natives and Coloured, together with the whites, were educated and their economic circumstances improved. After referring to the work of the Select Committee on Native Bills, General Smuts said that those Bills would be very much changed. Discussions which had already taken place made it clear that there would be very considerable changes. It was unnecessary, therefore, to talk about those Bills now; they must wait until the Select Committee made its report. "I only want to say this: It will be my endeavour, and the endeavour of my friends, to see that no injustice is done either to the coloureds or natives. I know that there is a feeling of fear to-day. I think the Coloured People's Rights Bill is frightening you, and, after the Colour Bar Act, the native people are afraid that their rights will more and more be taken away. I have asked General Hertzog to see that we consult the heads of the native population before we go further. The law will be drawn up in a new form by the committee and those leaders of the natives and coloured people will be called together and their opinions will be asked about the laws in their new form. He did not think that the native people need be afraid of segregation. The intention was rather to give them more ground He did not believe that there was any intention to take away the rights of natives, "but whatever the plans of General Hertzog may be I stand by it that we must protect the existing rights of the natives so far as the possession of ground is concerned, and that they must get more ground to live on and not less. It is felt to day that there is too little ground for our native population. They must have more ground and I shall do my best to see that they get more ground. With regard to the native franchise, I hope no change will be made wiihout the approval of the natives themselves. They have had this right in the Cape for seventy five years, and it cannot be said that they have abused this right. They have behaved themselves quietly and peacefully and in a proper manner, and I hope this right will not be taken away unless the natives themselves agree to any change that is made. It is possible that after the natives' leaders have considered the new proposals they will be satisfied. I of course, do not express any opinion. I want them to be consulted so that we may know what they desire, and I hope that nothing will be done that will prove detrimental to their interests. This also applies to the coloured population. I shall do my best to see that their rights are protected."

General Smuts said that years ago he did not impose a poll tax upon the Cape natives because he felt that the burden would rest too heavily upon them, and he hoped that the Government would take this matter into serious consideration to see what might be done to make this position more endurable for the natives, who suffered as much under drought as the white people Touching on old age pensions General Smuts hoped that once the Government had experience of the working of the scheme it would consider the question of including the natives in it.

Matters Educational

Vacation Course.

BY E. J. M

The first South African Native Vacation Course was held at Marianhill, Natal, from July 1st to 20th., 1928. This course was made possible by the co operation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York with the various South African Departments of Education which agreed to provide part of the whole of the railway fare for selected students. The course was intended for School Inspectors, supervisors, experienced teachers and others engaged in the welfare of Native Education. It was attended by over a hundred students of various occupations and qualifications.

The Provinces and countries that were represented were Orange Free State, Natal, Transvaal, Rhodesia and Basutoland which, Natal excluded had the most representation.

The course was under the able directorship of Dr. C. T. Loram M.A., L.L.B., Ph.D., of the Union Native Affairs Commission and Acting-Superintendent of Education, Natal, and during his absence, on an urgent call, which happened abruptly towards the end of the course, Mr. Malcolm. Chief Inspector of Native Education, Natal, presided.

The keynote of this course, as the Director outlined it, was Adaptation or the use of the school and the whole machinery of education to fit Natives for the life they will have to live to-day and to morrow.

The names of the lecturers and the subjects of instruction whose general outline I wish to allude to later on were:—

1. Dr. C. T. Loram on (a) Education and Community welfare, (b) Supervision and Inpection, (c) African Natives and how they are governed

2 Professor C. M. Doke, M.A., D Litt, Senior lecturer in Bantu Studies, University of Witwatersrand on Bantu Philology.

3. Professor A. Reid M.A., B.Sc, Principal, Natal Training College on (a) Applied Physiology, (b) Everyday Science.

4. Dr. Mutrie, Marianhill, on First Aid.

5. Professor T. T. Barnard, M.A., Ph.D., of Social Antropology, the University of Cape Town, on the study of Bantu Social Systems.

6. Professor E. G. Malherbe, University of Cape Town on Measurement in Education which was part of one of Dr. Loram's lecturers, namely, Supervision and Inspection

Occasional lecturers were also delivered by (a) the Hon. V. Scrinivasa Sastri, P. C, Agent-General for Indian Government South Africa; (b) Inspectors of Indian Schools, Durban, namely Mr Murray Brown and Mr. O K Winterton on Ancient and modern Education in India; Indians and how they are governed; Childs Psychology, respectively.

The Inspectors of Schools from various provinces and countries were also given opportunity of giving some experience in their districts. Mr F. H. Kumalo, one of the Natal Supervisor, also gave his experience as a Supervisor. Industrial work in shoemaking Woodwork, Tinsmithing, Saddlery Tailoring, Basketry, etc., was given to the students in the afternoon by the Brothers and Sisters at Marianhill. All the students passed a very happy time at that busy place whose motto is "Ora et Labora" (Pray and work), and besides the lectures, the place itself has taught them something of vital importance. Yes; Marianhill, a busy place indeed, a place not for loafers; there, brothers, sisters, boys and girls of the Institution, are at all times busy in their daily occupations. They seem to have the full realization that work (the struggle for food, clothing, habitation etc.) is one of the essentials of education, and that, it is a faithful saying, worthy of all acceptance, that 'in the sweat of his brow will a man eat bread' One can admire the devotion of the people of this towards work Ora et Labora; the motto, which might as well be the motto for every man under the sun) The gardens at this place, present a splendid view to the eye. The students were also allowed to spend one week end in Durban, where, through the kind help of Durban Municipal Native Affairs Department, they were given opportunity of visiting some places of interest, such as, Soap Factory, Municipal Museum, etc. They were taken over Bar. In short, the entire atmosphere at this course proved satisfactory.

National Council for Child Welfare.

The South African National Council for Child Welfare was constituted in May 1924 the result of many years experience in Child Welfare Work in the Union, and was the immediate outcome of the Child Welfare Conference held in Cape Town in that year It is composed of representatives of the Government Departments of Education, Health, Justice and Labour, with the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, representatives of each Provincial Administration and Municipal Association, the Municipalities of the nine principal towns of the Union, as well as of the Medical Association, Trained Nurses Association South African Red Cross, National Council of women Federal Council of Teachers, and all Child Welfare Societies throughout the Union Any body which concerns itself among other functions with Child Welfare Work, may apply for affiliation to and representation on the National Council, which may be granted by the Executive Committee in its discretion The constitution of the council also provides for the representation of the Afrikaans speaking Women's Associations—the details of this are still under discussion by those Associations

The functions of this council are "to be the official channel of the Child Welfare Societies with Government or other public bodies in matters relating to general policy in connection with Child Welfare in South Africa" and its aim is to secure closer co-operation between Municipal Authorities, local Child Welfare Societies, and any other body doing children's work, in order to prevent overlapping and waste of effort It exists to carry on propaganda link up existing Child Welfare Societies assist in and encourage the formation of new Societies, and generally to promote the objects of Child Welfare, including parental and maternity work, throughout the Union.

The council has now been in existence a little over four years during that time the development suffered a very serious check in the death of its first Organising Secretary, Mrs McMurray, in August 1925, and the following year in the retirement from Public Work of its first Vice-Chairman, Miss Mabel Elliot. In spite of these serious handicaps the council has developed considerably and has widened the the scope of its activities Two officials have been appointed—and an Organising Secretary and a Nurse Lecturer, and since this appointment was made in November 1926 a considerable area of the Union has been covered in lecturing tours. Since the formation of the council 28 Societies have been established, and three reconstituted whilst others are in process of formation

The Magazine "Child Welfare," now in the official organ of the council has been enlarged and developed, and its circulation and sphere of usefulness materially increased.

On direct result of the formation of the council has been the establishment of the Mothercraft training centre in Cape Town, where trained nurses and midwives can receive a course of training in Mothercraft, and which is also the headquarters of the Mothercraft League

For the first time in the history of the Child Welfare Movement in South Africa we have at hand a body which can approach the government with the considered opinion of all the Child Welfare Societies and affiliated bodies in the Union, in order to make representation as to additions or amendments to existing legislation and this phase of the work of the National Council has shown a marked development during the last four years It can be said that at the moment the council is in the touch with all Government Departments, and the greatest amount of interest is shown by all concerned from the Minister down wards in advancing the cause of Child Welfare in broadest sense. The co-ordinating functions of the National Council as a link between the sixty-one Child Welfare Societies in the Union are being more and more appreciated by the different Societies thus proving its usefulness furthering the interests of Child Welfare for which purpose it was constituted Moreover, the National Council has been able to be of considerable assistance to Societies, especially new ones in providing information as to successful methods of running Child Welfare Societies, and to providing literature In the carrying out of this function it is seriously handicapped by want of funds With a £1,000 or so per annum at its disposal it could do most effective propaganda work in providing literature in both languages for distribution through Child Welfare Societies throughout the length and breadth of the Union It has correspondence with Southern Rhodesia and has assisted in the starting of Child Welfare Work there. What is really needed is an increased income of anything from £1 500 to £2,000 per annum With ample at its disposal, the council could place the Child Welfare Work in this Sub Continent on a thoroughly good and satisfactory footing, and thus provide for the Children of South Africa every opportunity to develope into healthy, happy citizens.

Elopment as a Practice among the B.M.P.

A CRIME of elopment is not a strange practice among the malignently inclined element of the Basuto tribe, but it is not at all an evil that has to be recognised or to be mistaken as a custom of the Basuto people. It was not even a common sort of adultery among the earlier generation. To-day we frequently hear of such cases pepetrated by the younger people. However, it is no doubt a forbidden practice, and no decent Mosuto will ever tolerate that evil no matter under what circumstances it has been done. The one who elopes with somebody's daughter knows he does that at the risk of his life or of one of that girl's parents or near relation. Just as no man will stand and witness a sin of adultery committed to a relation, so is the same of elopment among the Basuto. If a young man decides to go and elope with some one's daughter he arms himself fully with assigais and knobkerries, because he knows the magnimity of his provocation is equal to death. According to the old custom his death was negligible. He was considered to have died the death of a dog; his relatives could not be compensated for his death. It is a crime that makes one's hair to stand. But alas! what do we find amongst the Basutoland Police, in their barracks, His Majesty's sole representatives in the territory. We see some of the police fully dressed in the symbolic uniform of King George V, which is a sign of peace and order, which gives the wearer the authority and the respect of the king himself, pepetrating this crime of elopment and taking people's daughters to the police barracks to shelter them there from their parents who may likely be in pursued of these culprits. We have known cases of this kind which were reported to the Government Officials where nothing was done. Had we not known that the Government Officials were well-informed of the seriousness of this matter, so much that the Government authorities had themselves instructed the police to arrest any man eloping with a girl or a woman through the border gates, and had we not known that the police had on the strength of these instructions brought many young men to gaol we would perhaps excuse the indifference of the Government to this action of the police which makes their office liable to contempt. The police are there to restore order and to inforce law, as well as to maintain peace, but yet there are some of them who go out to excite law-abiding people to violence. The present incident that occurred at Mafeteng last week is one out of many that the police have committed knowing fully well that such actions have very often resulted in the loss of life. What will the people think when this happens same policeman (no wonder for they are caught police boys in the act) effect an arrest of some and cohabit with them. However, we know, as all must know, that there are self-respecting and disciplined people who has eloped with some ever, naturally know, that there are sitting on police, but since these abominable practices are done by their superiors before their eyes that it was futile for the Assistant Commissioners to try to put up a fight against whore The Government too has to be pepetrated by the police in the Government reserve blame for allowing such actions to be driven out to the same police the Government building

National Council for Child Welfare.

The South African National Council for Child Welfare was constituted in May 1924 the result of many years experience in Child Welfare Work in the Union, and was the immediate outcome of the Child Welfare Conference held in Cape Town in that year It is composed of representatives of the Government Departments of Education, Health, Justice and Labour, with the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, representatives of each Provincial Administration and Municipal Association, the Municipalities of the nine principal towns of the Union, as well as of the Medical Association, Trained Nurses Association South African Red Cross, National Council of women Federal Council of Teachers, and all Child Welfare Societies throughout the Union Any body which concerns itself among other functions with Child Welfare Work, may apply for affiliation to and representation on the National Council, which may be granted by the Executive Committee in its discretion The constitution of the council also provides for the representation of the Afrikaans speaking Women's Associations—the details of this are still under discussion by those Associations

The functions of this council are "to be the official channel of the Child Welfare Societies with Government or other public bodies in matters relating to general policy in connection with Child Welfare in South Africa" and its aim is to secure closer co-operation between Municipal Authorities, local Child Welfare Societies, and any other body doing children's work, in order to prevent overlapping and waste of effort It exists to carry on propaganda link up existing Child Welfare Societies assist in encourage the formation of new Societies, and generally to promote the objects of Child Welfare, including parental and maternity work, throughout the Union.

The council has now been in existence a little over four years; during that time the development suffered a very serious check in the death of its first Organising Secretary, Mrs. McMurray, in August 1925, and the following year in the retirement from Public Work of its first Vice-Chairman, Miss Mabel Elliot. In spite of these serious handicaps the council has developed considerably and has widened the the scope of its activities. Two officials have been appointed—an Organising Secretary and a Nurse Lecturer, and since this appointment was made in November 1926 a considerable area of the Union has been covered in lecturing tours. Since the formation of the council 28 Societies have been established, and three reconstituted whilst others are in process of formation

The Magazine "Child Welfare," now in the official organ of the council has been enlarged and developed, and its circulation and sphere of usefulness materially increased.

On direct result of the formation of the council has been the establishment of the Mothercraft training centre in Cape Town, where trained nurses and midwives can receive a course of training in Mothercraft, and which is also the headquarters of the Mothercraft League

For the first time in the history of the Child Welfare Movement in South Africa we have at hand a body which can approach the government with the considered opinion of all the Child Welfare Societies and affiliated bodies in the Union, in order to make representation as to additions or amendments to existing legislation and this phase of the work of the National Council has shown a marked development during the last four years It can be said that at the moment the council is in the touch with all Government Departments, and the greatest amount of interest is shown by all concerned from the Minister down and onwards in advancing the cause of Child Welfare in broadest sense. The coordinating functions of the National Council as a link between the sixty-one Child Welfare Societies in the Union are being more and more appreciated by the different Societies thus proving its usefulness furthering the interests of Child Welfare for which purpose it was constituted Moreover, the National Council has been able to be of considerable assistance to Societies, especially new ones in providing information as to successful methods of running Child Welfare Societies, and to providing literature In the carrying out of this function it is seriously handicapped by want of funds With a £1,000 or so per annum at its disposal it could do most effective propaganda work in providing literature in both languages for distribution through Child Welfare Societies throughout the length and breadth of the Union It has correspondence with Southern Rhodesia and has assisted in the starting of Child Welfare Work there. What is really needed is an increased income of anything from £1 500 to £2,000 per annum With ample at its disposal, the council could place the Child Welfare Work in this Sub Continent on a thoroughly good and satisfactory footing, and thus provide for the Children of South Africa every opportunity to develope into healthy, happy citizens.

Elopment as a Practice among the B.M.P.

A CRIME of elopment is not a strange practice among the malignently inclined element of the Basuto tribe, but it is not at all an evil that has to be recognised or to be mistaken as a custom of the Basuto people. It was not even a common sort of adultery among the earlier generation. To-day we frequently hear of such cases pepetrated by the younger people. However, it is no doubt a forbidden practice, and no decent Mosuto will ever tolerate that evil no matter under what circumstances it has been done. The one who elopes with somebody's daughter knows he does that at the risk of his life or of one of that girl's parents or near relation. Just as no man will stand and witness a sin of adultery committed to a relation, so is the same of elopment among the Basuto. If a young man decides to go and elope with some one's daughter he arms himself fully with assigais and knobkerries, because he knows the magnimity of his provocation is equal to death. According to the old custom his death was negligible. He was considered to have died the death of a dog; his relatives could not be compensated for his death. It is a crime that makes one's hair to stand. But alas! what do we find amongst the Basutoland Police, in their barracks, His Majesty's sole representatives in the territory. We see some of the police fully dressed in the symbolic uniform of King George V, which is a sign of peace and order, which gives the wearer the authority and the respect of the king himself, pepetrating this crime of elopment and taking people's daughters to the police barracks to shelter them there from their parents who may likely be in pursued of these culprits. We have known cases of this kind which were reported to the Government Officials where nothing was done. Had we not known that the Government Officials were well-informed of the seriousness of this matter, so much that the Government authorities had themselves instructed the police to arrest any man eloping with a girl or a woman through the border gates, and had we not known that the police had on the strength of these instructions brought many young men to gaol we would perhaps excuse the indifference of the Government to this action of the police which makes their office liable to contempt. The police are there to restore order and to inforce law, as well as to give these whores shelter they are called police boys in the Union) effect an arrest of some one who has eloped with somebody's daughter. Won't the appear like a devil sitting on judgment seat to rebuke sin Police, but since these abominations At one time we pointed out that it was futile for the Assistant Commissioners to try to put up a fight against whore dom in the Government reserve for they were giving orders to be driven out to the same police

that there are some of them who go out and cohabit with them. However, we know, as all must naturally know, that there are self-respecting and disciplined people to excite law-abiding people to violence. The present incident that occurred at Mafeteng last week is one out of many that such actions have very often result-ed in the loss of life. What will the people think when this abominable practices are done by their eyes before their compatriots before the whole force must be blemished The Government too has to blame for allowing such actions to be pepetrated by the police in the same policeman (no wonder the Government building

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

The Color Line in South Africa

By RUTH ALEXANDER

Cape Town, September 1

THE group of bills which in the near future will determine the political future of the non-European elements of the population of South Africa are at present awaiting the further taking of evidence by the committee appointed last year for the purpose. The more or less tentative drafts of these measures, which were laid on the table of the House of Assembly during the last session, have been somewhat nervously discussed in public by members or prospective members of Parliament who find it difficult to forget that there will be a general election next year.

Nation 127-3306

Meanwhile, a reading of the bills in their present form is sufficiently depressing to those who do not think of the population of South Africa solely in terms of the million and a half of whites who at present control and exploit the five and a half million Indians, natives, and colored people [the term "colored" is used here in the South African sense, i.e., natives with some more or less remote admixture of white blood]. A policy at its best aggressively paternal, at its worst severely repressive, is outlined in the measures dealing specifically with the native peoples. The Asiatics, or Indians and Chinese, are apparently to look for no alleviation of their existing disabilities, since they are not mentioned at all in these bills. But the half a million colored people, who in the Cape Province actually form the deciding factor in certain constituencies, and who include by far the greater part of the educated and literate element among the non-European population, are to be accorded certain new franchise privileges which, illusory in so far as any real addition to their political power is concerned, will yet, if actually carried into effect, have far-reaching results.

The measure has indeed been framed with great astuteness, to crystallize into legislation the deliberate policy of the Nationalists, a policy which, characteristically, suits both their sense of what is godly and their sense of what is shrewd. They feel that they cannot evade a moral responsibility for these people, who, if all white men had been both wise and continent, would never have come into being. They are doing their best, by legislation which makes it a punishable offense for a white person to have irregular sexual relations with a native, to insure that there shall be no large fresh additions to the race from without since marriages of white and native persons in South Africa are naturally very rare. The rapid increase from within would be a matter of greater concern to them if it were not kept in check by a very high infant mortality rate and the heavy incidence of tuberculosis and venereal disease. But they feel that a policy of political if not of social absorption would at once satisfy their own consciences and give the colored people a gratifying assurance of special treatment.

The anti-native feeling among the colored people is as strong, above that lowest level of poverty at which all prejudices are swamped in a helpless common misery, as is the anti-color feeling among the white people, the "Europeans." Colored servants will not work in the same kitchen or eat at the same table as a native servant, though the native may be the cleaner and healthier of the two. A colored girl who allowed a native to make love to her would lose caste among her friends. But their common disabilities have hitherto drawn the better educated among them together for mutual support and mutual improvement. Thus the teachers of both stocks have met and conferred, and at Lovedale, which is primarily a college for natives, most of the few colored youths who have managed, by heroic efforts, to pass the boundaries of primary education, have obtained their secondary education. And since in the Cape both natives and colored people enjoyed the same franchise privileges as the whites but were barred on precisely the same terms from entering Parliament, while in the other three provinces the same blank negation held both from even exercising a vote, it was natural for them at election times, or at any moment of political crisis, to make each other's cause their own. Further, in the Cape natives and colored people were not debarred from becoming members of the Town Council or the Provincial Council, so that at these elections also they were accustomed to uphold each other.

The Nationalists are rapidly changing all this. Despite the uncompromising dictum of the old republican constitution that there shall be "no equality between black and white in church or state," branches of "the African Bond," that is to say the colored section of the Nationalist Party—the Northern Nationalists would never tolerate colored branches of the same name as their own—are being opened and financed in the big towns of the Cape Province, where alone of the four provinces colored and natives vote on the same basis as the whites. The qualifications are the ability to write their names, addresses, and occupations on the registration form, and either the owning or occupying of property worth £75 a year, or the earning of at least £50 annually. Of these requirements the natives and colored people, for whom there is no compulsory schooling, as there is for the whites, and a great dearth of schools of any sort, find the first the hardest to comply with, so that a few weeks before election time little classes are wont to spring up mysteriously all over certain constituencies to help out the free and independent electors in this respect. At the meetings of the Bond branches the listeners are exhorted by white speakers to support the Government, which intends to raise their status and treat them on a political footing similar to that of the whites, with whom they must accordingly combine to drive the natives back to the regions whence they came, and to which they really belong. This appeal both to interest and to the vanity of the half-caste has proved extremely popular.

If this propaganda succeeds, how will it affect the evolution and even the survival of the colored people as a separate race? Is it likely or possible that they will so survive? Outside of the Cape Province their numbers are small as compared with the white population, negligible as compared with the natives. The poorer and larger part of the colored people, like the poor everywhere, are of inferior physique and have little stamina. They are riddled with tuberculosis and venereal disease. Their mode of life and such culture as they do possess are not native to themselves, but imitative of Dutch or English or American life and culture, according to their locality and to the tradition of their own particular mission school to which most of them are still indebted almost entirely for education and for recreation. They attend the mission school, and find in the mission prayer-meetings, bazaars, concerts, and tea-meetings comforting substitutes for the concerts they may not go to, the plays they may only scan from the gallery, the cafes into which they dare not, even though the management allowed them, walk and sit down to their meal, for fear of the insults of Nordic tea-drinkers. The government schools for the colored people bear no relations to their numbers. The mission schools are unhealthily overcrowded and thousands of colored children grow up with no schooling at all. The bulk of those who do attend school receive a primary education only.

Vol. 127, No. 3306

Hence it comes about that the few American Negroes who have found their way here become naturally, by virtue of their superior knowledge and by an aura about them of freedom and of the initiative born of freedom, the natural leaders of the colored people, wherever they have in any measure emancipated themselves from the direct tutelage of church or mission school. They have as yet neither songs nor legends of their own; the language they speak is that spoken by the Europeans to whom they are kin by blood, but among whom they live as in a glass-walled prison, seeing, hearing, but never coming into contact. The colored people of South Africa, if they do survive as a separate section, will, so far as present indications serve to show, only do so as a sort of overseas province, culturally speaking, of Harlem, New York, and a province of which that enormous and varied community would have no reason to feel particularly proud. For what independent and self-respecting development can there be for a people who are teaching themselves to deny the blood of one of the two races from which they are sprung, while the other has long since cast them off?

And what is to be their reward for this humiliating and suicidal betrayal? The Nationalists have, to do them justice, never pretended that any measure of social or economic equality was intended as part of their scheme for the raising of the status of the colored people. What they do propose, when it comes to facts, is an electoral amelioration, marking off the colored man once for all from the native. They propose to take away from the native of the Cape Colony the vote which he has hitherto enjoyed on the same terms as both colored and white, and to substitute for it Native Councils with severely restricted powers and a comprehensive supervision by the Native Affairs Department for local government, and a quota of seven European members in Parliament. The vote of the Cape colored people, on the other hand, is to be left untouched. In addition to this, it is proposed to bestow on a male population which

in 1926 totalled over 31,000 for the three remaining provinces of the Union, all of whom now possess no vote, one European member of ordinary powers in the House of Assembly. (It is laid down in the Act of Union that all members of Parliament must be of European descent.) It is true that the bill as drafted provides that at any time after seven years from the passing of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill both Houses of Parliament may, if they choose, place these thirty thousand and more voters on the ordinary voters' rolls of their districts, in which case their one member will of course disappear, and their political status seem altogether equal to that of the whites. But this would imply, for the Transvaal and the Free State, which retain their original franchise basis, adult male suffrage for colored men as well as white, a state of things utterly unacceptable to the whites of the North. It need only be pointed out at the moment that as the average constituency of the country is about three thousand, the provision of one member for the whole of the colored population outside the Cape Province can hardly be said to err on the side of generosity.

But even to be placed on the register that will entitle him to this fairly slender amount of representation, the colored man will have to prove to the satisfaction of a special board to be appointed for the purpose that he is really a colored man and not a native. Any person born prior to the gazetting of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill who has one native and one colored or European parent may be classed as a colored person provided that the Board decides after inquiry "That such person is, from his language, associates, and standard or habits of living more closely akin to a colored person than a native." But if he be born subsequent to the passing of this act he can only by a special resolution of both Houses of Parliament be declared a colored person. The native, at present, may not purchase intoxicating liquor, and may not buy land outside certain areas. Since, for purposes of the revised franchise, a complete register is to be made and kept of both colored and native men, it seems reasonable to suppose that the same register will be used for all general purposes. Who the incorruptible and learned folk are who are to make the decisions that will be so momentous to thousands of their fellow-men and how they are to be selected is not announced.

The division, already deep and tragic, in many colored families where cross-strains have produced children of the same parents who are yet widely different in appearance, will under the proposed Colored Persons' Rights Bill, be most cruelly emphasized. It is impossible that such drastic differentiation, with its far-reaching consequences, should not further increase the disharmony among the colored people, while in its administration cruel injustices will be inevitable, and creeping corruption all but inevitable. The mere passing of such a measure will effectively alienate the colored people from the natives, and split them up into mutually hostile groups among themselves. From a people so weakened there can be for many a long day little to fear. Is it impossible that some idea of this sort has occurred to the gentlemen responsible for the framing of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill?

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

NATIVE LEGISLATION—PREMIER'S HOPE—GENERAL SMUTS'S VIEWS—COLOUR BAR ACT—OUR STATUS—MISCELLANEA.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, September 14.

In his efforts to find a solution of our native problem General Hertzog is determined that he will not be misled by sentimentalists. He emphasised this when addressing a large gathering of his supporters at Kuruman.

Union Oct 13 1928

Justice for Black and White.

It is his earnest endeavour, he assures us, to guard the lasting interests not only of the white man in his Native Bills but also those of the black man. At the same time he does not claim, nor has he ever claimed, for the native all that the white man enjoys. He could, he said, just as well treat the man of 21 and the baby alike. Such a policy would rob them of their children. The other view would rob them of their natives. What would be the position if the native territories were opened up to the white man? Very soon there would be no natives left, but the opponents of the measures put their fingers in their ears when such things were mooted. All that mattered to them was the vote, the all-hallowing vote, which to him was the despicable vote. He was not going to allow sentimentalists to mislead him, most certainly not on this question.

Gen. Smuts's Help Offered.

The General confesses himself grateful for General Smuts's offer to help in drawing up the Bills which the Premier hopes to steer through Parliament, but he fully appreciates the Opposition Leader's difficulty in not being able to guarantee South African Party support for the Bills in Parliament. At any rate General Hertzog, like all right-thinking people with a sense of fair play, is hopeful that equitable laws will be passed, because the native is entrusted to the white man virtually as a child, and for that very reason it is our duty to go through with the Bills.

An admirable sentiment, admirably expressed.

General Smuts, too, has strong views on the native question. The Colour Bar Act fills him with dismay. In his eyes it is one of the most fatal mistakes in the history of the country from the point of view of the relations between white and black. There must, he declares, be equal justice. Our white justice must be such that the black man had faith in us and relied upon us.

The Colour Bar.

"Do not let us pass laws," says the General, "which are a blow in the face of the black man just because of this colour. The Colour Bar Act is a stigma upon the native people of this country, and it will take a long time before we can wipe out the impression which has been created upon the minds of the native people by that measure. We can only build up South Africa by creating a feeling of security for all in this country. The black man must feel his rights are secure in the hands of his white masters. And the white people must feel that their honour and traditions are safe and secure in the hands of their neighbours, be they English- or Dutch-speaking. That is, only when we know we can go nap upon the actions of our neighbours will we be able to build up a united and prosperous nation in the years to come."

Another admirable sentiment, admirably expressed.

Most of us imagined that the now famous Imperial Conference Declaration on the subject of Dominion Status or Independence would give us respite from the eternal blather about secession. We were wrong. Hardly a day passes without somebody raising the old issue. Dr. Malan and others never tire of assuring sceptical adherents to the National-st cause that South Africa has now attained absolute freedom, and that if she so desires she can snap her fingers at the British Empire to-morrow and gang her ain gait.

Premier on Our Status.

General Hertzog has also returned to the ever-green topic of our Status, telling us that sovereign independence is worth very little if one does not know how to make use of it. Without that knowledge, he says, one would be more miserable than many subject nations, because then it led to impotence and the deepest dejection. It was a great privilege to be free, to work out one's own destiny. That was why South Africa had always so passionately desired to be free. But they had not gone far enough yet. Could the English-speaking people not feel as a people who once had a free and independent country beyond the sea how one would feel the loss of such a country? He was sure they could, and that they would now co-operate to make South Africa also truly independent. He trusted they would prove worthy of their independence.

And so does everybody else who has at heart the true interests of South Africa.

The New Flag.

The Prime Minister also hopes that we shall see in our flag (the new one) the worthiness of our nation. The Union Jack, he reminds us, has been replaced only in South Africa. On the high seas and overseas it can still flaunt its colours without restriction. Though he had originally been opposed to incorporation the three small flags, thinking that a flag must be easily distinguishable, he had been only too pleased to meet those who were not of the same opinion, and to-day he was glad it was there. A flag must reflect the history of the country, and when they could read the history of South Africa in the national flag, everyone would look up to it. That day would come, though it would not be in his lifetime.

Apparently there are limits to the General's optimism.

Mr. Roos and Hereeniging.

Mr. Tielman Roos has again been toying with his once pet idea of a great Central Party. When some while back he launched his great scheme on a startled world it was greeted with depressing coldness, and friend Tielman wisely said no more about it. But the idea apparently still appeals to him.

He suggests that an "ideal" combination would consist of the bulk of the followers of the Nationalist and South African Parties with an admixture of a few Unionists and Labourites. He would be pleased to select from the parties mentioned a Government for South Africa.

Mr. Roos has also very decided views on the native question. He is strongly opposed to the extension of native rights, and will be prepared to resign if this takes place. He admits, however, that a compromise may be necessary.

CAMEROUN AND TOGO MANDATES.

At the sitting of the Permanent Mandates Commission being to endeavour to govern by intermediary Chiefs of the League of Nations, at Geneva on November 5, the There was a probability that Togoland would shortly be report of the British Government on the administration come self-supporting.

Ransford described the policy of the administration as of the British sphere in the Cameroon during 1927 was examined in the presence of Mr. E. J. Arnett, of the Nigerian Administrative Service, who referred to the progress made in commerce. He attributed the considerable growth in traffic at the port of Victoria principally to improvement in roads.

Answering the criticism that the budget showed a deficit, unlike that of the Cameroon under French mandate, Mr. Arnett explained that the part of the Cameroon under British mandate was much less in area than the French Cameroon, less developed, and more costly to administer. Mr. Arnett gave further information on finance, particularly with regard to the expenditure on the West African Frontier Force and the police, and on conditions of labour, education, and public health.

A few days earlier, at the sitting of the same Commission, the report of the British Government on the administration of British Togoland for 1927 was examined in the presence of Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Gold Coast, the accredited representative of Britain. Sir

in 1926 totalled over 31,000 for the three remaining provinces of the Union, all of whom now possess no vote, one European member of ordinary powers in the House of Assembly. (It is laid down in the Act of Union that all members of Parliament must be of European descent.) It is true that the bill as drafted provides that at any time after seven years from the passing of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill both Houses of Parliament may, if they choose, place these thirty thousand and more voters on the ordinary voters' rolls of their districts, in which case their one member will of course disappear, and their political status seem altogether equal to that of the whites. But this would imply, for the Transvaal and the Free State, which retain their original franchise basis, adult male suffrage for colored men as well as white, a state of things utterly unacceptable to the whites of the North. It need only be pointed out at the moment that as the average constituency of the country is about three thousand, the provision of one member for the whole of the colored population outside the Cape Province can hardly be said to err on the side of generosity.

But even to be placed on the register that will entitle him to this fairly slender amount of representation, the colored man will have to prove to the satisfaction of a special board to be appointed for the purpose that he is really a colored man and not a native. Any person born prior to the gazetting of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill who has one native and one colored or European parent may be classed as a colored person provided that the Board decides after inquiry "That such person is, from his language, associates, and standard or habits of living more closely akin to a colored person than a native." But if he be born subsequent to the passing of this act he can only by a special resolution of both Houses of Parliament be declared a colored person. The native, at present, may not purchase intoxicating liquor, and may not buy land outside certain areas. Since, for purposes of the revised franchise, a complete register is to be made and kept of both colored and native men, it seems reasonable to suppose that the same register will be used for all general purposes. Who the incorruptible and learned folk are who are to make the decisions that will be so momentous to thousands of their fellow-men and how they are to be selected is not announced.

The division, already deep and tragic, in many colored families where cross-strains have produced children of the same parents who are yet widely different in appearance, will under the proposed Colored Persons' Rights Bill, be most cruelly emphasized. It is impossible that such drastic differentiation, with its far-reaching consequences, should not further increase the disharmony among the colored people, while in its administration cruel injustices will be inevitable, and creeping corruption all but inevitable. The mere passing of such a measure will effectively alienate the colored people from the natives, and split them up into mutually hostile groups among themselves. From a people so weakened there can be for many a long day little to fear. Is it impossible that some idea of this sort has occurred to the gentlemen responsible for the framing of the Colored Persons' Rights Bill?

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

NATIVE LEGISLATION—PREMIER'S HOPE—GENERAL SMUTS'S VIEWS—COLOUR BAR ACT—OUR STATUS—MISCELLANEA.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, September 14.

In his efforts to find a solution of our native problem General Hertzog is determined that he will not be misled by sentimentalists. He emphasised this when addressing a large gathering of his supporters at Kuruman.

Justice for Black and White.

It is his earnest endeavour, he assures us, to guard the lasting interests not only of the white man in his Native Bills but also those of the black man. At the same time he does not claim, nor has he ever claimed, for the native all that the white man enjoys. He could, he said, just as well treat the man of 21 and the baby alike. Such a policy would rob them of their children. The other view would rob them of their natives. What would be the position if the native territories were opened up to the white man? Very soon there would be no natives left, but the opponents of the measures put their fingers in their ears when such things were mooted. All that mattered to them was the vote, the all-hallowing vote, which to him was the despicable vote. He was not going to allow sentimentalists to mislead him, most certainly not on this question.

Gen. Smuts's Help Offered.

The General confesses himself grateful for General Smuts's offer to help in drawing up the Bills which the Premier hopes to steer through Parliament, but he fully appreciates the Opposition Leader's difficulty in not being able to guarantee South African Party support for the Bills in Parliament. At any rate General Hertzog, like all right-thinking people with a sense of fair play, is hopeful that equitable laws will be passed, because the native is entrusted to the white man virtually as a child, and for that very reason it is our duty to go through with the Bills.

An admirable sentiment, admirably expressed.

General Smuts, too, has strong views on the native question. The Colour Bar Act fills him with dismay. In his eyes it is one of the most fatal mistakes in the history of the country from the point of view of the relations between white and black. There must, he declares, be equal justice. Our white justice must be such that the black man had faith in us and relied upon us.

The Colour Bar.

"Do not let us pass laws," says the General, "which are a blow in the face of the black man just because of this colour. The Colour Bar Act is a stigma upon the native people of this country, and it will take a long time before we can wipe out the impression which has been created upon the minds of the native people by that measure. We can only build up South Africa by creating a feeling of security for all in this country. The black man must feel his rights are secure in the hands of his white masters. And the white people must feel that their honour and traditions are safe and secure in the hands of their neighbours, be they English- or Dutch-speaking. That is, only when we know we can go nap upon the actions of our neighbours will we be able to build up a united and prosperous nation in the years to come."

Another admirable sentiment, admirably expressed.

Most of us imagined that the now famous Imperial Conference Declaration on the subject of Dominion Status or Independence would give us respite from the eternal blather about secession. We were wrong. Hardly a day passes without somebody raising the old issue. Dr. Malan and others never tire of assuring sceptical adherents to the National-st cause that South Africa has now attained absolute freedom, and that if she so desires she can snap her fingers at the British Empire to-morrow and gang her ain gait.

Premier on Our Status.

General Hertzog has also returned to the ever-green topic of our Status, telling us that sovereign independence is worth very little if one does not know how to make use of it. Without that knowledge, he says, one would be more miserable than many subject nations, because then it led to impotence and the deepest dejection. It was a great privilege to be free, to work out one's own destiny. That was why South Africa had always so passionately desired to be free. But they had not gone far enough yet. Could the English-speaking people not feel as a people who once had a free and independent country beyond the sea how one would feel the loss of such a country? He was sure they could, and that they would now co-operate to make South Africa also truly independent. He trusted they would prove worthy of their independence.

And so does everybody else who has at heart the true interests of South Africa.

The New Flag.

The Prime Minister also hopes that we shall see in our flag (the new one) the worthiness of our nation. The Union Jack, he reminds us, has been replaced only in South Africa. On the high seas and overseas it can still flaunt its colours without restriction. Though he had originally been opposed to incorporation the three small flags, thinking that a flag must be easily distinguishable, he had been only too pleased to meet those who were not of the same opinion, and to-day he was glad it was there. A flag must reflect the history of the country, and when they could read the history of South Africa in the national flag, everyone would look up to it. That day would come, though it would not be in his lifetime.

Apparently there are limits to the General's optimism.

Mr. Roos and Hereeniging.

Mr. Tielman Roos has again been toying with his once pet idea of a great Central Party. When some while back he launched his great scheme on a startled world it was greeted with depressing coldness, and friend Tielman wisely said no more about it. But the idea apparently still appeals to him.

He suggests that an "ideal" combination would consist of the bulk of the followers of the Nationalist and South African Parties with an admixture of a few Unionists and Labourites. He would be pleased to select from the parties mentioned a Government for South Africa.

Mr. Roos has also very decided views on the native question. He is strongly opposed to the extension of native rights, and will be prepared to resign if this takes place. He admits, however, that a compromise may be necessary.

CAMEROUN AND TOGO MANDATES.

At the sitting of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, at Geneva on November 5, the report of the British Government on the administration of the British sphere in the Cameroon during 1927 was examined in the presence of Mr. E. J. Arnett, of the Nigerian Administrative Service, who referred to the progress made in commerce. He attributed the considerable growth in traffic at the port of Victoria principally to improvement in roads.

Answering the criticism that the local budget showed a deficit, unlike that of the Cameroon under French mandate, Mr. Arnett explained that the part of the Cameroon under British mandate was much less in area than the French Cameroon, less developed, and more costly to administer. Mr. Arnett gave further information on finance, particularly with regard to the expenditure on the West African Frontier Force and the police, and on conditions of labour, education, and public health.

A few days earlier, at the sitting of the same Commission, the report of the British Government on the administration of British Togoland for 1927 was examined in the presence of Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Gold Coast, the accredited representative of Britain. Sir Ransford described the policy of the administration as being to endeavour to govern by intermediary Chiefs. There was a probability that Togoland would shortly become self-supporting.

The Chairman of the Commission expressed appreciation of the help of the British Government in sending his Excellency to report on the year's work.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Mr. Howard Pim in England.

The "*African World*" has published the following interesting interview with Mr. Howard Pim, O.B.E., a leading Johannesburg accountant, and chairman of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, an inter-racial group which is exerting a deep influence in South Africa as an instrument of better racial relationships. Mr. Pim arrived in London for a short holiday in England. He is a Dublin man by birth, being a member of an old Quaker family in Ireland.

The Joint Council

The Joint Council consists of about sixty persons, roughly European and African in equal proportions. It came into existence five years ago at the instance of Dr. Frederick G. Bridgman, of the American Zulu Mission, who had been inspired by the good work done in the Southern States of America by Inter-racial Committees in improving relations between white and black. It is not a missionary body, though leading members include men like the Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Dexter Taylor, Archdeacon Hill, and Rev. C. Carter, the leading Wesleyan, but also lawyers like Mr. Oliver Schreiner (Mr. Saul Solomon, K.C., has just resigned as he has gone on the bench), and Mr. W. H. Ramsbotham, Professor Hoernle, and Professor Macmillan of the Witwatersrand University. Women members include the wives of the latter and Mrs. Bridgman. Leading Native members are the assistant secretary, Mrs. Thema, and Dr. Xuma, who has studied medicine and gained degrees and diplomas in America, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Budapest, besides African ministers, teachers, lawyers, mine clerks, and Government servants. The Secretary of the Council is Mr. Rheinalt ones, Assistant Registrar of Witwatersrand University, who has done most admirable work in promoting the Joint Council Movement in South Africa.

"The first question we took up was that of housing," said Mr. Pim. "We are also concerned with facilities for Native recreation, including the Bantu Men's Social Centre and playing-fields, etc., for little is done in this direction for Natives on the Rand outside the mine compounds. But for the time being our chief work is in connection with General Hertzog's proposed native legislation. We took an active part in the agitation against the Colour Bar Bill, and have opposed from the beginning General Hertzog's three Native Bills, dealing with land, native councils, and Native representation in Parliament. We have issued three pamphlets on these Bills, which are practically the only reasoned criticism of them published, and a fourth is soon to appear dealing with 'Natives in Industry.'

"As a result of the second conference of Europeans and Natives called by the Dutch Reformed Church in January 1927, in Cape Town, on the lines of their first successful conference at Johannesburg in 1923, a number of important constructive resolutions were passed, of which that with the most immediate practical outcome was the request to the Prime Minister that he should refer his Native Bills to a select committee of the House before the second reading. Happily this was agreed to, and the report of the committee is expected in November.

Select Committees Hard Task.

"The Select Committee has found its task most dfficult, for as the Bills were referred to them before the second reading not even the principles upon which Native legislation is to proceed have been determined. There is reason to think, however, that their report may take the line of recommending that the proposal to delimit specific areas at this stage should be dropped, and that only the maximum acreage will be specified for the additional areas to which it is admitted that Natives are entitled.

"So much for chapter one of the Bill. Chapter two deals with labour conditions, and includes a scale of licences which General Smuts describes as "ferocious." We have strongly opposed this chapter, which would have led to a far more serious state of things for the Native labourer than exist at present, and we believe that it will be greatly modified, if not dropped altogether.

"The Native Councils Bill proposed the formation of a Union Native Council. This we opposed on the grounds that is was premature, and that it would create an authority which would certainly come into conflict with Parliament. A Union Council should arise out of local councils (the extension of which we advocate), and is today unnecessary in view of the Native conferences that the Government can call under the Act of 1920. This Bill has few friends.

"The Natives' Representation in Parliament Bill is the crux of the whole position and the centre of General Hertzog's Native Policy. It is primarily an attack on the Cape Franchise, which draws no distinction between Europeans and Natives, a low educational and moderate property qualification being all that is necessary for each. The idea underlying General Hertzog's Bill is really the re-assertion of the doctrine contained in the old Transvaal Constitution. 'There shall be no equality between white and black either in Church or State.'

The Cape Franchise.

"This Cape Franchise was settled over seventy years ago, and admittedly during the whole of this period it has never been abused by the Native voter. At Smithfield, General Hertzog attempted to justify the withdrawal of this right on the ground of the danger to South Africa in the future of predominance of the Native vote. This argument based on 'fear' is examined in the third pamphlet published by the Johannesburg Joint Council, and even opponents admit that it is finally disposed of.

"So far from the Native votes in the Cape being an increasing danger, it is probably a diminishing one, as for every additional Native voter who has registered during the last twenty-five years, there have been between seven and eight new European voters.

"This franchise was granted seventy years ago. It has never been abused, and as its continued existence is in no way a danger to the European population of the Union of South Africa, to cancel it would be an act of tyranny.

"In the Cape Province there are about 15,000 Native voters out of a voting population that exceeds 150,000. In Natal less than a dozen, and in the Transvaal and Free State Provinces none. In the two last-mentioned provinces there is suffrage for all European males over 21. The question of giving a real and effective franchise to Natives in these three provinces calls for attention, but the attitude of the Natives in these provinces towards the whole question is that whatever their own fate may be they will not be parties to any interference with the franchise possessed by their brothers in the Cape Province."

Pending the report of the Select Committee on these Native Bills, no general statement can be made regarding the future of Native legislation in South Africa, or of the relations between white and black. But what can be asserted without possibility of refutation, says Mr Pim, is that in the past insufficient attention has been paid to Native opinion, and that if in future every possible encouragement is not given to Native development the Native population of South Africa will be-

come a burden under which the Europeans will be crushed. The increase of "poor whites" is the symptom indicating the progress of this decline, and it can only be arrested by the adequate recognition of Native interests.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Marriage Among the Basuto.

WE have been seeing from time to time articles in the Leselinyana on the subject of marriage as affecting our young people. The matter has been dealt with from different points of view. Sometimes thoughtful suggestions are put forward which are to a Native point of view impracticable. They are good points morally and from a Christian point of view. But since the Christian Basuto, though christianised, are still stuck fast to the old 'lobola' ideas, they don't find the civilised principles and practices suitable to them, yet they find too many difficulties in the christian marriages. In some cases the preliminaries to the solemnisation of marriage are simply impossible. Mr "L.M." gives a list of these things that the parents of the bridegroom must supply before marriage takes place. The articles of clothing and stock he enumerated are forced-gifts to the bride and her parents. That is the bridegroom must very often clothe the bride to the value of £20. She must appear before the altar already dressed in her bridegroom's clothing and her mother too must go and witness her daughter's wedding musing and feeling proud because of the shawl costing from £4 10s to £7 10s, which she wears as a gift from her son in-law. These and others that we have not mentioned are the conditions that must be fulfilled before marriage takes place in connection with the so-called 'church marriage. Mr "L.M."

Letter of Basutoland

8-17-28

Mafeteng

Basutoland

in his list of things required for the marriage feast including the dresses apart from the bride-groom's necessaries, arrives at a huge total of £72. Now what our readers must first consider is whether there are many Natives who would be ready with that amount when they go to marry, and what would be the result suppose the bride-groom cannot afford to pay that huge some of money. There are not many who can afford that, and in most cases the result is immorality. In the church marriage the disheartening disabilities to the young people which end in their hopelessly degenerating into immoral ways are introduced by the christian parents who have brought with them lobola ideas into the church. Very often the engagement never entailed any difficulties or delays, unless there are clearing reasons in the way of the parents of the girl to be engaged. But once that first stage is gone over the parents of the young man will always be put off, suggesting a certain time which would be suitable to them. the parents of the girl and when the time comes, another excuse will be extended again, and the poor young souls will be kept grouping in darkness like that about the exact time of their marriage for years and years. At last, in order that they should get out of the hands of these unthinking parents, they must commit a sin against their will, and with tears falling from their eyes If no man has witnessed such a scene, God of Mercy has seen many such pitiable loss of hope and trust in the reliability of guardians. Of course, after the

act of sin has been committed these hard hearted parents will rebuke these young souls, while the parents of the girl which they are in reallity responsible Recently through education and civilised influences young people are beginning to realise the shame and disgrace that immorality bring upon them, so they have found a better way out in Special Lscence marriage. Althoug they must employ every possible way of secrecy, in orther words steal that marriage, they have a consolation in the knowledge that it is however legal marriage. Nevertheless that does not absolve them from the disgrace that their parents must bring them, and the damning of the Church by excommunication from their church rights. The European Baruti have been indifferent to this matter, but it is now high time that they made a move of some kind to save the young souls from being forced to the devil lustfully by the parents who profess christianity. Their case is no longer to be regarded, by God-fearing people as neglegible Ninety-nine young Basuto, out of a hundred are forced to commit sin by their own parents, most of whom are not free from lustful views about marriages of their daughters, for they must get something for them by right or crook.

Race Problem - 1928
Africa

Sudan Plantations.

The report for the financial year ended June 30, 1928, shows for the period a net profit, after deductions of all outgoings, of £587,401, which compares with £588,382 for the previous year and £482,394 for 1926. Dividends totalling 25 per cent. have been paid (against 30 per cent. in 1927), absorbing £562,500, leaving a credit balance to be carried forward to the current year of £412,118, as against £419,041 brought in. The directors state that during the year considerable expenditure of capital was incurred on the new areas in course of development. The area under cotton in the Gezira during the year was 105,587 feddans, as compared with 100,058 feddans during the preceding season. The Kassala Cotton Company—a subsidiary of Sudan Plantations—has concluded arrangements with the Sudan Government, under which the concession in the Gash Delta has been surrendered, the company receiving in substitution 45,000 feddans in the Gezira Plain, adjoining the north-western boundary of the parent company. Parana Plantations, another subsidiary holding an important land concession in Brazil, issued during the year 560,000 new ordinary shares at par, in order to provide the lands in which it is interested with improved communications by an extension of the Sao Paulo-Parana Railway. The company took up its proportion of shares in the new issue. Brazil Plantations—in which the company also holds a large interest—has decided to abandon the direct cultivation of cotton and other crops, and to realise its properties as and when favourable opportunities occur. The report states that the yield of the Gezira cotton crop did not come up to that of the preceding season; the exceptionally hot winter and the abnormal absence of winds prevented the proper aeration of the plants and rendered the cotton susceptible to various pests. The final results were nevertheless not unfavourable. The crop at Zeidab, which is further north, did not suffer in this respect, and gave results above those of the previous season, as will be seen from the subjoined table:—

	1927.		1928.
Zeidab	3,109 bales	.....	3.330 bales
Gezira.....	113,169 ,,	.....	77,665 ,,
	116.278 ,,	.....	80,997 ,,

The syndicate, under the terms of the new arrangements with the Sudan Government, has now become liable for the payment of Sudan Business Profits Tax, but as relief equivalent thereto will be obtained by a reduction of the rate of British Income-tax to be paid, this does not entail any increase in the amount of taxation on the syndicate's profits. British Income-tax at such reduced rates has, however, to be deducted from dividends instead of the standard rate as in the past, and in order that there shall be no material difference by reason thereof in the rate of dividends paid by the company, the board recommend that on the declaration of the final dividend, provision be made for the deduction of Sudan Business Profits Tax and the reduced rate of British Income-tax, and that the interim dividend be adjusted to accord with the same deductions. The total deductions thus made for both taxes would not exceed a deduction of British Income-tax at the standard rate. It is proposed to make future declarations of interim and final dividends on the same principle.

The balance-sheet at June 30, 1928, showed that the company then held 475,000 ordinary and 250,000 6 per cent. preference shares in the Kassala Cotton Company, 25,000 ordinary shares in Brazil Plantations, 10,000 8 per cent. preference shares in Cambuhy Coffee and Cotton Estates, 130,000 ordinary shares in Parana Plantations, and 500 shares in Port Sudan Syndicate, the value of share investments being £423,750, while, in addition, Government securities to the value of £1,504,394 were held, while cash in hand or on deposit amounted to £1,142,507.

Anglo-French Land Company.

The report for the financial year ended May 31, 1928, showed that during the year the surface and mineral rights over 8,993 morgen had been sold, leaving the company with the surface and mineral rights over 40,440 morgen and the mineral rights over 35,803 morgen. The revenue for the period was £695 and the expenditure £925, making a deficit of £230. In addition to this the book loss on farms sold during the year and commissions paid in connection therewith amounted to £3,293, making a total deficit of £3,523 for the period. At special meetings held on September 12 and 30, 1927, the capital was reduced from £60,000 to £44,000 by refunding to shareholders paid-up capital to the extent of 4s. per share. Since the date of the accounts the remaining farms of the company have been sold to the New Transvaal Gold Farms for £11,000. It is proposed to place the company into liquidation and distribute the cash assets, which should be sufficient to allow of 5s. 3d. per share being refunded to shareholders, making a total distribution of 14s. 3d. per share.

Afrikander Proprietary Gold Mines.

The report for the financial year ended June 30, 1928, states that the property held by the company consists of 207 claims situate on Farm Rietkuil, in the mining district of Klerksdorp, the "Wolverand" mynpacht, twenty machine stands and certain water rights. and the freehold of 18 morgen on farm "Kaffirskraal" in the Potchefstroom district. At special meetings held on November 10 and 20, 1927, the capital was reduced from £89,600 to £80,640 by refunding paid-up capital to the extent of 2s. per share. The revenue for the year amounted to £1,522 and expenditure to £1,463, of which £1,090 was paid to the Government for claim licences and mynpacht dues. After paying out the refund to shareholders and allowing for sundry creditors, the surplus cash at the end of the year amounted to £742.

Kleinfontein Estates and Township.

The report for the financial year ended June 30, 1928, states that the property consisted of 1,065 morgen on farm Kleinfontein, about 1,020 acres of agricultural small holdings, 10 industrial sites in Benoni Township, and 482 stands there. Three water reservoirs of the capacity of 963 million gallons are also owned. The profit for the year amounted to £5,904, which, together with the balance of £2,437 brought forward from the previous year, made a total credit of £8,341, out of which dividends totalling 12½ per cent. and absorbing £5,313 were paid. After payment of £865 for taxation and allocation of £503 for depreciation off dams, a balance of £1,660 was carried forward to the current year.

Naraguta Korot Areas.

The company was formed in the latter part of 1925 to acquire from the Naraguta Tin Mines, Ltd., certain properties in Nigeria. Since its incorporation the company has acquired further properties, its present holding consisting of mining leases over 5,924 acres, exclusive prospecting licences over 39½ square miles, and water-rights over 70,380 yards. The report for the financial year ended December 31, 1927, states that expenditure in Nigeria during the year amounted to £19,629, while other expenses totalled £7,317, making a total expenditure of £26,946. Against this the value of output amounted to £13,205, leaving a debit balance of £13,741. The production for the year was 80 tons. The property has been equipped with an excavating plant consisting of a 200 "B" Bucyrus Excavator mounted on caterpillars, capable of digging and stacking 300 cubic yards per hour, together with two smaller machines of the 41 "B" type, of a capacity of about 100 yards per hour each. Considerable difficulties had, however, arisen since the installation of the shovels, but the manager was sanguine that the plant would soon be producing tin in very considerable quantities. The manager was also of the opinion that the present reserves of 4,885 tons would be doubled in the very near future. In order to place the undertaking on a sound financial basis the capital was increased from £150,000 to £250,000 in October, 1928.

Zaaiplaats Tin Mining Company.

The company owns 272 base-metal claims in the Waterberg district of the Transvaal. It also holds the whole of the capital of the Stavoren Tin Mining Company, the assets of which consist of the quitrent farm Stavoren, No. 1,871, in extent 2,124 morgen, situate about 55 miles south-east of Potgietersrust. It also holds £3,200 out of the issued capital of £3,250 in the Finch's (Zaaiplaats) Tin Company, holding fifty-five base-metal claims on the boundary of the company's property. No work was done on either of these properties during the year. The consulting engineer in his report states:—

During the year No. 5 ore body was continued a further 550 ft. into the lease area, and good values were maintained, the ore being unusually free of sulphides. Since crossing the lease fissure (beyond which the extensions of Nos. 13 and 6 cross-cut pipes were lost a year ago) the normal trend and dip of the ore body has been maintained, which has now reached an incline depth of approximately 1,600 ft from the surface. The indications of the permanence of this ore body are exceedingly favourable.

The adit workings on the impregnated granites, which consist, besides the main adit drive, of two sections known respectively as the north and south, in each of which development is being carried out by inclines, which have attained a depth of 163 ft., with the necessary cross-cuts, to ascertain the width of the tin-bearing granite.

The prospecting and development work done during the year in these sections, as well as the main adit drive, have fully justified the forecast in last year's report of the existence in the Zaaiplaats Hill of extensive belts (or zones) of red granite impregnated with cassiterite, which are being mined and milled at a profit, and constitute the company's chief ore reserves. Of the tonnage milled during the year, 75 per cent. was derived from the impregnated granites, the value being approximately 1 per cent. cassiterite per ton

The results for the last few years have been as follow:—

Year to July 31.	Tons milled.	Output Tons.	Per ton. Value.	Per ton. Costs.	Net Profit.	Dividend.	
			£	£	£	£	%
1925 ...	7,374	274·7	178	97	21,548	17,850	20
1926 ...	11,070	311·7	211	112	14 984	8,925	10
1927 ...	17,670	249·8	239	124	20,815	26.775	30
1928 ...	25,640	298·4	177	93	19,265	17,850	20

W. INGRAM-LYON

THE RIDDLES OF ZIMBABWE.

The news cabled by the Johannesburg correspondent of "The Morning Post" that Dr. Frobenius, the eminent German scientist who recently came to South Africa to endeavour to solve the riddle of the Zimbabwe ruins, announced last week that, whilst preliminary investigating the vicinity of the Limpopo River, he discovered the remains of an ancient temple and other evidences of a past civilisation, including sacrificial altars and a quantity of good pottery. He found this lonely settlement to be an ancient mining town, where copper and tin were obtained in large quantities. A smelting place was also unearthed, in which bronze bricks containing 7 per cent. of tin were smelted and stored. Some walls and rocks in the vicinity were found to be covered with contemporary paintings in a hitherto unknown style. Professor Frobenius considers that there must have been an enormous colony there, and the work done has made it possible for him to understand the technique of their ancient culture. The news is not startling in its importance, but bears out the well-known fact that practically every modern mine of gold or base metals located between the Vaal River and the Limpopo, and again up to the Zambesi, was found to be in the immediate vicinity of large ancient workings. If the Frobenius expedition can solve

the riddle of Zimbabwe similarly to the manner in which the famous explorer enlightened us as to negro-arab culture in Western Equatorial Africa, the world will truly have reason to be most grateful for this unique enterprise, which, it may be stated, is entirely financed by scientific institutions in Germany.

THE GAMBIA AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

THE 1927 Report on Agriculture in the Gambia (Crown Agents, 4, Millbank, S.W.1—5s.) affords, like its forerunners, evidence of the wisdom of creating a department to deal with this activity, for although there is still little prospect of introducing products other than ground-nuts, the export of these continues to rise steadily. Climatically, it would be difficult to find a less promising year than 1927, for the rains, which were much above the average, were largely concentrated in the months when dry weather was needed for ripening the crop, and not only was harvesting upset, but fermentation set in in the stacks of nuts, with consequences that will only be known when the oil-mills in Europe send in their reports next year. Thanks largely to the efforts of the department in improving the seed and methods of cultivation, the setback is not likely to affect the present season's crop, and Mr. A. J. Brooks, the Director of Agriculture, is confident that, given reasonably favourable weather, the standard of quality already reached will be maintained.

West African

This standard, which is now slightly above that of Senegal nuts, has not been achieved by the mere introduction of a better variety of nut, although that, of course, forms one step in the process, and seed to the extent of 13,992 bags of four bushels was distributed. Seed-improvement might increase the yield and the oil-content, but the great decrease in adulteration and in free fatty acidity shows what progress must have been made in inducing a particularly conservative people to improve their methods. The quantity of nuts purchased for export, while by no means a "record," was 75,386 tons, an increase over last year of 10,279 tons, or, exclusive of the increase from French territory, of 7,763 tons, and a graph of the production since 1924 shows that the decrease due to the strangle-hold obtained by the railway over the French border has been nullified since the creation of the Agricultural Department.

11-10-28

The seed-supply scheme, described in 1925, has proved self-supporting, and the seed-farms scattered about the Colony are doing good work, in spite of the difficulty of obtaining labour at the correct seasons. The clerk type of overseer has given place to the ex-soldier type, who is not ashamed to use his hands when the work demands it, and it is hoped that the training given at the Armitage School, which was opened early in the year, will go far to instil ideas of the dignity of labour. There was an increase of 3,684 in the number of "strange farmers" during the year, and in all 17,237 entered the Colony, a number which it is expected will continue to grow as a result of the distribution of improved seed, although, of course, it must not be forgotten that the migration may be influenced by administrative causes in French territory, and that the total is still far below the 24,000 that crossed the border in each of the first five years after the War. The research work being carried out on ground-nuts, apart from the improvement of seed, is chiefly connected with rosette disease, and no important discovery has yet rewarded the investigators. The manurial trials seem to show that the resistance of the plants cannot greatly be increased by soil dressings, and they have proved that fertilisers alone will not make it possible to grow ground-nuts for several years in succession on the same soil. There are many obstacles to the incorporation of organic matter with the soil, so that for some years to come there appears to be no prospect of weaning the farmer from the apparently wasteful system of shifting cultivation at present practised.

The other exports from the Gambia are palm-kernels and hides. Of the former 719 tons, value £11,611, were produced against 676 tons, value £11,203, in 1926, and this quantity is unlikely to be exceeded as long as the practice of tapping for palm-wine is continued. The number of hides and skins exported was 28,316, valued at £9,288, an increase of 18,545 over 1926, which is not as satisfactory as would appear, since Mr. Brooks considers it to be almost entirely due to disease, probably pleuro-pneumonia, which raged unchecked from May to October. The Gambia is in a most difficult position with regard to such epizootics, for her position makes co-operation with France the only possible remedy.

Further attempts to improve the food crops of the people have been made, chiefly in the direction of importing improved varieties of sorghum, but so far the results have been inconclusive. Encouragement is being given to the cultivation of cassava and sweet potatoes, and bananas, pawpaws, and mangoes are being distributed in suitable areas, the last especially attracting popular favour. The lime plots are doing well, and farmers are expected to become more interested when they realise that this crop needs no irrigation during the dry season. Efforts have been made to discover some alternative to ground-nuts as an economic crop, but this has been difficult, since the financial position precludes any hope of providing the irrigation necessary to success with most crops. Sesame has proved to be the only suitable plant, but although its value is about the same as that of ground-nuts, the lower yield per care makes it unlikely that it will ever prove attractive to the African farmer. It would seem, therefore, that the Department is justified, as much from considerations of the future as of the present, in continuing to devote its principal energies to the cultivation of the ground-nut.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LOURENCO MARQUES, October 8.

Major Pinto Teixeira at Work.

Trucks.—As was to be expected, the Union Railways desire that the C.F.L.M. should increase the number of trucks to meet the difficulty of the combined service under the Convention. At present the number of bogies running for coal by the C.F.L.M. is 121. To obtain trucks means the loss of time and the expenditure of a considerable sum of money.

African Worlds

Major Pinto Teixeira is studying what he believes a better way in meeting that demand. In a short interview this morning the Major explained how he was obtaining a history of every truck that entered Lourenço Marques, S.A.R. and C.F.L.M., time of arrival, nature of load, and time of departure. From returns already received, he found that these bogies were not doing the work that should be done—the time was far too long—that is, taking the hours from reception to off-loading or loading and return to the Transvaal border. Indeed the impression made upon me was that they ought to do three times more than they were doing. These delays are now being fully investigated. The director is full of hope that from this alone many trucks will do more running than at present.

1-3-28

Another source of supply, he stated, could be obtained by having a coal dump, with possibly a Priestman shovel, where coal could be off-loaded and placed in a position for supply; this would release more than 300 trucks. But he made it plain to me that such a scheme was not yet ripe for putting into force, but was an idea he had to meet the quick return of trucks.

Such extra truckage has to be faced in the near future, as through the Convention both exports and imports will require a large addition to the rolling stock, and the emptying of coal trucks should give the port of Lourenço Marques the advantage of having trucks to handle imports with speed, thereby making an additional attraction to importers to use even more freely this natural geographical entrance to a large area in the Union on a mileage basis.

Precooling Arrangements.—Although it is not intended that the precooling plant should be open before May next, much has to be done before that highly technical installation can be ready. The director informed the writer that ferro-concrete piles were now in course of construction, and that they should be well seasoned and ready for driving next January.

Line to Machava.—The Machava junction has now become so important owing to increased local traffic, especially to the Mozambique Portland Cement Company and provision for other industries about to be started, together with pressure to traffic on the main line, that the director is now considering the necessity of doubling the line from Lourenço-Marques to Machava. At present Machava is a crossing place for trains to and from Lourenço Marques and Machava, besides local trains, hence there is a delay in getting right through, but with a double line trains will pass right through without waiting. Such should prove beneficial to direct traffic, especially coal. The line should not prove a costly undertaking as the permanent way was relaid with that object in view by Colonel Lisboa de Lime when he was director here, nor should it take much time.

Matolla Wharf.—As the present wharf does not reach deep water, being 100 metres or so therefrom, Major Pinto Teixeira intends, after the pile-driving for the precooling plant is completed, to lengthen the Matolla wharf to deep water. Strange to say, there is a natural channel of 23 ft. at low water springs, which has not varied in depth without dredging, for the movement of vessels at all states of the tide. Port Matolla, in the near future, is bound to become an important shipping centre for the industrial production carried and to be carried on there. Besides, the authorities possess a well-equipped cold storage where killing, chilling, or freezing of animals can take place for exportation.

From this interview it is manifest that Major Pinto Teixeira has the problem of trucks well in hand, and will see to it that no truck shall remain idle, and not only so, but by such action thoroughly believes there will be no necessity for the purchase of rolling stock for the C.F.L.M. One could see by his manner in making the statement that he is determined to carry out such a plan. Even from an economical view he realises that wheels not in motion produce no revenue.

The other information disclosed in the interview indicates how wisely and thoroughly his plans are laid for the quick movement of trucks by passing Machava without a stop, and how earnestly he is looking at local development for Port Matolla.

A New Line.

Among the new lines on Major Teixeira's programme is an extension of the Xinavane line from near Magude to the Limpopo River; its construction is a matter of urgency. Now that the work is about to begin in carrying out the Limpopo Valley irrigation scheme, a definite survey will be made, and it is more than likely that Captain Prata Dais, who acted as Acting-Director of Railways, and who knows the district well and has studied alternative plans, will be relieved from other service to make this survey. The line should be completed within two years—in good time for traffic from that quarter.

An Up-to-Date Cold Storage Plant.

Yesterday I saw a fine cold storage plant acquired by the principal ship-chandling company of Lourenço Marques. It consists of the cold storage recently erected by Dr. Saldanha, also an ice factory. In the cold storage were carcases of beef, veal, pork, and mutton. From it ships are supplied with frozen meat. The ice factory is most up to date, has the latest type of filters, where water for icemaking is filtered, and the blocks are supplied to steamers taking provisions. I was informed that this pure ice is sold to vessels at a lower figure than at Durban. In fact, the efficiency in all that pertains to shipping at Lourenço Marques applies also to supplies for ships' stores. Some of these stores are kept in bond—unbroken cases—and ships have the benefit of obtaining these supplies from bond.

X X X.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

The Native Franchise.

[From the "Cape Times."]

The Prime Minister, in his speech at Estcourt, dealt in some detail with certain aspects of the native question, and we are very glad to see that in referring to the prospects of his Bill in Parliament he declared that he was not dogmatic. This we may presumably interpret as meaning that he is still open to persuasion, and that indeed is the basis on which the extra-Parliamentary Commission which will continue the work of the Select Committee on the Native Bills next November is to carry on its discussions. It is an admirable fact that the whole of the problems suggested by the Native Bills are being kept outside the party arena, and it is one of the most encouraging signs for a really fruitful settlement. We should like, however, to refer to General Hertzog's allusions to the Cape native franchise, which he describes as "the weakness" of the present system. In the compounds at Kimberley, he stated, natives were taught to write their names just before the elections and natives who could scribble their names were given the vote. That, of course, is not the only qualification but even it were, the suggestion that this eve-of-an-election instruction in scribbling is largely mythical. Here and there, it is true, a few native voters may have been added to the roll by such means, but it is absurd to argue from a few particular instances to the general, and to speak as if this were a common practice. But General Hertzog continued, somewhat illogically, to shift his argument on to quite a different ground There are more native children at school, he said in the Cape than there are white, and in a generation the natives would dominate the voters' roll, and this would lead to "promises by members who stood that the natives in the North should get the vote." Eventually, he argued, the natives would dominate, and in fairness to both races this must not occur. Here we see at work once more the old fear that the Cape native voter will secure such a predominance on the electoral rolls that he will be able to dictate the policy of the country. But twenty-four years ago the Native Affairs Commission expressed a similar anxiety, and yet after the passage of a generation there is no statistical evidence to warrant it. The European vote has increased since Union by nearly forty thousand, and the native vote by less than one sixth of that figure Even in recent years the increase of the native vote in the Cape has been surprisingly small, and gives no sign of swamping the European vote. The danger, if it may be said to be a potential danger, is so remote that it cannot be said to outweigh the grave objections to destroying the Cape native franchise altogether.

But let us take the Prime Minister's further point, that unless the present system is abolished we shall have candidates for Parliament urging the extension of the Cape system to the Northern Provinces, and touting for Native votes on that basis. We are not aware that in Cape constituencies where there is a strong Native vote any candidates have wooed them with such promises in the past. Their energies have rather been directed to maintaining the existing Cape franchise. But if we assume that there is substance in the Prime Minister's statement of the case, in what respect, it may reasonably be asked, will the situation he describes be improved under his own scheme of purely Native constituencies? When white candidates of opposing parties are seeking the Native suffrage in the wholly Native constituencies which he contemplates, it seems manifest that they will be sorely tempted to outvie one another in making pledges and promises for the extension of the Native franchise or for the creation of a larger number of Native constituencies. The draft Bill makes some attempt, it is true, to meet this point by placing restrictions on the Parliamentary activities of the elected members from the Native constituencies, but this—if we know anything of some politi-

and dates in the heat of a General Election—is pretty certain to lead to a generous rivalry between the parties in the purely Native constituencies in giving promises that they will work for the removal of the restrictions. In fact everything that General Hertzog urges against the Cape Native franchise as it exists to-day can be urged with equal force against the scheme of his Bill. It is, we suppose, almost hopeless to urge these objections against the changes proposed, but at least the country should not rush blindly into it without realising that its chief claim to virtue—that it will prevent the ignominy of European candidates touting for Native votes—really falls away when it is closely examined.

A Deplorable Division.

It is with profound regret that we observe the change of front adopted by our contemporary "The South African Outlook," from the established rôle of defender of Native rights, and the championing of the aboriginal races of South Africa; in favour of pursuing a policy of attempting to change by coercion the unanimous opinion of the Bantu against the new franchise proposals advocated by General Hertzog.

In commenting on Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu's article on this question our contemporary in its issue of the current month first maintains that the evidence given before the Select Committee does not bear out the fact that Native opinion was unanimous in standing by the *status quo*. That our contemporary should make capital out of the straying opinion of an individual who gave evidence before the Select Committee, not on behalf of the Natives organisation he represented, but on behalf of himself is an unhappy departure from the missionary spirit that our people are accustomed to finding in the columns of this paper. The pursuance of the policy of taking advantage of weaknesses of individual Native leaders with the object of dealing a blow to concerted action by our leaders is bound to create justifiable suspicion in the Native mind. The "S.A. Outlook" is the last organ we would like to see carry a stigma of this kind, if only for the memory of past services it has rendered to our people.

We are prepared to respect the opinion of others on the Native franchise question so long as they bear in mind that the first fundamental principle to be observed is that in the Premier's proposals, the underlying factor is that a sacred right is being uprooted from its original fixed bearings, and is being placed on the uncertain ground that is subject to periodical changes by parliament. We cannot subscribe to the argument that we are clinging to an eviscerated franchise Our experience in practical politics has taught us that in a British dominion a man deprived of the full privilege of individual franchise has no control whatever in shaping his destiny in the administration of his affairs politically and in peaceful and prosperous settlement in the land of his birth. The fact that the parties or the members of both parties in the North may agree to force the change is no inducement whatever that we should surrender our birthright. If Europeans generally are not prepared to leave matters to the slow process of evolution in Native development, they must be prepared to face the perpetual political strife between white and black, the seed-bed of which they are now laying. Politicians in and outside the Assembly are forcing the pace (to suit their ends) in a most delicate political issue, the *prima facie* case for which they have not established. The figures of the Native electorate quoted by the Premier far from showing that they are an imminent danger to white civilisation, have been proved by the memorandum of the Joint Council of Johannesburg and others that it is the Bantu who will for years continue to be insufficiently represented in parliament.

The Bantu in spite of this revelation are prepared to wait, and leave things to gradual healthy evolution, and the slow disillusionment of the prejudiced white section. Natives are experiencing no sleepless nights and nightmares over their sparse representation, and they are amazed why the European section are taxing their brains in attempting to evolve a new system. Natives are aware that in spite of their interests being represented not so satisfactorily as they would wish, the benefits enjoyed by Europeans in politics, commerce, industry, and land tenure are inevitably bound to overflow into their sphere as well, and whatever disability the white man seeks to impose on them, consciously or unconsciously, is a setback that the Europeans would consequently

suffer as well. The more Natives are enlightened, the more acute would the position be. This shows how inextricably interwoven the affairs of white and black are in South Africa. If a mistake was made in the premature grant of individual franchise to Natives in the Cape, a bigger mistake is being made in attempting to withdraw it from a people who have now learnt to appreciate its intrinsic value. It will mean the ushering in of an era of political agitation and unrest the end of which no one can forecast.

The contention that Natives are compelled to take what they are given by parliament, and even sacrifice without a murmur what had been given previously, is highly questionable as a policy of wisdom for the future political peace of the country. Public sentiment rules parliament, and not the latter the former. The advocates of the new change will have to ensure us that with divided public sentiment parliament will avoid the insuperable task of legislating for intricate and endless black problems of their own creation.

Happiness, its Procurement and Preservation.

[By "Ned of Old."]

[*Continued*]

If happiness consisted in things only there would be no end to the number less kinds of it. It was in this point of view that the erudite Roman writer Varro, enumerated seven hundred sorts of happiness. So, also, the learned Turkish doctor Ebn Abbas, maintained that the number of grievousities is about seven hundred thousand balancing the account between good and ill. Madame de Stael in her "Delphine," defines happiness to consist in the absence of misery. She draws comparisons and considers that, as absolutely as day is day and night is night her own beautiful and placid life, lived in the faith of God and Christ was tortured by no stormed tossed tribulation as that which affeted the lives of many others, and that the old trite saying, almost despised because so common place, namely that "goodness makes happiness," is as eternally true as that the sun shines in heaven; and that it is only evil which creates misery. How many human beings are wihout one single real evil, and yet complain of their fate?

We talk of wealth, fame and power as undeniable sources of enjoyment and limited fortune, obscurity and insignificance as incompatible with felicity. However brilliant in speculation, wealth, fame, and power are found impotent to confer felicity However, decried in prospect, limited in fortune, insignificance are by experience proved most friendly to human happiness. Le Droz who wrote a treatise upon happiness, describes the conditions necessary for it as consisting of the greatest fortitude to resist and endure the ills and pains of life, united with the keenest sensibility to enjoy its pleasures and delights.

Writers of every age have endeavoured to show that pleasure is in us and not in the object offered for our amusement. Man is in all respects constituted to be happy. Great part of infelicity of men arises not so much from their situations or circumstances as from their pride, vanity and ambitious expectations. In order to be happy these dispositions must be subdued, we must always keep before our eyes such views of the world as should prevent our expecting more from it than it is designed to afford. Menedemus being told one day that it was a great felicity to have whatever we desire, "yes," said he, "but it is much greater to desire nothing but what we have." Godliness is great riches, if a man be content with that he hath; for we brought nothing into the world, neither may we carry anything out (I Tim. 6.) Contentment is felicity. When you feel dissatisfied with your circumstances look at those beneath you who whistle out more content than the low fortuned plowman or sings more merrily than the abject cobbler that sits under the stall. What a glorious world this would be, if all its inhabitants would say with shakespeare's shepherd: "Sir, I am a true labourer, I earn that I wear; owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness glad of other men's good, contented with my farm." An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia. The smallest actual good is better than the most magnificent promises of impossibilities. The wise man of the stories would no doubt, be a grander object than a steam engine. But there are steam engines, and there se man of the stories is yet to be born.

NATIVES ON THE RAILWAYS

It is unusual that expression is given in the press in regard to the treatment of Natives on the rail ways, and the likelihood is that it is due to this unaccountable reticence that the treatment of our people in this all important State enterprise is going from bad to worse. Wholly inadequate accommodation on the trains, no awaiting-train accommodation on platforms at stations and junctions, very little time allowed Native passengers for boarding and alighting from trains at sidings, frequent detachments of the solitary third class coaches from the usual scheduled trains in case of over-tonnage, failure to reserve accommodation for second class bookings, are among the serious grievances that Natives have against the administration. Indeed these grievances are of such frequent occurence as to be rightly characterised as a scandal. It is nothing less—when one rightly maintains that third class passengers are entitled to the treatment received by first class passengers in so far as the above-mentioned complaints are concerned, and when further it is remembered that if it were not for the Native passenger traffic on trains many branch lines would have long been pronounced non-paying.

For a disgraceful state of affairs one needs to take an occasional count of the third class passengers in each of the compartments on the "8" up (East London — Cookhouse train on a Saturday afternoon

A representative of ours recently counted as many as 18 in one compartment, exclusive of the excess thrown on the corridors. The practice seems to be the cramming of any number of Natives into the third class saloon when the officials find that they have an overload for the engine, rather than make a re-adjustment among the five coaches used by a far lesser number of Europeans, or alternatively connect another engine for extra load. Such congestion we may point out, occurs in normal times, and is not incidental to holiday traffic only. As for holiday traffic, the position may be summed up in a nutshell when we relate that two well known Native teachers resorted in disgust to the use of the latrine as a sleeping place on a trip to Uitenhage last April. Most stations have no forms on the platform for use by Natives. What forms there are, are marked the shibboleth "Europeans only" and our people are pushed aside to stand exposed to all elements of the weather. Adverting to the time allowed Native passengers to board and alight from trains, a typical example of brevity is the case of a woman whose name we can give. At Lieveldt Halt near King Williamstown quite recently a Native woman with an infant child was assisted by others to board the "7" down train (Cookhouse—East London from the very low and dangerous platform they have there. As it occured, the mother only had time to board, and before her child could be handed to her the train had started to glide away. It was left to the parties at the siding to requisition the services of a man and a fast horse to make a Dick King dash to town with the baby on his back to regain the mother's company. This sounds incredible, but it is true.

It does not seem apparent to the officials of the railway that when a Native passenger takes a ticket for a particular scheduled train he is entitled by law to get there within the specified time, barring an unforeseen accident. It is not an accident to find that when a train for instance reaches Adelaide the engine has an excessive load to haul to Alice, and as often happens, detach the solitary third class to await the time-neglected goods train. As a result of this these passengers reach East London the following day instead of at 5 p.m. the previous evening, stricken with hunger and cold, as no provision was made for travelling over night. This is palpable neglect by those responsible for the running arrangements.

Lastly, second class Native passengers who have taken the trouble to book their seats, invariably find that no cards are written and attached to the windows of their compartments as should be the case. Result: they find that they have to compete for seats with those who never booked, and it is an unpleasant business indeed, when there is a large number of passengers travelling The ticket examiner in such cases becomes helpless, as it is not his own fault but that of the booking officials at the rail-head In conclusion we might ask the authorities to compare the second class segregation coach on the East London—Transkei train and that of the ordinary third class saloon on the same train and see if they can successfully deny that the latter is not superior in respect of comfort and latrine facilities. That type of second class coach we assert, has outlived its period of decency and usefulness by 30 years. Surely the Natives are entitled to better consideration for their money!

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Welcome to Mr Ballinger.

"Srike is a Gesture of Despair."

Mr W. G. Ballinger, who has come to this country from Great Britain to help in the organisation of the I C U along proper trade union lines had a rousing reception in the Workers' Hall on July 18 There were over 200 non European people present as also a number of Europeans, Speeches of welcome were delivered by Messrs Howard Pim and Rheinalt Jones who are respectively chairman and secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Mr J. T. Gumede President of the Airican National Congress and Mr J. G. Gumbs President of the I C U, Mr. Clements Kadalie presided.

The first speaker to welome Mr. Ballinger was Mr Howard Pim who said Mr. Ballinger had come at an important stage in the development of South Africa. Many people needed help and the country, which it was hoped he would sooner or later learn to regard as his own, needed his help There was no doubt that Europeans as well as Natives were extremely ignorant in regard to Trade Union movement matters, Mr. Ballinger was a qualified man in these matters, and that was the reason why he was recommended for this work by the people in the old country

Mr Pim then appealed through the Press to all Europeans to give Mr. Ballinger a fair show. The work he had undertaken to perform was a tremendous task and he was a foreigner who had to 'blaze the trail and afterwards make the road," and it was to be hoped that no jealousies would interfer in any way with his work.

Referring to Mr Kadalie's efforts to organise non European workers, the speaker pointed out that in this extraordinary country there were many changes, and the position today was not what it was when Mr Ballinger sailed for South Africa. 'These things are, so to speak, in the day's work and will pass by and gradually the sound basis of the movement will show itself and settle down into something real—something that will be of real benefit to the Natives of South Africa Taking everything into account it does not seem to me that Mr. Ballinger has come at an unfavourable time, for there are many signs which are in his favour now rather than if he came at the top of a wave of prosperity and progress.',

8-3-28

Mr J T. Gumede who followed said he preferred to speak in the vernacular because he wanted to show Mr Ballinger how glad they were to welcome him to this country. They were people, who were practically landless and homeless and whose movements were restricted by means of the Pass Laws. They were barred by colour bars from doing skilled work and earning a living wage But when they saw a number of Europeans, however small, taking interest in their welfare; they took courage and became hopeful that the day would come when they would take their equal share in the development of the country's resources and in the making and administration of its laws

Mr Letty translated

"We have no wireless telephones and telegraphs," declared Mr Gumede, amid laughter, "but to morrow every black man in the city and in the country will know about you.'

"This is a tremendous event" declared Mr Rheinallt Jones, referring to Mr. Ballinger's coming to South Africa for the purpose of organising Trade Union movement among non-European workers "and I hope all of us here to night realise that it is the beginning of a new stage in the organisation of non-European workers in the country"

After assuring Mr. Ballinger that despite our faults" he would find in South Africa amongst Europeans and Bantu—every section of the community—good friends, Mr. Rheinallt Jones proceeded to say "you could not have come to South Africa at a more interesting and at a more critical and advantageous moment It is the right moment for a closely knit and thoroughly organised development of industrialism amongst non European workers. The report of the Wage Board in regard to industrial conditions in Bloemfontein showed that a great deal could be done by steady work, by close attention to facts and details and proper organisation. What they needed was knowledge of actual facts, and to appreciate how hard it was for non-European workers who were not alive to present conditions, to understand In the work whatever different views there might be, and whatever their political opinions, they could unite in placing before the Government and Parliament and the public of South Africa the known and actual facts, so that they could have no excuse whatever for ignoring the just claims of the non European workers of the country

Referring to the absence of a representative of European workers, the speaker assured Mr Ballinger that nearly half of organised European labour in South Africa would be prepared to come and give a hand in this great work. He knew that in European Trade Unions to day they were discussing, as they never did before, their responsibilities and relations towards non-European workers "I believe, said Mr Rheinallt Jones, the time is coming when trade unionism will include not only Europeans but non Europeans as well That is the goal towards which we are working The only hope for white South Africa—for South Africa as a whole—is in the uplift of the community as a whole.'

Mr Ballinger expressed thanks for the offers made by the speakers, and stated how interested he was to hear that there was a political movement growing side by side with the I C.U because later the I C.U would require to have its political expression so to have an opportunity of assisting in making the laws of the country in which they lived and in which at present they had no say whatever

"You are attempting," declared Mr Ballinger, "to do in 50 years what has taken the white man 500 years to do If you are to do that you must make mistakes These mistakes are inseparable from movements like trade union and political organisations. The day will come when you will sit side by side with white men in Parliament, making and administering the laws for the great majority, so that all may lead a decent, happy and comfortable life."

Referring to the difficulties of the task he was called upon to perform, the speaker said he was under no illusions on the subject There were people in Great Britain who told him it was impossible to solve this South African problem—the question of raising the Natives to the standard of the Europeans. Well there was no such thing as "impossible" if they were only prepared to put their shoulders to the wheel and thoroughly study all the facts of the situation. Mr Ballinger then emphasised the need of unity in the I.C U, asking his hearers to support the I C U and stand by its leaders He warned them against revolutionary ideas and emphasised that a strike should be the last effort of any trade union "because it is a gesture of despair" That is what we have found in the Old country.' But that does not mean that you are afraid, it means you are willing to negotiate on every possible point, and to ascertain how far you can meet the other man's wishes in so far as negotiations are concerned". Umtetali

THIS WEEK'S WEST AFRICAN PRODUCE REPORTS.

West African

Messrs. J. H. Rayner, and Co., Ltd., Old Hall Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 5 :—

Cocoa.—West African steady, fair business done at about unchanged prices. Spot market more active; sales week 3,896 bags, 48s. to 52s. Business in fair fermented Accra, new crop positions, 46s. to 45s. f.o.b., further sellers Nov./Jan. at the price, buyers Oct./Dec. shpt., Oct./Nov. offers 45s. 9d. Lagos f.a.q. sold up to 43s. 6d. f.o.b., further sellers 43s. Oct./Dec. Sales A clause, Dec./Feb. shpt., 51s. ex quay, further sellers. Business in Lagos f.a.q. 10 p.c., and 35 p.c. Nov./Jan. and Dec./Feb. shpt. 48s. to 47s. 6d. ex quay. Liverpool Terminal Market.—More business done at about unchanged prices. 108 lots traded. Closing prices on Saturday—Dec., Jan. and Mar. 49s. 4½d., May 49s. 6d., July 49s. 10½d. Continental markets slow but steady, more business both spot and forward. Fair fermented Accra, main crop, in store, sold 53s. to 51s., business in good fermented Accra, new crop positions 51s. to 49s. 6d. c.i.f. Afloat offers 51s., Oct./Nov. 50s. 6d., Oct./Dec. 50s. c.i.f., buyers 6d. less. Lagos f.a.q. sold 48s. to 47s. c.i.f., sellers afloat at 47s. 6d., shpt. 47s., buyers 6d. less. New York quietly steady. More business done on spot in fair fermented Accra around 50s. to 50s. 6d. ex store. Fair fermented Accra, Oct./Dec. shpt., offering at 50s. 6d. c.i.f., some business reported. San Thomé.—53s. c.i.f. Nov./Dec.

11-10-28

Hides.—Africans dull and easy, both Easts and Wests, and value of Nigerians 11d. to 15½d., according to quality, etc.

Messrs. William Porter and Co., Ltd., Rumford Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 5 :—

Palm-oil.—A good business done in mediums and softs by Home trade during past week at declining prices.

Palm-kernels (all kinds).—Firmer last week and good business done to United Kingdom ports and to North Continent at advance of 5s. ton.

Cocoa.—United Kingdom—Spot : Much better demand. Sales last week 3,896 bags British West African, 48s. to 52s. ex store. F.o.b. D clause irregular. Business done at 48s. 6d. to 45s. Sellers now of afloat at 46s., Oct./Nov. shpt. 45s. 9d., Oct./Dec. or Nov./Jan. 45s. 6d. Buyers Oct./Dec. 45s. F.a.q. Lagos, probable sellers Nov./Jan. shpt. 48s. ex quay Liverpool. A clause very quiet. Buyers Oct./Dec. or Nov./Jan. 51s. ex quay Liverpool. Liverpool terminal market rather slow, sales only 1,080 tons. At close prices about 3d. to 4½d. down on the week. Closing values : Dec. Jan. and Mar. 49s. 4½d., May 49s. 6d., July 49s. 10½d., buyers. To-day's opening easier.

Ground-nuts.—Undecorticated easier. New crop Rufisque Dec./Jan. shpt., £15 5s., Bordeaux/Hamburg range, Gambia 5s. 6d. less. New crop Niger decorticated, Nov./Dec. shpt. £20 2s. 6d.

Niger Benniseed.—Dec./Jan. shpt. to North Continent £22 2s. 6d.

Copra.—West African, c.i.f. North Continent, £25 15s.

Castor-seed.—Nov./Dec. shpt £16 15s.

Beeswax.—Quiet. Conakry, nominal 155s. c.i.f.

Chillies.—Quiet. Nominal value 115s. c.i.f.

Coffee.—Quiet. Nominal value 85s.

Ginger.—Fully steady. Spot parcels nominal value 52s. 6d to 53s. 6d.

Piassava.—Firm; good demand. Sherbro, nominal £27 to £30; Sulima, £21 to £23; Grand Bassa, £23 to £25; Monrovian, £21 to £24; Cape Palmas, £17 to £18.

Hides.—Nominal : Accra 9d. to 9½d.; Bathurst 12d. to 13d. Conakry 14d. to 16d.; Nigerian 13d. to 15d.; Sekondi 11d. to 12d. Goatskins—Nigerian superior 34d. to 39d.; f.a.q. 8d. to 20d.; inferior, 10d. to 14d.; Bamako type 15d. to 16d.

Messrs. E. H. Perrin and Co., Ltd., Exchange Buildings, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 7 :—

Palm-oil.—Rather more business during week and fair consumptive trade at reduced prices. For early months of next year £36 5s. taken, for nearer positions £36 10s. up to £36 17s. 6d. To Continent a fair business in Oct./Nov. and Nov./Dec. shpt. at £36 10s., but they seem fairly satisfied for moment; holding off. Rather more inquiry for near material, in which oil does not appear too plentiful. Mediums for Jan./Feb. and Feb./Mar. in demand and up to £36 10s. bid without success. Shippers not offering this year's material and talking of prices above market for Feb./Mar. and Mar./April.

To-day market quiet at following spot prices based on quay terms of contract No. 21 :—

Bonny/Old Calabar, £36 15s. to £37; Opobo, £36 15s. to £37; Cameroons, £36 10s. to £36 15s.; Benin, Port Harcourt, £36 15s. to £37; Niger, Brass, New Calabar, £37 15s. to £38 5s.; Lagos, £37 12s. 6d. to £37 17s. 6d.; French Lagos, £37 2s. 6d. to £37 7s. 6d.; Sherbro/Sierra Leone, £37 to £37 5s.; Accra/Addah, £37 15s. to £38; Congo, £38 to £38 10s.; Saltponds, £38 to £38 10s.; Grand Bassas, £38 to £38 10s.; Bleached, £39 5s. to £40.

Palm-kernels.—Improved up to close of last week, but during past three days have been quiet and have lost 1s. 3d. from best price paid. To Liverpool, £20 15s. paid for anything near, while £20 13s. 9d. bidding unsuccessfully for Nov./Dec. and Dec./Jan. shpt. with sellers 2s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. more respectively.

Messrs. Leete, Son and Co., Rumford Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 7 :—

Cocoa.—Spot market dull, little inquiry, fine fermented Accra quoted 52s., inferior grades down to 47s., ex store, without buyers. Forward market dull and lower; sales, fermented Accra, Oct./Dec. shpt., 44s. 3d. to 44s. f.o.b., Nov./Jan., 44s. 3d., further sellers. F.a.q. Lagos offering 42s. 6d. f.o.b., without buyers; sellers, fine fermented, 50s. 6d., f.a.q. Lagos, 47s. ex quay.

Coffee.—Liberian, 85s.

Piassava.—Sales, Bassa, £25 to £27 15s., ex quay.

Beeswax.—Conakry £8 ex store.

Ginger.—African 54s. ex store.

Palm-oil.—Dull, with buyers generally holding off.

Palm-kernels.—Dull market at about 2s. 6d. below best prices realised during week.

Ground-nuts.—Sudden change in decorticated Nigerians, appearance of sellers coinciding with weaker market for Coromandels. After buyers to North Continent £20 7s. 6d. and business to Marseilles £20 2s. 6d., buyers now £20 and £19 15s. respectively; £19 17s. 6d. reported taken to latter port.

Messrs. Emmanuel Faure, 23, Cours de Verdun, Bordeaux, report under date Nov. 3 :—

Ground-nuts.—No change in undecorticated old crop. A small cargo of Galam, Nov. shpt., sold £15 7s. 6d. Good enquiry for old crop Nov. and Nov./Dec. shpt., but shippers hold off, still refusing £15 7s. 6d. for Rufisque and/or similar, £14 17s. 6d. Casamance and £14 7s. 6d. Bissao. New Crop.—Big shippers not willing to meet market for present. At close, crushers only be ready to pay £15 7s. 6d. for Dec./Jan., £15 5s. for Jan./Feb., one good U.K. port, 2s. 6d. less to Continental ports. Reported speculators sold one cargo of Jan./Feb. at these prices, but we have not heard of any shippers offering. Buying at Coast will soon start, and this might induce shippers to meet market.

Cocoa.—Closes at declining prices. Business done for Ivory Coast D clause new main crop at 55s. 6d. for Nov./Jan., Dec./Feb. and Jan./Feb. shpt., then 55s. 3d. Jan./Mar.; no buyers now over 55s. any of these positions. Cameroon f.a.q. E clause new main crop, business reported 45s. Nov./Dec. shpt. Buyers now 44s. 6d., shpt. Dec. to March. Lomé D clause new crop, nothing offering. Possible buyers at a shade more than for Ivory Coast D clause.

Rubber.—Unchanged.

Messrs. Feder and Berg, Hamburg, report under date Nov. 3 :—

Palm-kernels.—Firm, fair business done up to £20 12s. 6d. for Dec./Jan, shpt., £20 13s. 9d. Jan./Feb., closing sellers £20 15s. both positions.

Palm-oil.—Quieter. Sellers softs, Oct./Nov. £37 7s. 6d., Nov./Dec. shpt. £37 5s., without buyers. Lagos, Oct./Nov. offered £37 15s.

Niger Ground-nuts.—Offered freely. Sellers Nov./Dec. shpt. £20 7s. 6d., buyers £20 5s.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

THE GOLD COAST RAILWAY IN 1927/8.

THE administration report of the Gold Coast Railway for 1927/8 shows continued progress, although it is evident that the competition of motor transport is by no means to be ignored. The General Manager, Mr. R. H. Dawson, reports that with the opening of the last section of the Central Province Railway the total mileage has increased to 493, of which 475 was being maintained by "Open Lines" at the end of the year, while the mean mileage operated rose from 457 to 480. Schemes for future extension are not being neglected, and the preliminary survey of the proposed western route through the Northern Territories was completed, while that of the Western Province Railway was started, and 115 miles surveyed. According to present plans, the former scheme is to be left in abeyance until the effect of Takoradi becomes more clear, but not so the Western Province line, which would pass through productive country that promises almost immediate revenue.

Capital expenditure on the railway during the year amounted to £134,803, of which £52,152 was from loan funds and the remainder a temporary advance from revenue. This brings the total capital expenditure up to £8,432,931.

As might be expected from the increased mileage, the gross receipts once again constituted a "record," and amounted to £1,215,820, an increase of £59,367 over the previous year. This total, of course, included all sums received by the railway, even down to the contributions to the Widows and Orphans Pension Scheme, which amounted to £5,170. The working expenditure, inclusive of £95,866 set aside for renewals, increased by £30,207 to £603,089, so that the net earnings were £612,731, or £29,160 more than in 1926/7, and represented a yield of 7.26 per cent. on capital, against 7.03 per cent. The profit per mile, however, fell slightly, the respective figures for 1926/7 and 1927/8 being £1,276.96 and £1,276.52. After the deduction of loan charges and pensions, the surplus handed over to the Treasurer was £131,271.

The total loans issued amount to £8,039,726, on which the charges in 1927/8 were £386,140 for interest, £80,154 for sinking fund, and £804 for management, while the pensions bill amounted to £14,362. According to the balance-sheet, the total of the sinking fund investments is now £655,436. In making provision for renewals, the practice of setting aside fixed percentages of the present value of wasting assets was continued, with the result that although the liability for renewals was as great as, or greater than, in previous years, the actual provision made was about £5,000 less. The total sum in hand for renewals as shown in the balance-sheet was £323,205, to which should apparently be added £11,291 for interest.

The coaching traffic during the year, exclusive of over half-a-million workmen for Achimota, showed an increase by 275,576 passengers to 1,728,493. There is a difference of £24,000 between the total receipts as shown by the Traffic Manager and the Chief Accountant, but the figure returned by the latter is £268,441, or an increase of £44,410 over 1926/7. This increase is ascribed to the general prosperity of the Colony and to the provision of new services, notably of that of the rail-motor from Nsawam, the busiest passenger station on the line.

In the goods traffic there was a decrease of 55,074 tons to 750,153, but the revenue increased by £8,232 to £902,553.

GOLD COAST TRADE IN 1927.

The Gold Coast net Customs revenue for 1927 was £3,064,203, compared with £2,236,120 in 1926, an increase of £828,083. The gross revenue for the year, £3,070,954, is the largest on record and is £826,325 in excess of 1926. The cocoa exported during 1927 was 70,930 tons less than in 1926, but value in 1927 was greater by £2,546,331. The increased purchasing power of the people accounts in a great measure for the considerable increases under every sub-head of import revenue.

The value of imports for the year amounted to £13,770,543, an increase of £3,484,066 on the previous year. The undermentioned goods are principally responsible for the increased value:—

Subject to ad valorem duty:—Cotton piece goods, artificial silk goods, silk goods, iron and steel goods, apparel, perfumery, medicines and drugs, woollen goods.

Subject to specific duty:—Canned meats, canned or preserved fish, cigarettes, cement, motor spirit, sugar and common soap.

Duty free:—Motor-cars and lorries, corrugated iron sheets, pickled beef and pork, spare parts for motor-vehicles.

On September 12, 1927, the duty on motor spirit was raised from 3d. to 6d. per gallon, but importation was not affected. The following figures showing the importations of motor spirit during the last four years testify to the development in motor transport as a result of the constant addition to the mileage of motorable roads:—

1924	.....	1,832,388 gallons.
1925	.....	2,799,205 ,,
1926	.....	3,615,014 ,,
1927	.....	4,818,887 ,,

The importation of motor vehicles also continues to increase, and in 1927 2,914 motor-cars and lorries, valued at £690,822, were imported, as against 1,453 in 1926, valued at £350,161. Of the motor-lorries and cars imported in 1927 the United States supplied 2,261 and the United Kingdom only 290.

The Export Trade of the Colony.

The value of exports for 1927 was £14,350,355, being £2,245,555, or 18.55 per cent., greater than the value of the exports for 1926. This value is the highest on record. The value of exports of domestic products and manufactures including bullion, was in excess of that for the previous year by £2,459,618, or 22.36 per cent.

The following table shows the value of the various classes of exports arranged in groups for 1926 and 1927:—

Classes.	1926.	1927.
	£	£
Domestic products and manufactures (excluding bullion)	10,999,103	13,458,72
Foreign products and manufactures	38,292	51,75
Bullion	850,042	727,18
Coin	217,363	112,70
Total	12,104,800	14,350,355

The development of the diamond industry has been remarkable, and with the installation of additional and improved machinery, the opening of new mines, and the growing use of diamonds such as are won in the Colony for industrial purposes, the future of the industry looks bright.

369,205 tons of manganese were exported in 1927, an increase over 1926 of 24,272 tons. As soon as Takoradi, with its improved facilities for handling and shipping ore functions as a port, the export should increase considerably, for the geographical position of Insuta and the quality of the ore are favourable to competition with other important manganese ore-producing countries.

The export of raw cocoa, including 4,842 tons exported by land and by inland navigation, amounted to 209,910 tons valued at £11,727,566. The value given is the declared f.o.b. value, which includes the export duty of £1 3s. 4d. per ton. Compared with 1926 there is a decrease in quantity of 20,930 tons, but an increase in value of £2,546,331. The average value per ton for 1927 was £55.87; for 1926 it was £39.77.

The destinations of the cocoa exported were:—United States, 60,529 tons, United Kingdom 48,288, Germany 44,040, Holland 38,953, France 7,287, other countries 10,813.

The Colony's Seaborne Trade.

The table of external seaborne trade of the Gold Coast for 1927 shows that Great Britain supplied over 57 per cent. of the imports and took over 30 per cent. of the exports. The United States supplied about 11 per cent. of the imports, France 3 per cent., Holland 6 per cent., Germany 8 per cent., and the United States took 24 per cent. of the exports, France 4 per cent., Holland 15 per cent., and Germany 17 per cent.

The import trade with all parts of the Empire represented 63.56 per cent. of the total import trade and is less by 3.44 per cent. than similar trade for 1926. The share of the import trade appropriated by the United Kingdom was 2.05 per cent. more than in the former year.

The chief articles imported from the rest of British West Africa were coal, cotton goods, farinaceous preparations, and common soap; from the United States beef and pork, flour, rice, kerosene oil, lamps and lanterns, motor-vehicles and tyres therefor, motor spirit, sugar (refined), and tobacco, unmanufactured; from Germany agricultural implements, aerated waters, beer, beef and pork, cement, cotton goods, cutlery, enamelware, earthenware, brassware, buckets and basins, perfumery, silk goods, and sugar (refined); from Holland beer, cotton goods, rice and gin; and from France aerated waters, brandy, cotton goods, silk goods, motor-vehicles and tyres therefor, perfumed spirits, and wines.

In 1913 the percentage of exports sent to Empire markets was 72.19; in 1927 it was 33.55, but foreign markets in 1927 absorbed 83 per cent. of the manganese ore, 61 per cent. of the mahogany, and 76 per cent. of the cocoa exported.

There was a satisfactory increase in the number and tonnage of shipping which entered and cleared during 1927 as compared with 1926. 900 vessels, representing an aggregate net registered tonnage of 2,458,570 entered the ports of the Colony during the year, and 891 vessels of a total net registered tonnage of 2,437,830 cleared for overseas in the same trade period. In 1926 the vessels entered inwards totalled 867, representing a net registered tonnage of 2,407,509, and 865 vessels cleared outwards during the same period with a total net registered tonnage of 2,406,027.

Sir Ofori Atta's Return.

Sir Ofori Atta's "picturesqueness" is, of course, not so noticeable at the Gold Coast as in England, and his return via Sekondi did not therefore attract so much attention as did his movements in England. But the undoubted success of his visit has drawn a general welcome, for the prestige of the Gold Coast has gained by his travels. It is good to see that, largely through Sir Ofori's own acts, the first suspicion that he was making the journey as some sort of apostle of the Provincial Councils system has entirely died down, and indeed, it is evident from all his reported acts and utterances that his journey was what it purported to be, that of a progressive ruler out to study European civilisation, and to extract from it such lessons as he considered useful for his own people.

Why a Special Commission?

Information from Pretoria is to the effect that the Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Native Bills has since been created a Special Commission. The terms of reference of this new Commission are not yet made known. After examining and taking evidence from 4[illegible] witnesses over a lenghty period this Select Committee has been glorified into a Commission to do exactly the same work over again. It baffles understanding to find out what fresh ground is to be opened up by this change. General Smuts has advised a Convention on the Native Bills. Natives have repeatedly asked for a round-table conference, where they would be afforded the opportunity of free [illegible] Restricting Natives within the orbit of answering tiresome questions by a Commission arguing from the European point of view, does not sound like doing justice to a people most concerned in the proposed changes. It would seem that the Prime Minister is not satisfied with the nature of evidence given before the Select Committee as to its

suitability in carrying out his plans, hence another attempt with a Commission.

The annual government Native Conference we are informed, is due to meet in November, and we must confess we are at a loss to see the justification of this conference being put through the ordeal of discussing these Native bills a second time when government has not taken them a step further. It was understood that government were to remodel the bills after perusing the report of the Select Committee on them, in which case it would have been most opportune to call the Native conference. It will be remembered that this conference was the adoption by parliament of the principle of consultation with Natives in their affairs. The three Native Affairs Commissioners were statutorily appointed to ensure full ventilation of Native views. But alas! we have one of the Commissioners, Mr van Niekerk who is paid £1,000 a year to represent Native views saying before the Select Committee; "I really do not think it will be in the best interest of the country and of the Natives that we should hear his views on any scheme. It is the white man's job to say what he is prepared to give the Native." (page 121.)

This view is well known as a platform plank of the Nationalist Party. It more than ever drives home to us the fact that these bills cannot be discussed without the atmosphere of party politics, no matter what camouflage is indulged in to prove the contrary. Mr van Niekerk let the cat out of the bag in saying, "I think one or other of the political parties may suffer if we suddenly take the Native votes in the Cape and I do not think that would be fair." (Page 111). It suggests that the Transvaal Nationalist Party members are not prepared to concede more than 2 members to represent Natives in the Lower House, for Mr van Niekerk advocates this in his evidence. We may therefore be justified in assuming that it is the party political aspect that is now causing the Prime Minister to ignore the Select Committee evidence in favour of a Special Commission with the hope that there may be a probable chance of a change in the nature of evidence to be taken by the Special Commission which would lead to the consummation of his plans.

The Reverend MacPherson said he hardly expected to have the privilege of speaking and felt it a great honour. He knew he had behind him the good wishes of the Transkei people toward the Council starting that day. He felt glad that this movement had so far advanced and that they were willing to shoulder a burden essentially their own. He thought the future had great promise for them as they had taken their own work on their own shoulders. The greatest difficulty in the Transkei was lack of trust between man and man.

The white men said Natives did not trust each other and when one was placed in position of authority they wished to drag him down. He advised them not to worry their Council but to trust them. It was time there was a wider outlook and South Africa wanted co-operation between races. They should remember that the Government sees South Africa as a whole and that they were only dealing with a small area and their recommendations might be upsetting for the whole and hence the veto. They must give Government credit for the best intentions. Finally he said "trust God, trust Government, trust your Council."

Mr. Schonegevel said he did not know much about the Búnga system but had come from King William's Town to wish the new Council the best of good luck. He said this was not the occasion to go into Provincial Council work but he would go into the matter of Native education at a meeting he would hold the following week. He made a few more remarks and again wished the Council good luck.

Councillor S. F. Sonjica responded on behalf of the Council and said they could not be expected to say much seeing that, as the speakers had said, the Council was still a child one day old. A child often fell down before it could walk and he hoped that when that happened they would be helped. There were many speakers that day and he thanked them. They were very glad that Mrs. Stewart was there to see her "children." They realized that there was something good in the Council if she were here. The foundations were good and the building should be good.

Councillor S. Peteni said he supported the speaker in thanking the meeting. The speeches of the Magistrate, Chief Native Commissioner, Missionaries and the Member for the Provincial Council had been good. He was very surprised to see Mrs. Stewart here and the occasion must be a very good one. They were very thankful to see her there and also the wife of the Chief Native Commissioner. A wife could be very helpful in speaking for those in need of help as pilate's wife did.

Mrs. Stewart congratulated the Natives on having obtained a Council. She offered them some advice, the result of a lifetime's experience of work for their welfare, material and spiritual. She spoke not only to the men, but to the women also because she asked the men present to take his message to their wives at home.

Other speeches were delivered by David Scilishe, Ebenezer Mankazana and T Rode all of whom said the people were glad to have the Council and they must try to help it by being loyal to the councillors.

After the visitors had left, the Council went into committee and transacted some preliminary business including the selection of the Standard Bank for the custody of Council Funds. The members of the Council are Fani Sonjica and Shelton Peteni (Governor General's nominees) and James Petela, Rev. Vice Kwatsha, Elijah Mashologa and Solomon Tamsanqa (elected).

Taxation Statistics.

The financial statement issued by the Department of Native Affairs (see Government Gazette No. 1732 Notice No 1775) showing the revenue raised from the General and Local taxes paid by Native males in the Union since the year 1920, though overdue is nevertheless welcome. The huge figures show that in comparison to numbers the poor Native had the benefit of reduced taxation that Europeans were fortunate to be allowed in their ordinary Income Tax, though Act 41 of 1925 makes certain allowances in cases of old age and physical infirmity. In practice we find that old and feeble Natives earning no wages but who happen to own a few head of cattle and sheep are made by the officials to pay the tax on the score that they are not regarded as paupers. Unprecedented conditions of the last drought called forth no sympathetic consideration for the black tax-payer, hence the substantial sum of £466,478 which represents only one fifth of the General Tax collections from Native males in the Union. The Local Tax levied from Natives in the Crown locations together with Quit-rents totals £476,057. Therefore for the period 1st January 1926 to 31st March 1928 an amount of £944,535 was collected from Natives in General and Local tax, and with the interest on investments added to this (£10,666), the taxes aggregate £955,201. The Union Government grant to Native Education under Act 46 of 1925 is £680,000, but expenditure in Native Education in the four provinces totals £927,805. No doubt the additional funds were drawn from the Native Development Fund which represents one fifth of the General Tax revenue. The balance on 31st March 1928 on this fund is shown as amounting to £144,342 and it is peculiar why funds for further developing Native Education are not forthcoming when a substantial balance as above is reported. The Cape participated in the Native Education fund to the extent of £608,600 while Natal, Transvaal and O.F.S. received £145,092, £133,350, and £40,763 respectively. The leading Native educational institutions being situate in the Cape answer for the correspondingly large item; but we venture to state that this expenditure is far from being commensurate with the demands of the Cape even at that figure. Agricultural Education funds are drawn from the General tax proceeds of 4/- in the £1 poll tax, and part of this has been disbursed as follows :—Fort Cox Farm (Capital) £5,301; maintenance of same farm £245; Demonstrators' salaries (European and Natives) £5,098; Equipment of Livestock £1,682; Grants £57; total £12,383. After deducting expenses for

(1) Publications "History of the Zulu Nation" (2) Amounts touched for Native Development. With this gold mine, shown as transit, (3) Sundry payments, it is surprising that our Native which comprises, we assume the appreciable amount of educational needs are allowed taxes collected in areas where £129,621 still remains unspent for want of funds. no Local Councils exist.

suitability in carrying out his plans, hence another attempt with a Commission.

The annual government Native Conference we are informed, is due to meet in November, and we must confess we are at a loss to see the justification of this conference being put through the ordeal of discussing these Native bills a second time when government has not taken them a step further. It was understood that government were to remode the bills after perusing the report of the Select Committee on them, in which case it would have been most opportune to call the Native conference. It will be remembered that this conference was the adoption by parliament of the principle of consultation with Natives in their affairs. The three Native Affairs Commissioners were statutorily appointed to ensure full ventilation of Native views. But alas! we have one of the Commissioners, Mr van Niekerk who is paid £1,000 a year to represent Native views saying before the Select Committee; "I really do not think it will be in the best interest of the country and of the Natives that we should hear his views on any scheme. It is the white man's job to say what he is prepared to give the Native." (page 121.)

This view is well known as a platform plank of the Nationalist Party. It more than ever drives home to us the fact that these bills cannot be discussed without the atmosphere of party politics, no matter what camouflage is indulged in to prove the contrary. Mr van Niekerk let the cat out of the bag in saying, "I think one or other of the political parties may suffer if we suddenly take the Native votes in the Cape and I do not think that would be fair." (Page 111). It suggests that the Transvaal Nationalist Party members are not prepared to concede more than 2 members to represent Natives in the Lower House, for Mr van Niekerk advocates this in his evidence. We may therefore be justified in assuming that it is the party political aspect that is now causing the Prime Minister to ignore the Select Committee evidence in favour of a Special Commission with the hope that there may be a probable chance of a change in the nature of evidence to be taken by the Special Commission which would lead to the consummation of his plans.

The Reverend MacPherson said he hardly expected to have the privilege of speaking and felt it a great honour. He knew he had behind him the good wishes of the Transkei people towards the Council starting that day. He felt glad that this movement had so far advanced and that they were willing to shoulder a burden essentially their own. He thought the future had great promise for them as they had taken their own work on their own shoulders. The greatest difficulty in the Transkei was lack of trust between man and man.

The white men said Natives did not trust each other and when one was placed in position of authority they wished to drag him down. He advised them not to worry their Council but to trust them. It was time there was a wider outlook and South Africa wanted co-operation between races. They should remember that the Government sees South Africa as a whole and that they were only dealing with a small area and their recommendations might be upsetting for the whole and hence the veto. They must give Government credit for the best intentions. Finally he said "trust God, trust Government, trust your Council."

Mr. Schonegevel said he did not know much about the Búnga system but had come from King William's Town to wish the new Council the best of good luck. He said this was not the occasion to go into Provincial Council work but he would go into the matter of Native education at a meeting he would hold the following week. He made a few more remarks and again wished the Council good luck.

Councillor S. F. Sonjica responded on behalf of the Council and said they could not be expected to say much seeing that, as the speakers had said, the Council was still a child one day old. A child often fell down before it could walk and he hoped that when that happened they would be helped. There were many speakers that day and he thanked them. They were very glad that Mrs. Stewart was there to see her "children." They realized that there was something good in the Council if she were here. The foundations were good and the building should be good.

Councillor S. Peteni said he supported the speaker in thanking the meeting. The speeches of the Magistrate, Chief Native Commissioner, Missionaries and the Member for the Provincial Council had been good. He was very surprised to see Mrs. Stewart here and the occasion must be a very good one. They were very thankful to see her there and also the wife of the Chief Native Commissioner. A wife could be very helpful in speaking for those in need of help as pilate's wife did.

Mrs. Stewart congratulated the Natives on having obtained a Council. She offered them some advice, the result of a lifetime's experience of work for their welfare, material and spiritual. She spoke not only to the men, but to the women also because she asked the men present to take her message to their wives at home.

Other speeches were delivered by David Scilishe, Ebenezer Mankazana and T Rode all of whom said the people were glad to have the Council and they must try to help it by being loyal to the councillors.

After the visitors had left, the Council went into committee and transacted some preliminary business including the selection of the Standard Bank for the custody of Council Funds. The members of the Council are Fani Sonjica and Shelton Peteni (Governor General's nominees) and James Petela, Rev. Vice Kwatsha, Elijah Mashologa and S lomon Tama (elected).

Taxation Statistics.

The financial statement issued by the Department of Native Affairs (see Government Gazette No. 1732 Notice No 1775) showing the revenue amassed from the General and Local taxes paid by Native males in the Union since the year 1920, though overdue is nevertheless welcome. The huge figures show that in comparison to number of the poor Native had the benefit of reduced taxation that Europeans were fortunate to be allowed in their ordinary Income Tax, though Act 41 of 1925 makes certain allowances in cases of old age and physical infirmity. In practice we find that old and feeble Natives earning no wages but who happen to own a few head of cattle and sheep are made by the officials to pay the tax on the score that they are not regarded as paupers. Unprecedented conditions of the last drought called forth no sympathetic consideration for the black tax-payer, hence the substantial sum of £466,478 which represents only one fifth of the General Tax collections from Native males in the Union. The Local Tax levied from Natives in the Crown locations together with Quit-rents totals £476,057. Therefore for the period 1st January 1926 to 31st March 1928 an amount of £944,535 was collected from Natives in General and Local tax, and with the interest on investments added to this (£10,666), the taxes aggregate £955,201. The Union Government grant to Native Education under Act 46 of 1925 is £680,000, but expenditure in Native Education in the four provinces totals £927,805. No doubt the additional funds were drawn from the Native Development Fund which represents one fifth of the General Tax revenue. The balance on 31st March 1928 on this fund is shown as amounting to £144,342 and it is peculiar why funds for further developing Native Education are not forthcoming when a substantial balance as above is reported. The Cape participated in the Native Education fund to the extent of £608,600 while Natal, Transvaal and O.F.S. received £145,092, £133,350, and £40,763 respectively. The leading Native educational institutions being situate in the Cape answer for the correspondingly large item; but we venture to state that this expenditure is far from being commensurate with the demands of the Cape even at that figure. Agricultural Education funds are drawn from the General tax proceeds of 4/- in the £1 poll tax, and part of this has been disbursed as follows :—Fort Cox Farm (Capital) £5,301; maintenance of same farm £245; Demonstrators' salaries (European and Natives) £5,098; Equipment of Livestock £1,682; Grants £57; total £12,383. After deducting expenses for

The balance of £80,047 is shown as at 31st March 1928 comprises, we assume (1) Publications "History of the Zulu Nation" (2) Amounts in transit, (3) Sundry payments. With this gold mine, it is surprising that our Native Development Fund touched for the appreciable amount of educational needs are allowed which comprises, we assume £129,621 still remains taxes collected in areas where no Local Councils exist. to suffer for want of funds.

Race Problem – 1928

EAGLE
Pittsfield, Mass
AUG 28 1928

MONEY IMPERIALISM AGAIN DECRIED AT INSTITUTE IN THIS INSTANCE FOR AFRICA

Exploitation of Negroes Assailed Eloquently by Negro University President—South American Blacks Also Threatened, He Says—British Propaganda Scored as "Malicious"

WILLIAMSTOWN, Aug. 28.—A touching appeal to the "humanity loving minorities" of the world to use their influence to call a halt to economic exploitation of African Negroes by the powers of Europe, was made yesterday at the Institute of Politics general session in Chapin hall, by President Mordecai Johnson of Howard university, himself a Negro.

The session started out in a quiet sort of way with a scholarly exegesis of conditions among the Africans by Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy association. But Dr. Johnson was not content with this. He wanted to inject color, reality and grimness that were lacking in the other report. And he did this admirably. He and his cause received considerable sympathy because of his stand and plea. Dr. Buell's was much less positive.

Nor did President Johnson confine his censure to Europe. He said American Negroes might well tremble with apprehension at the recent purchase by the Firestone Rubber company of 1,000,000 acres in Liberia. Dr. Johnson feels that without questioning the motives of the American industrialists, this will lead to economic control which will inevitably mean political domination and the death of all hopes for the freedom of Liberia.

Dr. Buell pointed out the great natural resources of Africa that are practically untouched. He referred to the underpopulation and the increase of disease since the coming of the white man. The greatest evil in his opinion, "is the system of forced labor imposed by European capitalistic interests, the result of the underpopulation, the effect of which is to transport thousands of African negroes against their wills hundreds of miles from their villages to spots where railroads or mines are being constructed. "Dr. Buell said he knew of one such spot where the death rate among such forced laborers was as high as 600 out of 1000. But he feels that conditions are improving and the European governments and the League of Nations, with its mandates commission, are doing much to give the black man a chance. Dr. Buell had only praise for the work of American missionaries in Africa.

Publicity Negroes' Duty

President Johnson, with all the powerful eloquence of his native preachers, plus the intellectual finish of a university training, declared that one of the highest duties of the American negro should be to constitute himself the main publicity agent in the western world for the African negro. It may be said that President Johnson performed this duty admirably, drawing applause from the members on several occasions.

The good intent of the missionaries, said Dr. Johnson, has not been able to counteract the disastrous effect of economic exploitation in Africa. "There is a great deal of dignity and beauty in the naked African savage. He can be a man without his clothes. He has courage and intelligence. There is not an economic group in the wide world that has touched the black man, that can stand unashamed in the presence of the missionaries."

Dr. Johnson believes there is a humanity loving minority in every country struggling againsst overwhelming odds for the establishment of civilization that has not yet arrived, a civilization that will adapt the scientific knowledge of the world to the welfare of the great mass of people rather than for the benefit of a comparatively small capitalistic class.

"There still lives in the soul of the American Negro a vast uneasiness in the presence of modern industrial life. Perhaps it is a good thing to have 12 million people in the midst of this western civilization that is not feeling sure of itself, who feel that the present distribution of land and chattels is not necessary to the millennium," declared the Negro university president.

Dr. Johnson went on to say that the Negro belongs psychologically in Africa. He denied that American Negroes are interested in intermarriage with and eventual adoption by whites. "There are hundreds of thousands of mulattos in the United States who would rather die than be called white," he said. "The mulatto feels that so long as black is considered an inferior color, he must not win his liberty and security at the expense of his cause. The Negro is interested in Africa as a matter of honor. It offers him what is probably his last chance for adequate self-expression as a great race."

Christianity Chief Hope

The Negro would like to see the Christian elements of the West get the upper hand in Africa, according to Dr. Johnson. He sees no hope in the present economic domination of European nations there. "The white industrialist in Africa could not give an excuse to his own wife for the continuance of his economic regime."

While admitting that there have been wise and beneficent British statesmen, and assuring his audience that he did not favor ousting the British of their political control in Africa, Dr. Johnson struck some heavy blows at the British economic policy. "The British nation which has been sitting on top of the world for 150 years, must be ashamed of itself," he declared, "when it cannot find employment for 2,000,000 of its own laborers." He intimated that Great Britain is a leader in advocating the retention of the present capitalistic system. He rallied at the British fear of the "great human experiment that is being conducted in Russia," and he condemned the powers for "foisting their rotten economic system upon nationalist China."

Dr. Johnson charged the British foreign office with countenancing maliciously false propaganda about India, instancing one case of a British statement that Ghandi was "terrorizing" thousands of Indians. Dr Johnson said from his personal acquaintance with Ghandi and a knowledge of the gentle, humanitarian doctrines of Ghandi, that this statement was intentionally misrepresenting the facts "to prepare the public for the consummation of another dastardly political act."

Marcus Garvey, Negro leader of the back to Africa movement, made a great mistake in advocating that the Negroes return to Africa and organize a military uprising, according to Dr. Johnson. "Mr. Garvey made the mistake of adopting the western principle of nationalism. Christianity may be our vocation, but nationalism is our real religion here in the western world. Another error committed by Mr. Garvey was his advocacy of American Negroes renouncing their American citizenship.

"The American Negro has no intention of doing any such thing. He wants to keep the rights he has, and what is more he will fight until exhausted for his full political rights in this country," declared the Negro leader.

"No," he concluded, "the battle of Africa must be fought by the humanity loving minorities in London, Paris and New York."

Two Factors to Consider.

Dr. Buell said two factors must be taken into account in considering the future of Africa. The rst is that it abounds in resources and the second is that is is sparsely people by "languid" races. As a result a conflict has arisen, he remarked.

"The European has solved the conflict," Dr. Buell said. "by making the natives work. Forced labor has three forms: First, for porterage, or the transport of goods upon the heads of human carriers; second, natives are obliged to travel hundreds of miles down the Congo to work on railways on the West Coast; third, in many territories, notably the Portuguene French and Belgian, and indirectly in some British territories, natives are being compelled to work for private enterprise. Thousands, if not millions are annually obliged to submit to this type of servitude."

This conflict and the conditions of European occupation, he asserted have actually increased disease in Africa. In the past sleeping sickness was confined to the coast, but European soldiers have carried it to the interior. Other diseases, he said, have been taken there. In the artificial labor centers the death rate sometimes is as high as 80 to 100 per thousand.

West African Mail 25 Aug 28

NIGERIA LETTER.

African Initiative and "E. D.'s" Recognition.

The grounding and loss of the s.s. Oshogbo on July 12 some 23 miles east of Lagos might easily have been accompanied by a serious loss of life, for in the heavy surf that is constantly experienced along the coast several of the lifeboats were dashed against the vessel and broken. That such loss did not occur was due to the courageous initiative of an African fisherman, Mr. O. Labi, an immigrant from the Gold Coast, who lived at the village of Weleko, and was awakened by the continued sounding of the ship's syren. His knowledge of the coastline at once gave him a clue to the vessel's plight, and a rescue party with three canoes was organised so promptly that 60 persons were saved, among them eight Europeans, all of whom were taken to Lagos next day by the "Attendant." For his timely assistance Mr. Labi was presented with £30 by Messrs. Elder Dempster, and it is being strongly suggested that he should receive some public recognition of his services. The courage of West African fishermen has never been in question, and the conduct of those concerned in the present instance shows that to that courage is added the unselfishness in danger that we associate with the best traditions of the sea.

Prince Ibikunle Akitoye II.

Although the head of the house of Docemo is officially regarded as possessed of no political power, the death of Prince Ibikunle Akitoye II. on July 27 created a tense feeling. Of Prince Ibikunle personally there is little to be said, but the fact that he filled a difficult position for three years without serious ebullition of feeling on the part of his opponents shows that he was able to overcome the temptation to presume on the help he might receive from the Government, and also to restrain the actions of his followers, which was, perhaps, an even more difficult matter. Prince Ibikunle was born in 1871, and after being educated at the C.M.S. Grammar School, adopted a commercial career, which he left for a short time to fill a position on the Railway. He visited Europe a couple of years before the War, and the trip undoubtedly helped to broaden his outlook. His funeral was carried out according to the rites of the United Native African Church in the customary part of the palace at Idunganran, and among those present were the Governor's Private Secretary, representing Sir Graeme Thomson, the Administrator, and other important officials. The occurrence of a vacancy in the office of "Eleko" at the present moment adds greatly, of course, to the tension with regard to Prince Eshugbayi, but, properly used, it offers the best possible opportunity to set matters on a better basis. By this one does not mean that Prince Eshugbayi should be reinstated without question, but that while the vacancy exists it is possible to call an impartial enquiry into the customary method of appointment, and when this has been definitely fixed the choice of a candidate should be proceeded with, and the popular decision upheld. Such an inquiry would be difficult and patience-trying, as previous enquirers have found, but unless it can be carried to an issue that affords reasonably general satisfaction there can be no stability in the local politics of Lagos.

A "Gunpowder Plot."

The Lagos Police Magistrate has given judgment in the "Nigerian Gunpowder Plot" case which has been the object of a good deal of public attention. The case arose indirectly from the Privy Council decision in the Eleko case, for at first there was an impression abroad that Prince Eshugbayi would at once be brought back to Lagos. Among the many conflicting rumours that this naturally excited the "Lagos Daily News" published one regarding an alleged plan to shoot the ex-Eleko on his way back to Lagos, and this formed the basis on which the editor, Mr J. A. Olushola, was charged in court for issuing a statement likely to incite one section of the community against another. In fining Mr. Olushola £50, or three months' imprisonment, the Magistrate observed that the evidence for the defence was almost entirely hearsay, and that the article published was undoubtedly likely to incite one faction against another in a town where the affairs of th

Eleko formed one of the principal subjects of contention. He further pointed out that the best course in a case of this kind was to carry the matter to the Criminal Investigation Department, when it would receive proper investigation without endangering the public peace.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Cutting from Times 11-10-28

Gin.

As Sir Ransford Slater reminded the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce last week, gin is a word of loud and widespread reverberation in the deliberations of the League of Nations when dealing with West Africa. It raises in an acute form the whole of the issues included in the decision as to the supply of European alcoholic liquors imposed upon the League by Article XXII. of its Covenant. The opponents of the trade maintain that the consumption of European alcoholic liquors is ruining the peoples of West Africa, who are injured economically and morally by being induced to waste their substance on a poison which leads to physical and moral deterioration, and that, therefore, the traffic is as immoral as the slave trade and should be as strictly forbidden. To the supporters of the trade, who claim that the deleterious liquors of former days have been replaced by sound spirits of high quality, they reply that quality is a minor issue, and that the real evil is the waste of money on a thing inherently bad, bringing no benefit to the moderate consumer and grave injury to the immoderate. This point has been brought to the front by the picturesque incident of the burial of Nana Sir Ofori Atta's presentation case of gin, "the people unanimously agreeing that gin would no longer be their friend." The Nana is too clear-sighted to join the extremists who prophesy the approaching ruin of the West African peoples through the spread of drunkenness. The passage from his speech to the Legislative Council quoted by Sir Ransford shows that he and his fellow Chiefs are not alarmed about injury to the health and morals of their people through the liquor traffic, but fear the effect on their prosperity. "The question to be considered is not: Are the people of the Gold Coast excessive drinkers? . . . There is a more primary and more essential question. . . . Is the drink trade tending to make the people paupers? . . . Are they being robbed of the fruits of their labour by the sale to them of cheap liquor at exhorbitant prices?" As the exorbitant prices are due to the heavy duties levied by the Government in order to discourage the trade, the cure is held to be as bad as the disease, and the improvements, referred to by Sir Ransford, effected by a revenue obtained by the impoverishment of the people to be of doubtful benefit.

The Defence.

The "Drink Question" is much in the minds of the Western nations to-day, and its bearing on the well-being of the White Races is as keenly discussed as the question of its effects on the Coloured Races. The bold experiment of the United States has shown how difficult is the enforcement of total prohibition, even when it has been approved by a majority of one of the most advanced sections of the White Races. In Africa the problem is complicated by the inability of a majority of those affected to appreciate the gravity and weight of argument for and against it, and by the exaggerations of sentimental friends of the Coloured Races. As Sir Ransfold told his hosts, "it is necessary in this difficult question to beware of exaggeration and of attaching disproportionate value to speeches, facts, and figures." From some of the statements made by opponents of the trade it might be thought that the consumption of gin was increasing largely and rapidly, and that the industry and productive capacity of the Gold Coast people were being undermined thereby. Sir Ransford showed that "the Gold Coast native drinks much less than he did ten years ago, and he spends far more than he did on his clothes and food. If the value and volume of the trade of the Gold Coast are any criterion, the Gold Coast native becomes yearly more industrious and efficient, and prosperous and industrious people are not ordinarily heavy drinkers." It can be reasonably maintained that the Gold Coast people have become more temperate as they have become more prosperous. At the beginning of the cocoa epoch, in 1892, with a population of 1,473,882, the total import of malt liquors, spirits, and wine was 1,295,132 gallons, valued at £104,883; the report on the Blue Book for that year stated the consumption of trade spirits to be six-sevenths of a gallon per head. In 1913, in spite of the enormous increase of wealth in the country brought by the cocoa industry and of a low duty, the consumption had only increased to 1.37 gallons per head. Since 1919 the duty has been increased from 5s. 6d. to 25s. per gallon, and this has, no doubt, acted as a check on consumption which was less in 1927 (a year of great prosperity) than in 1913 by 500,000 gallons. The consumption per head was 3.15 pints, or 0.39 gallons, less than half of the average consumption in 1892. But if the Gold Coast native is consuming less gin he has to pay, proportionately, a great deal more for it. Sir Ransford puts the increase since 1912 at 160 per cent. Neither Nana Sir Ofori Atta nor any other temperate critic will charge the Government with a desire to extract revenue from the people at the expense of their welfare, but Sir Ransford admitted "that the point which chiefly strikes me, and possibly others of his fellow chiefs, is not that the gin traffic is doing harm morally to his people, but that it is impoverishing them."

The Remedy.

This is Sir Ofori Atta's contention. I would suggest to him and his fellow-Chiefs and the leaders of the educated classes that it lies with them, more than with the Government, to remedy the evil. It is generally admitted that the Gold Coast people are normally temperate, that drunken people are rarely seen, and that habitual drunkenness is confined to a few unfortunate degenerates. The only times when drunkenness is prevalent are when ceremonies connected with the funerals of Chiefs and rich persons are being carried on, when their families deem it their duty to make a lavish display of wealth, at the annual sacrifices to the family and tribal ancestral spirits, and the festivals of first fruits, which are naturally occasions of fervent public rejoicing. These several occasions probably cause one-half of the national consumption of spirits. The honour paid to the dead and the gratitude to the spirits are supposed to be in proportion to the lavishness of the expenditure and the amount of liquor consumed. If the Chiefs and other leaders take in hand the enlightenment of their people and steadily discountenance extravagance and drunkenness at funerals and festivals they can do more than the Government to diminish the consumption of spirits and to stop the impoverishment of their people thereby. The Government's only means of diminishing the traffic is to tax the liquors still more heavily and thus increase the burden complained of. In this matter the hands of the Government are tied by hesitation to destroy a source of easily collected revenue, and by its inability to treat black and white alike as Sir Ransford claims they have done in others, such as forestry and agriculture. "Are we sure," he asks, "we can take the same steps conscientiously and use the same arguments in respect of alcohol as we have been using in respect of these other questions?" The people's answer is in the negative; the remedy must be applied by themselves.

W. F. H.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

In the photograph of the Commissioner's clerical staff, Northern Province, Sierra Leone, from left to right, front row, are Messrs. E. G. B. Hinton, D. T. Taylor, A. T. A. Beckley (office assistant), [illegible] Kabia and H. H. Thomas. In the back row are members of the force of court messengers, mainly recruited from ex-soldiers of exemplary character.

West Africa

Mr. Idun's Wedding at Accra.

The wedding of Mr. S. Okai Quashie-Idun, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-law (now practising at the Gold Coast), to Miss Charlotte Eunice Amoah, for some time head teacher of the Wesleyan Girls' High School at Cape Coast, took place at the Wesley Chapel, Accra, on January 2. The wedding was largely attended. The bride wore satin superb with a train of georgette and lace, and she carried a bouquet of white roses. The bridesmaids wore dresses of light blue (the bridegroom's 'Varsity colours). In the wedding group are, standing, left to right, Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, B.A., LL.B. (Lond.), Barrister-at-law, best man, and the bridegroom; sitting, Miss Mary Asafu-Adjaye, the bride, and Miss Achama Asafu-Adjaye.

The Achimota Kindergarten.

In the photograph, the first to be taken of the first dormitory of the Kindergarten, Achimota, the late Dr. Aggrey with his kindly smile stood behind the Gold Coast African student teachers while the picture was taken. On the left of the photograph may be seen Mrs. Deakin. Just behind her are Mrs. Benzies, then Miss Armstrong and Miss Witten, head mistress of the kindergarten. On the right is the Rev. R. C. Blumer, Vice-Principal, and next to him is the Rev. C. K. Williams, Assistant Vice-Principal. The little girls in their African costumes, many of them wearing bandages on the left arm after vaccination, look particularly happy and bright.

THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In the January 28 issue of your journal on page 59 there is a paragraph, "The Future of the African," touching upon the interview granted by Sir Gordon Guggisberg to the "Observer." Subsequently Rev. Canon E. S. Daniel, late Warden of Bishop Tucker's College, Munkona, and Canon of Uganda Cathedral, commenting on the above, calls attention "to what he considers the most important point, perhaps, arises from Sir Gordon's comment about Dr. Burghardt du Bois, editor of the 'Crisis,' whose writings were often too bitter, and it was suggested these feelings probably arose through desperate ignorance of modern British administration, and also often ill-informed concerning what is going on, especially in British Tropical Africa."

West Africa 2-11-28

It should not be suprising that bitterness exists not only among Africans and their descendants in the U.S.A., but the world over, because all Africans able to think know how their South African kinsfolk have been deprived of their ancestral lands and are ill-treated. Africans also know how certain people, backed by our Government, have deprived East Africans of most of their lands and relegated the mass of the people to a status not one of freedom.

The reverend Canon, following upon the theme of Sir Gordon's comment, suggests "the need for expanding knowledge and personal instigations, and as a practical solution it will be a very valuable thing for both the future of the African and as a guide to the British Government if there could be a congress of real leaders and moulders of African thought, African, European and American, at such a centre as Achimota."

This praiseworthy idea, if put into practice, would be hailed warmly by dark-skinned people the world over, especially those living in the British Colonies. Valuable results would follow.

When Sir Gordon Guggisberg, as Governor, with great foresight, projected Achimota, he planned the formation in the full hope that it would be far-reaching in the uplifting and progress of the African peoples, and it is hoped that he will live to see Achimota prospering in every way.

There is no African thinker who will deny the deep sincerity of the Rev. Dr. Fraser, Principal of Achimota, and also those associated with him. In the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" of November 24 last, there is an able article by Dr. Fraser on "The West African Education System," which opens :—

"If the way is beset with difficulties when the English direct the education of their own children, much more do difficulties confront them when they direct the education of Indians, but Indians are fellow-Aryan with them, members of the same stock. When then they go still further afield and direct the education of the African, the situation is extremely complicated." . . . . And he gives outlines of the programme.

Altogether a powerful article, that demands careful study and criticisms by Africans, and no better way of doing this can be devised than the wise suggestion put forward by Canon Daniels, mentioned above.

It is the duty of all West Africans to take their share of responsibility in seeing that educational schemes in each Colony, especially Achimota, are based upon a foundation that will give the growing child every advantage. A congress such as the above would go far in easing the anxiety that exists in the mind of many thinking Africans who have the future of the race at heart.

It is the African who pays the bill, and I am sure none would grudge the authorities paying the travelling expenses, where required, of delegates from West, South, East Africa and three or four Afro-Americans from the U.S.A., while it would be a token of appreciation if invitations were extended to Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Canon Daniel to be participants if this congress is brought into being.

Your obedient servant,

London, Jan. 31. ROBT. BROADHURST.

THE CARNEGIE BENEFACTIONS.

Hitherto South Africa has seen little of the £100,000 a year derived from the sum of £2,000,000 sterling bequeathed by Mr. Carnegie in trust for "Canada and the British Colonies." Evidently, Mr. Carnegie's intentions have been construed as including the Dominions, but Canada lay quite close at hand, and to Canada, quite naturally, most of the benefits have accrued. The recent visit to Dr. Keppel has changed all that. During the next five years the Carnegie Corporation proposes to spend approximately £100,000, or one-fifth of the total sum available, upon various suitable objects in South and East Africa. The objects cover a great range and testify to the breadth of the trustees' sympathy. At their head (says the "Johannesburg Star") comes a large grant for an exchange of visits between South Africa and America of leaders in science, social work, and education. Next come grants of £2,000 a year to the Research Grant Board—a most useful institution which has been greatly handicapped by lack of funds—and of £800 a year for research into the poor white problem. Adult education and libraries—the two causes most dear to Mr. Carnegie's heart—benefit, perhaps rather less than might have been expected, but the trustees deserve to be congratulated upon a very comprehensive irrigation of benevolent and educational work in the Union.

African World 2-11-28

MR. COOK AND BLACK TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. A. J. Cook, whose fame has somewhat dimmed since his inglorious part in the gigantic fiasco of the General Strike in 1926, has emerged from his quiescence to air his views on the subject of trade unionism, Black and White, in South Africa. He is most indignant at the refusal of the European unions to affiliate with the I.C.U., of which Clements Kadalie is the leading spirit. He would like to see all workers, irrespective of colour, under the same banner, members of one organisation. In this way would the accursed capitalist be brought to his knees and the native worker enabled to secure his rightful place in South African industry. Mr. Cook obviously is something of an idealist, and it is equally patent that his ignorance of the colour problem in South Africa is colossal. Did he appreciate the conditions under which the white and black races live in the Union he would never express the opinions which we publish in another page of this issue. Such views can only be an embarrassment to European trade unionism in the country, while proving of the greatest value to the many misguided people who, in urging the natives to stand up for their "rights," are leading the natives on wrong lines and stirring up trouble and disaffection between the two races. No one has the slightest objection to the natives organising, provided they do so on constitutional lines, but the brand of trade unionism advocated by Mr. Cook can only bring discord and disillusion. Mr. Cook states that he is too busy to contemplate a trip to South Africa. This is unfortunate in so far as a visit to the country would probably alter his views on the native question and make him realise that the day has not yet arrived when the black man can take his place at the side of the white man.

BLACK AND WHITE TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. A. J. Cook Interviewed.

(Exclusive to "The African World").

The problems and difficulties of Native trade unionism in South Africa have been gradually becoming more acute, and at the moment constitute one of the many "bones of contention" in South African politics.

African World 2-11-28

In an interview with AFRICAN WORLD representative, Mr. A. J. Cook, the miners' leader, said that it was ridiculous to say (as was suggested in certain quarters) that the European trade unions were finding the growth of African trade unionism embarrassing. It was equally ridiculous, and, in addition, spurious to assert this embarrassment was being experienced because the trade unions here were finding it difficult to reconcile their views on equality of opportunity, irrespective of colour or creed, with their refusal to co-operate with their black brethren.

Sympathy with the Natives.

They had not refused to co-operate with the native; they, in fact, looked with great sympathy upon his efforts to secure his rightful place in South African industry. He knew nothing of the objections of white trade unions in South Africa to affiliation with the I.C.U. That was a matter that could only be dealt with on the spot.

Mr. Cook said, however, it was his view there could be no hope of progress as regards the trade union movement in South Africa until the blacks were allowed the same freedom and facilities in trade unionism as white workers.

If it was a fact that the white unions in South Africa were objecting to affiliation with the I.C.U., all he could say was that any trade union body or council that opposed unity in organisation between black and white workers was helping to maintain servitude and slavery, and, in addition to encouraging the employers to reduce the standard of living for industrial workers, such a body was retarding its own progress.

Not Visiting the Union.

Mr. Cook concluded his remarks by stressing the importance of the need for much The general policy of both the American Federation of Labour and the Trade Union greater co-operation between the white and Congress here was to assist the native black trade organisations in the Union. organisations in every way possible. Continuing, Mr. Cook said that he personally Replying to our representative's inquiry as to whether he contemplated visiting South stood for equality of treatment of the Africa in connection with the trade union workers, whatever their colour or creed might be. There should be an equal status movement, Mr. Cook said he had quite enough to do at home, but he was watching and equal wages paid for the same work in the trade union developments in that country the same trade, whether the worker was white or black. There could be no real progress of the trade union movement in South Africa along any other lines.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

In the photograph of the Commissioner's clerical staff, Northern Province, Sierra Leone, from left to right, front row, are Messrs. R. G. B. Hanton, D. T. Taylor, A. T. A. Beckley (office assistant), [illegible] Katta and H. H. Thomas. In the back row are members of the force of court messengers, mainly recruited from ex-soldiers of exemplary character.

West Africa

Mr. Idun's Wedding at Accra.

The wedding of Mr. S. Okai Quashie-Idun, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-law (now practising at the Gold Coast), to Miss Charlotte Eunice Amoah, for some time head teacher of the Wesleyan Girls' High School at Cape Coast, took place at the Wesley Chapel, Accra, on January 2. The wedding was largely attended. The bride wore satin superb with a train of georgette and lace, and she carried a bouquet of white roses. The bridesmaids wore dresses of light blue (the bridegroom's 'Varsity colours). In the wedding group are, standing, left to right, Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, B.A., LL.B. (Lond.), Barrister-at-law, best man, and the bridegroom; sitting, Miss Mary Asafu-Adjaye, the bride, and Miss Achama Asafu-Adjaye.

The Achimota Kindergarten.

In the photograph, the first to be taken of the first dormitory of the Kindergarten, Achimota, the late Dr. Aggrey with his kindly smile stood behind the Gold Coast African student teachers while the picture was taken. On the left of the photograph may be seen Mrs. Deakin. Just behind her are Mrs. Benzies, then Miss Armstrong and Miss Witten, head mistress of the kindergarten. On the right is the Rev. R. C. Blumer, Vice-Principal, and next to him is the Rev. C. K. Williams, Assistant Vice-Principal. The little girls in their African costumes, many of them wearing bandages on the left arm after vaccination, look particularly happy and bright.

THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In the January 28 issue of your journal on page 59 there is a paragraph, "The Future of the African," touching upon the interview granted by Sir Gordon Guggisberg to the "Observer." Subsequently Rev. Canon E. S. Daniel, late Warden of Bishop Tucker's College, Munkona, and Canon of Uganda Cathedral, commenting on the above, calls attention "to what he considers the most important point, perhaps, arises from Sir Gordon's comment about Dr. Burghardt du Bois, editor of the 'Crisis,' whose writings were often too bitter, and it was suggested these feelings probably arose through desperate ignorance of modern British administration, and also often ill-informed concerning what is going on, especially in British Tropical Africa."

West Africa

2-11-28

It should not be suprising that bitterness exists not only among Africans and their descendants in the U.S.A., but the world over, because all Africans able to think know how their South African kinsfolk have been deprived of their ancestral lands and are ill-treated. Africans also know how certain people, backed by our Government, have deprived East Africans of most of their lands and relegated the mass of the people to a status not one of freedom.

The reverend Canon, following upon the theme of Sir Gordon's comment, suggests "the need for expanding knowledge and personal instigations, and as a practical solution it will be a very valuable thing for both the future of the African and as a guide to the British Government if there could be a congress of real leaders and moulders of African thought, African, European and American, at such a centre as Achimota."

This praiseworthy idea, if put into practice, would be hailed warmly by dark-skinned people the world over, especially those living in the British Colonies. Valuable results would follow.

When Sir Gordon Guggisberg, as Governor, with great foresight, projected Achimota, he planned the formation in the full hope that it would be far-reaching in the uplifting and progress of the African peoples, and it is hoped that he will live to see Achimota prospering in every way.

There is no African thinker who will deny the deep sincerity of the Rev. Dr. Fraser, Principal of Achimota, and also those associated with him. In the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" of November 24 last, there is an able article by Dr. Fraser on "The West African Education System," which opens :—

"If the way is beset with difficulties when the English direct the education of their own children, much more do difficulties confront them when they direct the education of Indians, but Indians are fellow-Aryan with them, members of the same stock. When then they go still further afield and direct the education of the African, the situation is extremely complicated." . . . . And he gives outlines of the programme.

Altogether a powerful article, that demands careful study and criticisms by Africans, and no better way of doing this can be devised than the wise suggestion put forward by Canon Daniels, mentioned above.

It is the duty of all West Africans to take their share of responsibility in seeing that educational schemes in each Colony, especially Achimota, are based upon a foundation that will give the growing child every advantage. A congress such as the above would go far in easing the anxiety that exists in the mind of many thinking Africans who have the future of the race at heart.

It is the African who pays the bill, and I am sure none would grudge the authorities paying the travelling expenses, where required, of delegates from West, South, East Africa and three or four Afro-Americans from the U.S.A., while it would be a token of appreciation if invitations were extended to Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Canon Daniel to be participants if this congress is brought into being.

Your obedient servant,

London, Jan. 31. ROBT. BROADHURST.

THE CARNEGIE BENEFACTIONS.

Hitherto South Africa has seen little of the £100,000 a year derived from the sum of £2,000,000 sterling bequeathed by Mr. Carnegie in trust for "Canada and the British Colonies." Evidently, Mr. Carnegie's intentions have been construed as including the Dominions, but Canada lay quite close at hand, and to Canada, quite naturally, most of the benefits have accrued. The recent visit to Dr. Keppel has changed all that. During the next five years the Carnegie Corporation proposes to spend approximately £100,000, or one-fifth of the total sum available, upon various suitable objects in South and East Africa. The objects cover a great range and testify to the breadth of the trustees' sympathy. At their head (says the "Johannesburg Star") comes a large grant for an exchange of visits between South Africa and America of leaders in science, social work, and education. Next come grants of £2,000 a year to the Research Grant Board—a most useful institution which has been greatly handicapped by lack of funds—and of £800 a year for research into the poor white problem. Adult education and libraries—the two causes most dear to Mr. Carnegie's heart—benefit, perhaps rather less than might have been expected, but the trustees deserve to be congratulated upon a very comprehensive irrigation of benevolent and educational work in the Union.

West African World

2-11-28

MR. COOK AND BLACK TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. A. J. Cook, whose fame has somewhat dimmed since his inglorious part in the gigantic fiasco of the General Strike in 1926, has emerged from his quiescence to air his views on the subject of trade unionism, Black and White, in South Africa. He is most indignant at the refusal of the European unions to affiliate with the I.C.U., of which Clements Kadalie is the leading spirit. He would like to see all workers, irrespective of colour, under the same banner, members of one organisation. In this way would the accursed capitalist be brought to his knees and the native worker enabled to secure his rightful place in South African industry. Mr. Cook obviously is something of an idealist, and it is equally patent that his ignorance of the colour problem in South Africa is colossal. Did he appreciate the conditions under which the white and black races live in the Union he would never express the opinions which we publish in another page of this issue. Such views can only be an embarrassment to European trade unionism in the country, while proving of the greatest value to the many misguided people who, in urging the natives to stand up for their "rights," are leading the natives on wrong lines and stirring up trouble and disaffection between the two races. No one has the slightest objection to the natives organising, provided they do so on constitutional lines, but the brand of trade unionism advocated by Mr. Cook can only bring discord and disillusion. Mr. Cook states that he is too busy to contemplate a trip to South Africa. This is unfortunate in so far as a visit to the country would probably alter his views on the native question and make him realise that the day has not yet arrived when the black man can take his place at the side of the white man.

BLACK AND WHITE TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. A. J. Cook Interviewed.

(Exclusive to "The African World").

West African World

2-11-28

The problems and difficulties of Native trade unionism in South Africa have been gradually becoming more acute, and at the moment constitute one of the many "bones of contention" in South African politics.

In an interview with the AFRICAN WORLD representative, Mr. A. J. Cook, the miners' leader, said that it was ridiculous to say (as was suggested in certain quarters) that the European trade unions were finding the growth of African trade unionism embarrassing. It was equally ridiculous, and, in addition, spurious to assert this embarrassment was being experienced because the trade unions here were finding it difficult to reconcile their views on equality of opportunity, irrespective of colour or creed, with their refusal to co-operate with their black brethren.

Sympathy with the Natives.

They had not refused to co-operate with the native; they, in fact, looked with great sympathy upon his efforts to secure his rightful place in South African industry. He knew nothing of the objections of white trade unions in South Africa to affiliation with the I.C.U. That was a matter that could only be dealt with on the spot.

Mr. Cook said, however, it was his view there could be no hope of progress as regards the trade union movement in South Africa until the blacks were allowed the same freedom and facilities in trade unionism as white workers.

If it was a fact that the white unions in South Africa were objecting to affiliation with the I.C.U., all he could say was that any trade union body or council that opposed unity in organisation between black and white workers was helping to maintain servitude and slavery, and, in addition to encouraging the employers to reduce the standard of living for industrial workers, such a body was retarding its own progress.

Not Visiting the Union.

Mr. Cook concluded his remarks by stressing the importance of the need for much greater co-operation between the white and black trade organisations in the Union. Replying to our representative's inquiry as to whether he contemplated visiting South Africa in connection with the trade union movement, Mr. Cook said he had quite enough to do at home, but he was watching the trade union developments in that country with close interest.

The general policy of both the American Federation of Labour and the Trade Union Congress here was to assist the native organisations in every way possible. Continuing, Mr. Cook said that he personally stood for equality of treatment of the workers, whatever their colour or creed might be. There should be an equal status and equal wages paid for the same work in the same trade, whether the worker was white or black. There could be no real progress of the trade union movement in South Africa along any other lines.

DR. JABAVU'S PLEA FOR FAIRPLAY.

National Convention Suggested to Deal with Native Question.

According to Dr. D. D. T. Jabavu the natives of the Union regard the Government's Native Bills as representing a policy of positive repression due to baseless fear.

In the course of a most interesting lecture in the City Hall, Cape Town, Dr. Jabavu appealed to the dominant race in South Africa not to exploit their domination by taking advantage of the weak during the difficult stage of their transition towards Western standards of life. He asked for frank and full discussion of the problem of all concerned.

In the eyes of the Cape native, he continued, the Premier's Native Bills were designed to establish a rigidly uniform standard of government, reducing the superior political rights of the Cape Bantu to the level of the most backward in the Northern reserves. No account was taken of the diversity of intellectual and social development in various areas; there seemed to be no reason for the attempt to deprive the men of the Cape of their right before those of the North could derive any benefit, unless the intention was that the Transvaal native policy should displace that of the Cape in all future native legislation. Such a course would be utterly at variance with the promises made to the Imperial Parliament during the passage of the South Africa Act, and so constituted a breach of faith.

Parliamentary Representation.

The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill was the crux of the proposed legislation, because it attacked the natives' vote, which they regarded, not as a privilege, not as a heritage of British generosity, but entrenched in the Act of Union as a prescriptive right of indigenous Africans by the Imperial Parliament in a spirit which implied that it should not be liable to alienation as long as its possessors remained loyal to the British Empire. It was the epitome of the Cape Liberal tradition which granted all non-Europeans the liberty to develop without artificial obstacles. The Cape policy was now the envy of the Northern natives, and it would not be given up by the Cape natives without a desperate struggle, which would be followed by irreparable injury to their susceptibilities.

Dr. Jabavu urged that the Native Bills brought forward by the Prime Minister should not be made conditional upon one another. The Land Act was the Bill which really mattered, and it should not be made to depend upon the distant settlement of the contentious franchise bill. Then all the bills should be submitted to an inter-racial national convention, at which all the sections involved should be represented. If the Prime Minister was sincere in his appeal for non-party treatment of the problem, he should make the Bills independent of one another and concentrate on the land question. There were certain ultimate ethical standards of equity in political morality that could not be disregarded without disaster to the body politic.

Political Domination.

Since there is no appeal by the natives to the Privy Council, there was all the more need of the safeguard of public opinion from without. The political domination of the white race was guaranteed for all time by their omnipotence in legislative matters. South Africa was established politically as a white man's country, and the native should therefore enjoy equal opportunity to develop and exert his powers in all legitimate spheres.

By equality he did not mean inter-marriage, but equal wages for equal work. The natives did not ask for social equality, what they wanted was an equal chance with other citizens to develop economically. So long as politicians legislated to repress them in industry and in land segregation, their salvation would depend upon political equality.

Asked at the end of his address whether the natives would rest content if the proposed legislation succeeded in depriving them of the Cape franchise, Dr. Jabavu replied: "It is not wise to divulge our plans," adding, however, that they would not anticipate such a result.

THE POOR WHITE NOT IRREDEEMABLE.

Successful Experiment with a Hundred Families.

Mr. C. W. Cousins, Secretary for Labour, is not among those who imagine that the regeneration of the Poor White is an impossible task. There are said to be 150,000 of these unfortunates in South Africa.

"My own experience of the last three years," said Mr. Cousins at Johannesburg, "would lead me to say with confidence that to say they are utterly irredeemable is to utter an entire falsehood. I do say there is a remedy in our own hands acceptable to these people and capable of regenerating them entirely. That is a new doctrine in South Africa, and I pronounce this new doctrine with some confidence. The reason for that confidence I will now explain."

During the last three years he had had to take over the control of 2,000 families of rural poor. He had tried these people at all classes of work, and he would say quite definitely that the proportion of those who would not work was very small indeed.

The majority took naturally to farming life, and in another country and in other circumstances they would become farm labourers—and farm labourers equal in intelligence and physique to those he had known in England.

He had tried an experiment in a desolate portion of the veldt in the Hartebeestpoort area. One hundred families had been placed there, and now, what had been a dreary stretch of untamed veldt was a series of tilled tobacco fields and wheatlands. The Government expenditure in placing these families there had been one-half repaid within one year. This had been accomplished by real hard work and the spirit of the people placed there.

The Poor White problem, declared Mr. Cousins, was one primarily for the State. The Dutch Reformed Church had made great efforts to tackle the question, but all the evidence went to show that no public organisation could tackle the problem successfully. It was essentially a problem for the State.

NATIVE FRANCHISE RIGHTS IN THE UNION.

We understand from our Cape Town correspondent that General Hertzog is not averse from altering his Native Bills in order to tone down the two most controversial clauses of the measures which provide for the abolition of the Cape Native franchise and for the representation of natives in Parliament by Europeans. To what extent the Prime Minister is willing to make concessions is, however, somewhat vague at the moment, though it is considered that while the principle of the representation of natives by Europeans will be maintained, the provision that the European representatives should take their seats in the Lower House will in all probability be altered to allow these representatives to go into the Senate. The only difference will therefore be that they will in future be elected, instead of appointed. With regard to the Cape Native franchise, any amendment designed to placate the Opposition by modifying the harsh aspect of the present clause is not likely to be opposed by the Prime Minister. In the Bills now before Parliament the Cape native franchise is to be abolished immediately. This step has rightly been condemned because of the serious injustice to thousands of native voters which it entails, in addition to the very considerable effect it is likely to have on the South African Party strength in the Cape. It is quite clear that these two clauses will not be insurmountable obstacles to the solution of the Native Question. Representative native opinion urges that the question can only be solved through a National Convention—a view shared by many distinguished members of the Cape Parliament.

The Wellington Movement

[By Rev. J. G. Locke.]

About four years ago Dr. Aggrey, who was described as "The impersonification of the African Spirit—eloquent, vivacious, passionate, pathetic," when speaking at a great valedictory service for Missionaries held at Kingsway Hall, London, said, in the course of an arresting address "I come to thank you in the name of Africa. I want to tell those people who talk about India restless, China restless, Africa restless that Missionaries are responsible for it. I am proud to be identified with the people who caused the restlessness among the dry bones in the valley." Prior to his visit to England Dr. Aggrey rendered excellent service in Africa in connection with the African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe. In this city he addressed a great gathering of Natives among whom there were a considerable number who expected that the eloquent Negro had come to inaugurate an era of freedom from taxation and from the rule of the white man. What they described as the pro-white sentiments of the speaker filled them with disappointment. The spirit of restlessness that pervades the Bantu people today will lead either to their salvation or to their destruction. Everything depends on the leaders they follow, leaders of the type of the late Dr. Aggrey are sorely needed.

But we are to deal with a leader of an opposite type who inaugurated a movement which whilst at its climax did incalculable harm but which is now gradually dying out—a movement that lacked vitality and morality but as a huge money making concern seems to have been a great success. As the bubble in the meal that is being leavened signifies the progress of fermentation, so this bubble movement is but one of many symptoms of the spirit of restlessness that is at work among the Bantu people, a spirit that needs but to be directed by sagacious and skilful statemanship into prosperity and peace.

Wellington Butelezi "alias Dr. Butler Hansford Wellington, Poutler Hansford Wellington, Wellington Kalinda and Wellington Kampara," who has been variously described as "an unscrupulous adventurer;" "a bogus leader;" a dangerous parasite" was cute enough to discover a rich mine in the Territories where a fortune might be made as by magic. He was certainly successful in exploiting his own people and in taking full advantage of the opportunity that presented itself for an appeal to the illiterate and semi educated Natives, working on their ignorance and superstition and playing on their exuberant imagination.

The equalisation of Native taxation throughout South Africa, generally referred to as the Poll Tax, in connection with the Native Development Fund united the so called "Red" Native and the "School" native as nothing has done hitherto in the history of South Africa. All supposed that they had a common grievance.

The apparent determination of the Fact Government to deprive the Cape Native of the cherished Franchise united the Native Voters as nothing else could have done.

[To be continued.]

Race Problem – 1928

Africa.

Distribution of Labour in Basutoland

The Basutoland News attention has been roused by its correspondent who was pleased to style himself "Ex Industrial School Student" to a most important matter which has been discussed in the columns of this newspaper from time to time. The matter for discourse which he has brought to light is that of distribution of labour, conceivably by the Basutoland Government and brings forth a vital point in the matter for which our Government may reasonably be charged That of giving little or no consideration at all to the applications for work, of students that have gone through Schools. 4-7-28 their courses in Basutoland Industrial

However, one cannot say, if our contemporary's correspondent experienced this indifference after the meeting of the last National Council or before. If he had done so we would be able to say if the deliberations of the last Council were bearing fruits or not.

Nevertheless, the matter of distribution of labour is a momentous one, with regard to a population like ours which have still to be guided in their industrial efforts. In order that the Government should be able to distribute work at its disposal evenly and reasonably, we would recommend to it that there is urgent need for opening a department for distribution of labour at the headquarters of Basutoland.

Our contemporary's correspondent says this: "as soon as I show my certificate, I am told that Industrial School boys are not wanted, although Natives are taken on from the Industrial Schools of Natal and elsewhere." This is the thing that is probable may always happen, if there is not a department for distribution of labour, that supblies all the departments in the territory. The reason that may perpetuate this, is because the Basutoland Government staff is drawn from all over the world The Union of South Africa being its particular source of supply; and these officers enlist with the Basutoland Government, already having a taste of their own, of the Native labour they would prefer. Consequently a Natalian will introduce Natal Native boys; a Transvaaler will bring his Transvaal boys, and so on So the department we recommend will put a check to this, and we will have less complaints about outside labour.

Labour the Government must supply where it can for two main reasons, first to encourage the Basuto to make use of the schools in their midst for the good of these schools and the people; second, to encourage the Basuto industries which are a great boon to the future of Basutoland.

There is no question we are inclined to be timid when we want to touch like the matter kind of work given to prisoners. Sometime we feel constrained to think that the Government was perhaps on the right path, yet we may be altogether wrong.

Ii is not a decade yet since the prisoners were trained as Industrial School boys are. The system now adopted at every prison house in Basutoland, is to instruct prisoners in stone cutting, and mason work, and every mason work is done by these hands in all camps The constables employed to instruct them are ex-Industrial School Students of Basutoland. These constables are employed for dual pnrpose that of acting as guards to prisoners, and that of teaching them free their trade. This does not however, reflect well upon the Government to make these constables to impart their trade free to prisoners.

This is the position, as we find it. Now the question is, what may be the Government object in doing this? Would it be the Government has a great purpose in doing this; and what would the purpose be? This is what presents itself to us as the probable object; that the Government want to teach these prisoners the worth of employing themselves usefully, and the way to be useful to themselves. They want to effect repentance that has its own reliance.

Now what one is inclined to be inquisitive to know, if we are right, is would the Government say if their scheme has yet been followed by desired results, or if it worked differently, as naturally it may? And if they have two results what provision have they made for those who won't repent? Is there a place for them?

We know, however, that though the scheme may seem to be good, the public may naturally have grudge against this. It takes all the good christian patience to pass it without a wink.

Justice in Basutoland

ONE of the prominent Native counsellors in Basutoland whose whole life has been spent in close touch with the Basuto chiefs and Government Officials; one of those old Basutos who, though not altogether educated were able to win the confidence of the old government officials, through his acknowledged honesty of purpose, is pleased to give his recent experience, of the life of the Basuto as affected by the obtaining administration of justice in Native courts. He does this in a very strongly worded article written in the vernacular, and appearing elsewhere in the Sesuto columns, under a nom-de plume of "Lekhoaba." He has no other cause to write such an article except that he can no longer forbear to remain quiet when he hears so much crying and murmuring among the common Basuto about the treatment they were receiving from their Native chiefs who have become altogether too callous about their grievances Each day bring with it new tidings of mal-administration. Each day as it rose heralded to the Basuto severer oppressions and persecutions from their chiefs. Through the hard-ships they are suffering from the chiefs and their counsellors the people of the son of Mokhachane greet the rising of the sun with tears, when they think of what is going to happen to them. Each setting sun cast a gloomy aspect on the future of the Basuto chieftainship. His own interpretation of the writings on the walls of the administration of justice in Native courts in Basutoland, which the Basuto chiefs and their counsellors are unable to unfold or read is that they signify the end of the Basuto system of chieftainship. He does not think there is a remedy to this. He thinks the patient is far gone in his sickness. He is destined to die. The angel of death is at the frames of his door. Though the Resident Commissioner Sturrock may try to give his mixture, it will not rescue the dying chieftainship. Life is already too critical for any drug to be administered; The jaws have become stiff, he can no longer swallow; the medicine runs out through his mouth. The fate of the chieftainship of Tshaka and Matiwane is fast comixg upon the once glorious chieftainship of Moshesheh. Not one did expect that one day that glory of glories, namely the Basuto chieftainship would be like a curse upon the people; that glory fades away rapidly. In the course of his article he makes an absolute denial that there was any Mosuto in Basutoland who does not complain of the pre-

sent Native administration of justice; and this is a fact that no honest man will deny, no matter how nice his life happen to be himself He is sure if the nation would be asked a question if they liked the present rule of the chiefs, even some of the chiefs would vote with the people against it. He further remarks of this ever evident fact, that the people were already rejoicing over the unknown suggestions of the Resident Commissioner, not because they were sure they would be good, but simply because they believe they would bring them a change. This just testify how despondent the people of Basutoland have become; they are ready to cry out: "let thy will be done Sir." Our correspondent places his peg at the paramountcy as the central place for so many grievances among the Basuto; he says this is the place for great murmuring and weeping, where the deliquents wash their faces with tears, where a woman would be heard bursting out and crying hysterically beseeching God to come to her help as she was disappointed at the very place of her last hope; this the writer recollects so well because it happened in his presence

The Basuto are pointing their fingers to the place of Paramount Chief as the place from which so much of their suffering come from They go there cherishing a hope of their relief, but they only get there to gasp in despair when they find they get the reverse. The judgments of that court are looked upon as baits for causing more bloodshed in the country; there is always a gap left open for excuse for further trouble in the matter decided by the court. Our correspondent recollects the remark that was nade by one of newspaper correspondents who said: the Paramount Chiefs court should be closed, which amounts to saying, the Basutoland chieftainship should be done away with. He admits that writer arrived at a foolish conclusion, but he adds that no one can deny that that foolishness bursts out of true circumstances. He, our correspondent, beats in this respect because he has a heart for perseverance. He further points that the men of the court of the Paramount Chief were responsible for persecutions, oppressions and bad administration prevailing there. Each Tom and Dickens of that court has the right to use the Paramount Chiefs name in whatever way he pleases. He concludes by sayiug the Paramount Chief "was hoist by his own petard." In 1923 when, after the representations of the Progressive Association he decided to improve his court he mixed new members with old members, and figuratively ordered that: new oxen should follow the lead of old oxen.' then there was confusion, "om klaar" in Dutch. The young oxen were going quick and the old ones were going slow; they came upon one another, an ox broke its leg, the yoke was broken. The driver got a kick, and the leader left them for his safety. The driver blamed the leader, the leader's excuse is that the front oxen were slow, and he was afraid the back oxen would run over him

The Cape Native Franchise

"LEST WE FORGET."

(By G. Tembani).

We live in an age when we need to recollect, lest we be found guilty of taking for granted the things which ought to stir us to profound gratitude, or ought to prompt us to greater care.

It has to be a cardinal principle of any policy with a hope of success that it must be fair and any resort to repression must be avoided. It may be said of that, that not only would it be unjust, but that ultimately it would be doomed to failure and dealing with the Native question is likely to cost the country very dear.

What is the reason for the suggestion that rights of the Cape Natives should be taken away from them? This action seems to us to be singularly unfair in accordance with foremost traditions of British justice. It is beyond all shadow of doubt that the purpose of the Bill is not to give Union Natives the Franchise, but to take it away from the Cape Natives. There cannot in South Africa, be a separate Bantu nation and a separate European nation as long as the two races live side by side.

The Government cannot possibly build up the future of this country for the white man by taking away from the Native his right.

The sooner the Government wakes up to the fact that this country has to be treated as a whole and not as a lot of conflicting interests the better.

There is fast arising among the South African Natives a spirit of insecurity and bitterness that may bring to ruin all that wise statesmanship has endeavoured to build up in the past years.

It is only the political impotency of the natives in this country that permits the Government to do such an inhuman thing. No such unjust policy could be carried out in any other British possession, where British ideals of fair play obtain, and the native is recognised for his welfare and advancement, not merely for repression.

Where the rights of the people are concerned the Government must deal with facts. The policy falls entirely to the ground in the face of facts.

While our future is untold and untellable, the Government must remember that not for ever is the black man likely to remain content to live under laws in the making of which he has no real say. In this important subject it would be advisable if all the natives would unite, sink their differences and pull together. If we pull together and work our hardest for the country, we shall be doing our duty to the great nation to which we belong.

STAR
HUDSON, N. Y.

MAY 25 1928

FUTURE OF THE WHITE RACE

Figures gleaned from somewhere by a lecturer on that eternal question "Can the white race survive?" show that of the 12,500,000 babies born in the world every year only 2,500,000 are of white parentage. The remaining 10,000,000 include Africans, Orientals and other Asiatics, and all other non-white peoples.

The same lecturer finds that the negro population in America today is 15,000,000, compared with 250,000 in 1790; that the white British people number 67,000,000, while in India alone there are 70,000,000 Mohammedans; that Japan's annual increase in population is more than ten times that of Australia.

Such racial statistics have a way of making alarmists of otherwise rational people. In fact the compiler of the figures given herewith fears the white race is destined to eventual extinction and cited his statistics as proof that his fears are well founded.

His own computations, showing the white race to be multiplying at the rate of 2,500,000 a year, disproves his theory of extinction, but for purposes of argument, what of it if the world some day should be populated by blacks, browns and yellows?

A Wesleyan clergyman has aptly remarked that the world was not made for white people; it was made for mankind. And another Anglo-Saxon has observed that white men should not fear those of another color but should feel a tremendous responsibility toward them.

Racial prejudices and fears are the fruits of differences in culture and customs, not in color.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Correspondence.

Native Bills and Native Leaders.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

(By Rev. J. A. Calata).

I am unfortunately not a subscriber to the "Cape Times" and I did not see Mr. Makalima's article till it appeared in your issue of the 3rd ult., Mr. Makalima, the secretary of the Bantu Union of which I am one of its Committee members, is a personal friend of mine; but I don't feel like letting go some of his statements in his article without expressing my opinion against them.

I do not agree with him about the meaning of the word "Native." On the other hand I think the word is misused in this country and has been applied to the Bantu in preference to "Kafir" which was an insult.

What is this difficult and thorny question of which General Hertzog deserves the whole hearted praise for trying to solve?

Do the Native Bills solve anything?

I suppose the only criticism that will give satisfaction to Mr. Makalima is that drawn up by the Committee in Mr. Pelem's house and submitted to the Middle Drift Conference. As I happened to be present on both occasions, sir, I know that the Committee was not unanimous on the question of the 'Representation' Bill.

There was a long discussion at Middle Drift on this particular question and the resolution of the Committee was thrown out by a great majority. The minutes would show.

It was felt then that the Bill aimed at disfranchising Natives, and while the Bantu Union approved of the Land Bill and thought it a blessing yet the majority of speakers thought accepting the principle of Separate Representation on that account would be like selling our birthright for a mess of pottage. We felt then that it was not merely from the representation point of view that our vote was important but that there was something higher—*Our Status.*

I was also present at the non-European Conference at Kimberley, where these Bills were thrown out in most emphatic terms. I must, however point out that the main object of that Conference was not to discuss politics at all but to effect a non-European Organisation and many of the representatives felt that the business should be confined entirely to that; but the subjects committee did put before the Conference some few political questions such as vitally affected non-European interests.

The Coloured Section led by Dr. Abdhuraman and Mr Reagon expressed in very strong terms that the Coloured people of the Union were not prepared to accept the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill on the grounds that they could not be a party to getting the vote if it meant depriving other sections of the non-European population of their rights. In other words the Government was robbing Peter to pay Paul.

If therefore even people other than Natives could be so strong against the Bills simply because they saw the danger of these bills to the Natives, how on earth could such a small section as led by Mr. Makalima think that they are right and the whole country wrong? I fail to see how their opinion is to be respected. It is natural for people to differ in views; but on matters affecting national interests it is generally understood that the majority counts.

How on earth could Mr. Makalima think the country in general would profit by these bills?

If Mr. Makalima is a supporter of the Nationalist Government let him resign as secretary of the Bantu Union or else he will find his own members up against him next conference.

The Bantu Union is not pledged to support any party, but it certainly cannot support the present Government as long as it imposes upon the Bantu people such unchristian laws.

bloc when it comes to Native matters.

A Racial Combination.

The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa has repeatedly given expression to his avowed policy which in effect is that the political parties may be divided as the fingers in all matters political; but they must be as one as the hand when it comes to the Native Question in parliament. Superficially this sounds quite harmless to all the members in the Assembly; but from the point of view of the Native, this is the essence of political cajolery. Why asks the Native, does he come in as a fellow-citizen of the Union when the Minister of Finance throws his wide net of taxation over the country roping him in together with all nationalities to pay the duty on all imported commodities (actually singling him out for extra heavy taxation for the cotton blanket iniquitous tax)? Why is the Native an exposed victim of the double-edged sword of the general Income Tax, failing this the Native Development Tax, where his white fellow-citizen goes scot free below an income of £400 a year? The taxes the aborigines pay into the Treasury, indirectly, are enormous, and yet they are confronted with the direct tax also. This anomaly was pointed out to Minister Havenga at Alice when he toured the Native Territories with General Hertzog, and the former was not in a position to refute the charge.

For the Premier therefore to advise a policy of denying the Natives their fair share of representation in parliament when it comes to the Native Question is beyond conjecture. By fair share of representation we mean that questions affecting Natives should be discussed in the ordinary way of common division of opinion as often occurs in the House of Assembly. It is only by such method of discussion that we may hope to obtain even a modicum of justice with the present constitution of parliament. To tax the Native to the utmost, lock up the proceeds in the Union Treasury, and when it comes to distributing the funds by parliamentary vote, the members are asked to stand on one side where Native interests are concerned is barefaced chicanery and an undignified appeal to the racial susceptibilities of a parliament the major portion of which already consists of prejudiced members. This also is the spirit that underlies the attempt to dispossess Cape Natives of their individual vote—the spirit of political segregation without segregating native revenue that flows into the State purse. The Prime Minister will find himself in the chaos that undermined and overthrew many a civilised government viz. that of taxing subjects but denying them representation. The quasi native representation in parliament contemplated by Gen. Hertzog in his new bill has not the slightest hope of making an impression against a full-dress white phalanx of General Hertzog's supporters who are pledged to vote *en*

"THE AWAKENING SPHINX."

The title given to the book as well as to the film descriptive of my last journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo was suggested to me by the alabaster Sphinx at Memphis, the reflection of which in water, curiously enough, forms a rough outline map of the continent of Africa. But the deeper meaning of the title most certainly took its origin from the profound impression made on me by the awakening of the whole continent, a continent we still blindly and fondly denominate as "dark," by the progressing independence and continual emancipation of the coloured races, and by the approching acceptance of Africa as an active factor in the economical and political life of the world.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. In my opinion there is no peril of any "Black danger"—at least not in the usual acceptance of the words. The exaggerated reports on this subject have done far more harm than good. However, it is my firm belief that Africa may become a very serious problem for Europe should the powers working there not be recognised by us at the given moment or the alteration of the position of Europe in the ever-shifting world-system not be taken into consideration.

This last crossing of Africa was the fourth of my post-war journeys. The others, made through North and South America, East and Central Asia, I took for the express purpose of studying the alteration of the position of the races to one another caused by the War and revolutions and the change time has wrought in the mind of the coloured races.

The fruit of the impressions gathered during these journeys is a most decided opinion that, not only in North but also in South America, and in Asia, Europe will have to fight at no far distant period for her predominance—yes, even perhaps wrestle to keep her position as an equal to the other continents.

The rise of Soviet Russia and her politics, just as much as the nationalist movement in Asia, have made any organised extension of Europe into the heart of Asia, any formation of a European-Asiatic Block, impossible. So the only possibility remaining is the formation of a European-African Block—i.e., that Europe apart from any effects caused by the dividing up of the different parts of Africa and putting them under the rule of the different European nations, must establish a European Monroe Doctrine for Africa, just as there is one existing for America. The aspirations of America may, for the present, be but few; all the more important is it to establish firmly and unequivocally the standpoint of Europe. The claims of Asia to the East Coast of Africa are, by no means, of modern date, and the "Indian question" in Kenya, in Tanganyika, and in South Africa is a problem growing daily more and more difficult.

When the security of the primacy of Europe in Africa is thoroughly established in the eyes of America and Asia, there still remains the agreement with the original rulers of the land—the Blacks. I am certain that an agreement with the natives in favour of Europe is quite possible, even to-day, for a "Black danger" can only exist when people in Europe positively believe in its existence. The African movement has but its weakest, smallest roots in Africa; the strength of the movement, all its ideas and pecuniary means come for the most part from the emancipated negroes in the United States and from Europe.

Europe supports the cause of the black movement against the white predominance in a twofold manner—firstly by the rivalry of the different colonial powers, their treatment of the natives resulting from these motives. A classical example of this is given us in the Belgian Congo State, which, actuated by an almost infantile fear for an expanding imperial political tendency in the future South Africa, purposely treats her natives in a manner directly opposed to that taken by the South African Union.

But what can we do against this when even the colonials themselves have completely diverse political views in the different colonies, such as England has in East and West Africa. I know, of course, all the justifiable reasons causing such contending opinions, but, for all that, I fear that the advantages will never counterbalance the dangers of the position of the white man ensuing from the various methods of his treatment of the native inhabitant. We see to-day what difficulties the native policy in Uganda and Kenya would put in the way when the two States should be merged into one great East African Dominion—to say nothing of the feeling of enmity and resentment awakened by these different treatments in the hearts of the Kenya natives themselves.

Yet perhaps the feeling of insecurity and uncertainty towards the natives which, as a rule, the European has to-day, is more dangerous than anything else. The times when every white man could pose as a lord over a black one are over for good and all. We will not lament them; doubtless much unnecessary harshness and severity were employed, losing sight of the impossibility of limiting natural development for always. If an absolute chaos is to be avoided, then the white man must win and establish for himself a certain position toward the coloured man based on principle. At the same time differences can and must be made in treating the various races according to their culture and education, and should the standpoint of master or equal be taken, the position must be kept with inviolable persistency.

When travelling through Africa, even with but half-open eyes, it is not difficult to observe the prevailing difficulties. There is the old Africander mourning the times of long ago when he might use the "Kiboko" to his heart's content, but to-day gives full vent to his rage on the cultivated negro, the "Mission negro," if he knows he will not be found out. I have known such a farmer abuse, humiliate, and even mishandle a black for wearing an immaculate European suit and clean white linen collar. Whereas, on the other hand, I have known an English Government official, newly arrived in the colony, allow a black "boy" to give his little daughter a smart box on her ears without punishment other than a sharp reproof.

The insecurity into which Europe has plunged herself is the only possible explanation for such a state of things. In the European nations the circles tired of and antagonistic to colonial affairs the development has been anticipated for decades, if not centuries, in advance. The ethical and moral foundations on which Europe builds her claim of sovereignty over the coloured world may perhaps be questionable, but should they be doubted, there would be no upholding of the supremacy for any length of time, unless it is the outcome of cool deliberation, and considered necessary for the self-preservation of Europe.

The group of extreme "Negrophiles" in Europe who coined the slogan "Africa for the Africans" quite forget that Europe, so hyper-developed, so over-inhabited, would be cast into a state of torpidity if limited to her own shores. "Europe for the Europeans" and "Africa for the Africans" means crowding 300 millions of West and Central Europeans into five million square kilometres of land, whereas six times this amount of country is at the disposal of the 140 million Africans, without weighing the fact that whereas the mineral treasures of the one continent have been depleted, the ground of the other has at present received but a few surface scratches, and is awaiting exploitation.

I have spoken of "Europe" and of a "European" standpoint without giving the words an all-too-limited meaning. Europe must be considered as one great uniform political will-power in contrast to the non-European Powers, if our diverse nations are to form one unity, the only possibility of maintaining the supremacy.

As a matter of course, the British standpoint cannot be identified with the European. In plain speaking, the Empire is a super-national and super-continental power. With the growing importance of other continents the political centre of gravity may deviate from its present course. But that is only possible as far as the original character of the Empire is not lost through self-destruction, as the Hapsburg Monarchy destroyed itself by removing its centre of gravity from the land of its Teutonic origin into that of a Slavo-Romana-Magyar territory.

The ideas expressed here are the result of a thirteen months' arduous journey through Africa, preceded by travels through other parts of the world, taken expressly for the purpose of study. My ideas may be thought wrong, or as having missed the point. However that may be, there is no very great importance in having obtained a right personal conception, whereas it is very important, by the help of a clearly expressed opinion based on spontaneous impressions, to induce Europe to look the changed world-conditions in the face, that she may thus gain a new intellectual adjustment of ideas and form a united political will towards the coloured world, if Europe is to keep her position in the coming race-conflict, and in deciding the question as to who shall occupy and dominate the still unpopulated spaces in the world in the general struggle for freedom.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

"Africa."

The second number of the Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures maintains the high standard set up by the first. Its international character is marked by the inclusion of articles in three languages—English, French, and German. The learned editor, Professor Westermann, contributes an article (in German) on "Conceptions of God in Upper Guinea." He begins by pointing out that the popular identification of the word "fetich" with a specially low form of religion does injustice to the African, who does not identify his gods with the objects commonly called fetiches. The gods themselves are invisible and only temporarily inhabit the various objects which "serve as places to which offerings can be brought and where gifts can be asked for." The professor deals only with representations or symbols of the gods, but what he says of them is equally true of amulets, which are the fetiches best known to Europeans. These are not worshipped, nor are they supposed to be inhabited by a deity, though they may derive power from a deity invoked at their making. They are regarded by the pious African wearers in the same way as a devout Catholic regards a medal blessed by the Pope, as an object sanctified, and therefore powerful to guard the wearer from spirits of evil. In this article, as in most European writings on the subject of African religion, I find a greater prominence given to the Supreme God, who is above all the local gods, than I have found in the minds of Africans themselves. As Professor Westermann says, the conception of the Supreme God has become shadowy and indefinite owing to his remoteness and aloofness and his indifference to worship. The gods whose cult I found the villagers practising are the local family and tribal deities who dispense blessings and punishments, who can send a good harvest if properly placated, or disease if angry. The African mind is as practical in religion as in other departments of life, and so the African concentrates attention on the service of the gods who are in immediate contact with him, who can affect his life for good or evil, and who give a visible and immediate return for the offerings made to them. The religion has nothing to do with morality, which is a social matter, and is enforced by the "customs" of which the family or tribal Head and his Council are the guardians. The conception of a "God of Heaven," supreme over all the local gods, is dormant; but it exists, and can be used as a foundation on which to build up a conception of a Universal and Sole Deity, absorbing into himself all these subordinate gods, who have been created by the "God of Heaven" and receive their power from Him. From the coalescence of these "broken lights" will emerge the bright effulgence of "Our Father in Heaven."

African Sculpture.

Those who were so fortunate as to read the first number of "Africa" will find a pendant to the remarkable article on "African Negro Music" by Professor E. von Hornbostel (now reprinted separately) in Dr. E. von Sydow's article on "African Sculpture" in the present issue. Both writers dwell on the individuality of the African presentations of these forms of art, and the mutual reactions caused by the contact of these on European art in the same genres, and both are concerned with the problem of preserving the Africanism of the art of the negro and preventing its obliteration by the products of European factories. The destructive effect of the impact of the Western civilisation, with its highly developed technical theory and practice, is visible in every phase of primitive life which it is drawing in and moulding to its own service. It seems inevitable that the simple and unorganised primitive life should yield to the weight of the steam-roller of civilisation now passing over it without feeling a jolt. But in the spiritual as in the mechanical world action and reaction are equal and opposite. European art has been profoundly affected by African sculpture and African music. The reign of jazz has blatantly demonstrated the influence of African rhythms on European music; the influence of Africa on European plastic art has been wide, though not so universal. As Dr. von Sydow points out, the beginning of the present century witnessed "a revolt from the Realistic Impressionism of the last decades of the nineteenth century, which drove European artists to the study of primitive art. French artists revived Jean Jacques Rousseau's "enthusiasm for the idyllic existence of races untouched by civilisation," and took the lead in turning to native art. The Cubists drew inspiration from the inherently architectural character of primitive carving, and indulged their desire for bold drawing of a decorative type. The metaphysically minded Germans, in revolting from the Realist's absorption in representation of externals, and turning to observation and expression of the internal world, were attracted by the mystic symbolism of primitive art. "A strong movement flowed through the art world of Europe, finding its most permanent expression as Futurism in Italy, Cubism in France, and Expressionism in Germany." In consequence, many works of recent decades show creative impulse in art, was intimately con- the influence of primitive art by which many nected." Fortunately, many leading minds of leading artists are deeply affected. "Pablo Picasso, the greatest leader of Parisian artists, had a phase in his career described as 'negroid.' German Expressionists have to everything African has been replaced by the represented primitive carvings in many pic- perception that African customs, religion and tures, and in the wood sculpture of Karl art are the inevitable outcome of African Schmitt-Rouloff and others an echo of 'pri- environment and mentality, and that their metitive art sometimes finds its expression." destruction will not only humiliate the black races, but disable them as contributors to

The Future of African Art.

What is to become of this "valuable ele- the culture of the world. To prevent this ment in the sum total of the art of the whole catastrophe is the object of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. "From without in the flood of Excellent work is being done by the members European manufactured goods, from within in revealing to Europe an idea of gifts that through the destruction of all those religious Africa may yet bring to religion, sociology and social institutions . . . with which the and art, but the full revelation must await

"THE AWAKENING SPHINX."

The title given to the book as well as to the film descriptive of my last journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo was suggested to me by the alabaster Sphinx at Memphis, the reflection of which in water, curiously enough, forms a rough outline map of the continent of Africa. But the deeper meaning of the title most certainly took its origin from the profound impression made on me by the awakening of the whole continent, a continent we still blindly and fondly denominate as "dark," by the progressing independence and continual emancipation of the coloured races, and by the approching acceptance of Africa as an active factor in the economical and political life of the world.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. In my opinion there is no peril of any "Black danger"—at least not in the usual acceptance of the words. The exaggerated reports on this subject have done far more harm than good. However, it is my firm belief that Africa may become a very serious problem for Europe should the powers working there not be recognised by us at the given moment or the alteration of the position of Europe in the ever-shifting world-system not be taken into consideration.

This last crossing of Africa was the fourth of my post-war journeys. The others, made through North and South America, East and Central Asia, I took for the express purpose of studying the alteration of the position of the races to one another caused by the War and revolutions and the change time has wrought in the mind of the coloured races.

The fruit of the impressions gathered during these journeys is a most decided opinion that, not only in North but also in South America, and in Asia, Europe will have to fight at no far distant period for her predominance—yes, even perhaps wrestle to keep her position as an equal to the other continents.

The rise of Soviet Russia and her politics, just as much as the nationalist movement in Asia, have made any organised extension of Europe into the heart of Asia, any formation of a European-Asiatic Block, impossible. So the only possibility remaining is the formation of a European-African Block—i.e., that Europe apart from any effects caused by the dividing up of the different parts of Africa and putting them under the rule of the different European nations, must establish a European-Monroe Doctrine for Africa, just as there is one existing for America. The aspirations of America may, for the present, be but few; all the more important is it to establish firmly and unequivocally the standpoint of Europe. The claims of Asia to the East Coast of Africa are, by no means, of modern date, and the "Indian question" in Kenya, in Tanganyika, and in South Africa is a problem growing daily more and more difficult.

When the security of the primacy of Europe in Africa is thoroughly established in the eyes of America and Asia, there still remains the agreement with the original rulers of the land—the Blacks. I am certain that an agreement with the natives in favour of Europe is quite possible, even to-day, for a "Black danger" can only exist when people in Europe positively believe in its existence. The African movement has but its weakest, smallest roots in Africa; the strength of the movement, all its ideas and pecuniary means come for the most part from the emancipated negroes in the United States and from Europe.

Europe supports the cause of the black movement against the white predominance in a twofold manner—firstly by the rivalry of the different colonial powers, their treatment of the natives resulting from these motives. A classical example of this is given us in the Belgian Congo State, which, actuated by an almost infantile fear for an expanding imperial political tendency in the future South Africa, purposely treats her natives in a manner directly opposed to that taken by the South African Union.

But what can we do against this when even the colonials themselves have completely diverse political views in the different colonies, such as England has in East and West Africa. I know, of course, all the justifiable reasons causing such contending opinions, but, for all that, I fear that the advantages will never counterbalance the dangers of the position of the white man ensuing from the various methods of his treatment of the native inhabitant. We see to-day what difficulties the native policy in Uganda and Kenya would put in the way when the two States should be merged into one great East African Dominion—to say nothing of the feeling of enmity and resentment awakened by these different treatments in the hearts of the Kenya natives themselves.

Yet perhaps the feeling of insecurity and uncertainty towards the natives which, as a rule, the European has to-day, is more dangerous than anything else. The times when every white man could pose as a lord over a black one are over for good and all. We will not lament them; doubtless much unnecessary harshness and severity were employed, losing sight of the impossibility of limiting natural development for always. If an absolute chaos is to be avoided, then the white man must win and establish for himself a certain position toward the coloured man based on principle. At the same time differences can and must be made in treating the various races according to their culture and education, and should the standpoint of master or equal be taken, the position must be kept with inviolable persistency.

When travelling through Africa, even with but half-open eyes, it is not difficult to observe the prevailing difficulties. There is the old Africander mourning the times of long ago when he might use the "Kiboko" to his heart's content, but to-day gives full vent to his rage on the cultivated negro, the "Mission negro," if he knows he will not be found out. I have known such a farmer abuse, humiliate, and even mishandle a black for wearing an immaculate European suit and clean white linen collar. Whereas, on the other hand, I have known an English Government official, newly arrived in the colony, allow a black "boy" to give his little daughter a smart box on her ears without punishment other than a sharp reproof.

The insecurity into which Europe has plunged herself is the only possible explanation for such a state of things. In the European nations the circles tired of and antagonistic to colonial affairs the development has been anticipated for decades, if not centuries, in advance. The ethical and moral foundations on which Europe builds her claim of sovereignty over the coloured world may perhaps be questionable, but should they be doubted, there would be no upholding of the supremacy for any length of time, unless it is the outcome of cool deliberation, and considered necessary for the self-preservation of Europe.

The group of extreme "Negrophiles" in Europe who coined the slogan "Africa for the Africans" quite forget that Europe, so hyper-developed, so over-inhabited, would be cast into a state of torpidity if limited to her own shores. "Europe for the Europeans" and "Africa for the Africans" means crowding 300 millions of West and Central Europeans into five million square kilometres of land, whereas six times this amount of country is at the disposal of the 140 million Africans, without weighing the fact that whereas the mineral treasures of the one continent have been depleted, the ground of the other has at present received but a few surface scratches, and is awaiting exploitation.

I have spoken of "Europe" and of a "European" standpoint without giving the words an all-too-limited meaning. Europe must be considered as one great uniform political will-power in contrast to the non-European Powers, if our diverse nations are to form one unity, the only possibility of maintaining the supremacy.

As a matter of course, the British standpoint cannot be identified with the European. In plain speaking, the Empire is a super-national and super-continental power. With the growing importance of other continents the political centre of gravity may deviate from its present course. But that is only possible as far as the original character of the Empire is not lost through self-destruction, as the Hapsburg Monarchy destroyed itself by removing its centre of gravity from the land of its Teutonic origin into that of a Slavo-Romana-Magyar territory.

The ideas expressed here are the result of a thirteen months' arduous journey through Africa, preceded by travels through other parts of the world, taken expressly for the purpose of study. My ideas may be thought wrong, or as having missed the point. However that may be, there is no very great importance in having obtained a right personal conception, whereas it is very important, by the help of a clearly expressed opinion based on spontaneous impressions, to induce Europe to look the changed world-conditions in the face, that she may thus gain a new intellectual adjustment of ideas and form a united political will towards the coloured world, if Europe is to keep her position in the coming race-conflict, and in deciding the question as to who shall occupy and dominate the still unpopulated spaces in the world in the general struggle for freedom.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

"Africa."

The second number of the Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures maintains the high standard set up by the first. Its international character is marked by the inclusion of articles in three languages—English, French, and German. The learned editor, Professor Westermann, contributes an article (in German) on "Conceptions of God in Upper Guinea." He begins by pointing out that the popular identification of the word "fetich" with a specially low form of religion does injustice to the African, who does not identify his gods with the objects commonly called fetiches. The gods themselves are invisible and only temporarily inhabit the various objects which "serve as places to which offerings can be brought and where gifts can be asked for." The professor deals only with representations or symbols of the gods, but what he says of them is equally true of amulets, which are the fetiches best known to Europeans. These are not worshipped, nor are they supposed to be inhabited by a deity, though they may derive power from a deity invoked at their making. They are regarded by the pious African wearers in the same way as a devout Catholic regards a medal blessed by the Pope, as an object sanctified, and therefore powerful to guard the wearer from spirits of evil. In this article, as in most European writings on the subject of African religion, I find a greater prominence given to the Supreme God, who is above all the local gods, than I have found in the minds of Africans themselves. As Professor Westermann says, the conception of the Supreme God has become shadowy and indefinite owing to his remoteness and aloofness and his indifference to worship. The gods whose cult I found the villagers practising are the local family and tribal deities who dispense blessings and punishments, who can send a good harvest if properly placated, or disease if angry. The African mind is as practical in religion as in other departments of life, and so the African concentrates attention on the service of the gods who are in immediate contact with him, who can affect his life for good or evil, and who give a visible and immediate return for the offerings made to them. The religion has nothing to do with morality, which is a social matter, and is enforced by the "customs" of which the family or tribal Head and his Council are the guardians. The conception of a "God of Heaven," supreme over all the local gods, is dormant; but it exists, and can be used as a foundation on which to build up a conception of a Universal and Sole Deity, absorbing into himself all these subordinate gods, who have been created by the "God of Heaven" and receive their power from Him. From the coalescence of these "broken lights" will emerge the bright effulgence of "Our Father in Heaven."

African Sculpture.

Those who were so fortunate as to read the first number of "Africa" will find a pendant to the remarkable article on "African Negro Music" by Professor E. von Hornbostel (now reprinted separately) in Dr. E. von Sydow's article on "African Sculpture" in the present issue. Both writers dwell on the individuality of the African presentations of these forms of art, and the mutual reactions caused by the contact of these on European art in the same genres, and both are concerned with the problem of preserving the Africanism of the art of the negro and preventing its obliteration by the products of European factories. The destructive effect of the impact of the Western civilisation, with its highly developed technical theory and practice, is visible in every phase of primitive life which it is drawing in and moulding to its own service. It seems inevitable that the simple and unorganised primitive life should yield to the weight of the steam-roller of civilisation now passing over it without feeling a jolt. But in the spiritual as in the mechanical world action and reaction are equal and opposite. European art has been profoundly affected by African sculpture and African music. The reign of jazz has blatantly demonstrated the influence of African rhythms on European music; the influence of Africa on European plastic art has been wide, though not so universal. As Dr. von Sydow points out, the beginning of the present century witnessed "a revolt from the Realistic Impressionism of the last decades of the nineteenth century, which drove European artists to the study of primitive art. French artists revived Jean Jacques Rousseau's "enthusiasm for the idyllic

leading artists are deeply affected. "Pablo Picasso, the greatest leader of Parisian black races of ruthless "Europeanisation." artists, had a phase in his career described The antagonism of the pioneers of education as 'negroid.' German Expressionists have to everything African has been replaced by the represented primitive carvings in many pic- perception that African customs, religion and tures, and in the wood sculpture of Karl art are the inevitable outcome of African Schmitt-Rouloff and others an echo of 'pri environment and mentality, and that their metaphysically minded Germans, in revolt- destruction will not only humiliate the black ing from the Realist's absorption in repre- races, but disable them as contributors to sentation of externals, and turning to ob- the culture of the world. To prevent this servation and expression of the internal catastrophe is the object of the International world, were attracted by the mystic sym- Institute of African Languages and Cultures. bolism of primitive art. "A strong move- "From without it is threatened with ment flowed through the art world of extinction" from within in revealing to Europe, finding its most permanent expres- European manufactured goods, from within sion as Futurism in Italy, Cubism in France, through the destruction of all those religious and Expressionism in Germany." In con- and social institutions . . . with which the sequence, many works of recent decades show creative impulse in art, was intimately con- the influence of primitive art by which many nected." Fortunately, many leading minds of be their native idiom.

The Future of African Art.

What is to become of this "valuable ele- ment in the sum total of the art of the whole world"? At present it is threatened with extinction" "from without in the flood of European manufactured goods, from within through the destruction of all those religious and social institutions . . . with which the creative impulse in art, was intimately con- nected." Fortunately, many leading minds of be their native idiom.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Correspondence.

THEFT FROM HOSPITAL.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir,—May I through the medium of your widely circulated paper refer to the correspondence about "Theft from Hospital" which has been appearing in the correspondence columns of your journal. I wish to make it plain that I am not essaying to make any reconciliation between your correspondents; but I am only trying to bring to the notice of your readers what I think, has led to this theft.

This case is only the beginning of more serious and ignominious ones. It is the result of repressive legislation of restricting land to Natives. These poor people are starving. They have sowed no crops on account of drought. They have practically lost all their stock and are now in a state of unspeakable penury. They are crowded by the legislature into reserves which are so congested that they cannot support either man or beast.

Theft is a sign of lawlessness and it requires to be put down with a firm hand; but it must be remembered that lawlessness is sometimes inspired by lawless laws.

The legislature is advocating the the wholesale displacement of Natives by Europeans in Government, Municipal and all other avenues of employment. How these poor Natives are expected to eke out their existence in the face of creation is a mystery.

To show that he has the Native cause at heart, the Rev Herchman tells us that his maternal grandfather established several small Missions in South Africa and spent much of his own money on them. To this we may give credence; but our answer is it is all because he lived in the days of the Empire builders—in the days of men like Sir George Grey, Bishop Grey, Saul Solomon and many other champions of justice.

But alas! What would they say if they came back here and found that the hills and valleys of their old South Africa have ceased to be a home to many of their brown blacks whose muscles helped the conqueror to secure his present hold of the country? What would his maternal grandfather say if he came back here and heard of these Colour Bars and repressive Native Bills? Surely lawlessness is sometimes inspired by lawless laws! I number myself amongst those who have expressed deep regret at the loss to the hospital,

P. B. D. MAX. MASHICILA,

Banishing Natives.

The "Friend," our Free State contemporary is fast gaining repute for originality. Quite recently it published a compromise between the Prime Minister and General Smuts on the Native Bills. The nature of this compromise has caused a nervous shock from which our people have not yet recovered. In fact it all sounds like a dream. A week or so ago, the 'Friend' threw out another astounding suggestion regarding the settlement of Natives on the land. It suggests the seeking of permission by the government from the League of Nations, to settle all Natives of the Union in the South West Protectorate. This according to the "Friend" to be the solution of the Native Question.

This reminds us of a commission the government sent a few years back to the Richtersveld in Namaqualand, to investigate as to the possibility of settling Natives there. It is not our intention at present to discuss the suitability or otherwise of these broad schemes; but we wish to confine ourselves to the question as to whether such schemes are practicable at all. The system of wholesale removal of huge masses of Native tribes from their so to speak natural abodes is tantamount to banishment. All human beings, like animals, have a natural tendency to clinging to surroundings they have been acclimatised to. Europeans, in spite of their comparatively short stay of a few centuries in South Africa have so fallen in love with their present surroundings that even a government itself dare not suggest their removal from towns and farms they now occupy. How much more would this tendency show itself with the Native races who are the original owners of the land. One might as well attempt to drive a pair of rock-rabbits from their mountainous abode into a cinema hall in town, than convince Natives of the necessity of their removal from the homes they occupied from time immemorial to anywhere else. For that matter, an exchange with London would not appeal to them. Our people are wedded with the conservative notion that they must remain where God decreed them to be. Some of them take strong exception to what they call the inquisitive intrusion of the white man into Africa by surmounting God's great barrier between the nations of the earth—the sea.

Is it practicable to remove Natives in bulk to anywhere for communal settlement? We say no! We opine that it is one of God's great ideas in human administration to sandwich the different races in Africa with an aim to a peaceful future. Replace all the Native tribes of South Africa to their former surroundings and you will surely revive the old feudal wars and blood-thirsty propensity. Comb out all Natives now forming a buffer between Briton and Boer and the 1899 atmosphere will come to life once more. The very fact of the European race concentrating so much attention on the Natives constitutes a platform for peace and co-operation between the white races. Take away this platform, or banish it to some distant land, and each European race will strive to be the top-dog at the expense of the other. No! we say, segregation or banishment is no remedy for the settlement of the Native question.

The other side of Progress in Africa.

An interesting sidelight on the opening up of Africa by the motor is thrown by a remark made by Mr. T. H. Baxter, a Manchester man, who is secretary of the Missionary Films Committee. Mr. Baxter has just returned from a tour from the Cape to Kenya, during which he has superintended the taking of six miles of film of African life. The best sections of the film will be released for a special show at the Polytechnic in October. "Everywhere," said Mr. Baxter, to the "Manchester Guardian," "I was told by officials and missionaries that they were losing some of their touch with real African life, because with the use of the car and cycle, they could get out from their stations and back in a day in the course of visits of inspection, whereas before they had to put up each night in African villages and share at least for some hours something of the life of the people."

PROSPEROUS RHODESIA.

Few, if any, of our overseas possessions enjoy greater prosperity or have made greater progress in recent years than Southern Rhodesia, which was granted responsible Government in 1923. The year which has just closed has exceeded all previous years so far as the volume of trade and the revenue of the country is concerned. The imports during 1927 amounted to the very substantial figure of £7,500,000, as compared with £6,282,000 the previous year. Exports amounted to rather more than £7,500,000, or £1,500,000 over the previous year. The revenue of the Colony in 1923 was £1,350,000; in the financial year just completed it was £2,100,000. Four and a-half years ago the population was 30,000; to-day it is nearly 50,000. Rhodesia, and especially Southern Rhodesia, is certainly the brightest spot in South Africa to-day, and its Government and people are co-operating in making the country one of the happiest prospective outlets for a large and prosperous community of British settlers of the best type.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, April 7, 1928.

OUR EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

I—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. THE ideas represented by these words of VIRGIL are paralleled to those which are at present brewing in the minds of the majority of our people in respect to the new educational regimê recently inaugurated by the amalgamation of the Elementary Schools in the Colony under Government control. No one can doubt that Governments are best able to provide the machinery required for achieving the educational needs of a people. They have very stable means for providing the funds as well as for exercising a more systematic and general control and direction, than is within the reach of any individual or merely missionary effort. And yet for all this state intervention in education may not prove an unmixed blessing to the people, especially in a country like ours where it is not always the case that the wishes of the people are those which determine Government policy.

This is not to deny the fact that the present scheme of amalgamation under the Government is vastly an improvement on the old system of denominational schools. It has put an end, let us hope, to our unhappy division, and the useless waste of energy and expense in maintaining two or three schools in a locality where one would suffice. It has scrapped out a number of undesirables who had been a clog to the educational wheel, and has brought some measure of satisfaction to the Teacher who has now far more security for his salary, even though it may not be an improvement on the old.

Notwithstanding these advantages, there are causes for apprehension to which public opinion has not failed to give expression. One fear is that when all the schools shall have been surrendered to the Government and the Government is left alone the unrivalled controller of our educational machinery, how far is there a guarantee that the standard of education will not be lowered. The possession of a monopoly with the lack of competition is apt in itself to result in harmful consequences to the consumer.

Apart from this, Government policy in a Crown Colony is very liable to change through change of personnel. At present we are fortunate to have a Director of Education who, besides being sympathetic is blessed with a genius for organisation and has a good will for the people. But what, when a change of personnel takes place? Let us remember that the rigid hand of Government will not easily lose its hold when once it has got the reins well within its clutch. The people therefore are naturally asking "what shall we do then?" Education is not a matter of trifle with us, it is one of the very essence of our life.

For this reason our people are willing to make the utmost sacrifice if only progress is assured. This may be seen in the response they have made in acquiescing to the new rates of school fees now in vogue. We doubt whether in civilised Europe such a ready response is possible. To think of it. Here, where there had been no education rates, and the scale of school fees had been only about 6d. a month at the highest, at least in the villages, the rates have been increased all at once *500 per cent!* What country in Europe would have consented to such a rate of increase, be it for education or not? We do not grumble, however, at this, if only the best can be given us and we sincerely trust that continuous effort will be put forth to give us nothing less than the best.

We admit that the work of reconstruction is but just begun. In fact nothing more has been done than the mere setting up of the machinery. This is an achievement though, but the best machinery requires the direction by skilful hands and trained intelligence to produce the best results. For this we anxiously wait. Our educational progress does not lie in sumptuous equipment or paper curricula, but in the capacity and morale of the men and women into whose hands the machinery has been entrusted.

If we may be allowed to suggest one or two things which would help to allay the fears of our people, we would recommend that steps be taken to bring education more and more under popular control till ultimately it be made as in India, a department of Government delegated to native control. We have been highly gratified at the appointment of an African Assistant Director of Education. We desire also a Board of Education the majority of whose members have their seats in it by popular vote. Men are not necesarily experts in Education because they stand high in their respective denominations. That was a concession in the days when the schools were maintained by the various denominations. A more intelligent view of the situation should now be taken.

Again, to secure good results, the appointment of a few more supervising Teachers is a desideratum. We need these more than we need Inspectors. These teachers should be able in their visits to a school (which should by no means be a hurried one) spend about a week at a time in a school, set the pattern for the teachers to follow and help them to carry it out.

In conclusion, we should be thankful to the Government if it would open a *Secondary* School for girls. This will prove more beneficial and indeed is more necessary, than a Government model (elementary) school. For now that the Government has undertaken the training of teachers and has also taken control of the Elementary schools we trust that ere long every one of them will become a *model* school. There is at present *no Secondary School* (properly so called) for girls in the Colony, and if the Government would help us to secure as much as possible of the advantages which can accrue to a community from a development of the great abilities of its female section, it would more than deserve our heartiest thanks.

WHERE EARLY MARRIAGES ARE A HANDICAP.

Problem of Native Administration.

The Chief Native Commissioner in his annual report of the working of the Native Affairs Department during 1926 displays no little anxiety at the tendency of his junior officers to enter the bonds of matrimony and of the adverse effect ensuing in the matter of native administration generally.

Young married officers, says Mr. G. V. Maxwell, are frequently prevented by domestic affairs from acquiring a really intimate knowledge of the tribes amongst whom they are working, their mobility is often impaired, and it not seldom happens that it is found impracticable to post them to districts where their presence is urgently required.

Close Touch Difficult.

It must, therefore, be realised that in many ways great difficulty is being experienced in maintaining that close touch with native affairs which now more than ever before is so vitally necessary for progressive and sympathetic administration. The Chief Commissioner also complains of the lack of sufficient personnel, which necessitates the frequent transfer of officers, thus entailing much expense and loss of time and precluding the possibility of continuity in administration. It has also a most unsettling effect upon the natives, who are not only bewildered by these incessant changes, but are generally ill at ease with newcomers until the latter have had time and opportunity to win their confidence. This, coupled with the tendency of the junior officers to marry, and the difficulty of selecting suitable candidates who are unmarried, does not assist to relieve the position. Talking of social evolution, Mr. Maxwell says, signs are apparent, especially among the agricultural tribes, that the younger generation, and even some of the older people, are beginning to find tribal life and its customary obligations irksome. This, however, is a natural evolution among people who are in close contact with modern civilisation, which is governed by laws based upon individual liberty.

In a reference to complaints of native indiscipline Mr. Maxwell suggests that where it occurs it is largely the outcome of the example of indiscipline amongst non-natives. The Chief Commissioner refers to the fixation of the boundaries of most of the native reservations as the outstanding event of the year and a step which more than any other marks a definite advance towards allaying native uneasiness and promoting that feeling of security and confidence which is the first essential of successful administration of native tribes.

Native Affairs Department.

VACANCIES FOR NATIVE CLERKS

Applications are invited for appointment to two vacant posts of Native Clerks in the Office of the Magistrate, Lady Frere, Cape Province.

The commencing salary is £100 per annum, rising by two annual increments of £10 to £120 per annum and thereafter by annual increments of £12 to £240 per annum.

The successful applicants will be required to serve on twelve month's probation and to furnish satisfactory certificates of birth and health.

Applications, accompanied by particulars as to age, qualifications previous experience, if any, knowledge of the official and Native languages, conjugal condition, and copies of testimonials, must reach the Secretary for Native Affairs, P.O. Box 384, Pretoria, not later than the 10th May 1928.

The qualifications for appointments as Native Clerks are the same as those prescribed by Section 10 of Act No. 27 of 1923 for appointments of Europeans to the Clerical Division, namely, the Matriculation examination of the joint matriculation board or an examination which is of a standard as high as, or higher than, the said matriculation examination.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

I.C.U. CONGRESS

The I.C.U. annual congress opened at Bloemfontein on 7th April, Mr. J G Gumbs, the president, in opening the congress, pleaded for a fighting spirit. The working class must show by their behaviour that they were in earnest and not prepared to bend the knee for anything they wanted.

Bishop Carey of Bloemfontein said that he was the friend of the Bantu in their legitimate aspirations. He had found the Bantu a gentleman by nature. The man was a fool who said that the Bantu had not the same right to form a trade union as any other people in the country. After they had formulated reasonable demands they should stick to them.

E. Ntlapo said that Free State natives, because they owned no land, were still sjamboked like dogs and ejected from locations simply because they were members of the I.C.U.

A. M Jabavu, senior vice-president, said they appreciated the broadmindedness of Dr. Carey. The latter had suggested they should meet the natives halfway, but the whites had stolen a march on the natives, with the result that the latter suffered from land hunger and economic strangulation. Unless the whites made up their minds to give the natives land, the latter could not assist to stem the influx of natives to the towns.

Kadalie was cheered on rising to propose the following resolution: "This congress of the I.C.U. sends fraternal greetings to the South African Trade Union Congress now in session in Johannesburg, and pledges itself to work for the unification of all trade unions, irrespective of colour or nationality, into one trade union congress of all workers."

I.C.U. and A.N. Congress.

A Co-operation Scheme.

A meeting between the National Council of the I.C.U. and the Executive Committee of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein lasted several hours. At the conclusion it was announced that the following resolution, proposed by Clements Kadalie and seconded by Selope Thema, had been unanimously adopted:—

"That this joint meeting of the Executive of the African National Congress and the National Council of the I.C.U., convened by chiefs and now in session under the aegis of the African National Congress, agrees in principle that co-operation between the Congress and the I.C.U. in matters of national policy, namely, the Government's native Bills and pass laws, is essential if the political and economic progress of our people is to be secured; but it declares that in pursuing these objects the African National Congress hereby repudiate its association with the South African Communist Party, which of late has openly identified itself with the Congress. Details of how these organisations can co-operate are to be arranged by both the Executive of the African National Congress and the National Council of the I.C.U. after this formula has been submitted to their respective congresses."

Pass Laws and Land

It is now many years that Native conferences and political associations have endeavoured to voice their feelings of discontent with the laws passed by the various governments of South Africa in connection with pass laws, and settlement of Natives on the land. Delegations have been sent to interview governments, and countless resolutions passed on the above two matters; but the reply to these appeals has had the very opposite effect of what was desired. Pass laws are still enforced with the utmost rigour, and new legislation like the Conciliation Act of 1924 embody the stigma of the pass laws. Commission after commission since 1903 have advocated additional areas of land for Native settlement, but their reports remain in print only and are never carried into practice. Meanwhile Natives have multiplied and increased in their old areas, and on European farms where they lived as labour tenants and squatters. They have no more land on which to settle. In spite of educational development and the progress of Western civilisation among Natives the powers that be do not see the necessity for the entire overhaul of the obnoxious and degrading pass laws. Government claims that it is necessary to enforce the pass system for the sake of effective administration. Our experience is that where the pass laws are stringently enforced, crime has been prevalent to a superlative degree. The criminal genius can always find a way to combat or defeat the ends of a harsh law; and the more embarrasing a law is, the more resolute a criminal is to defeat it. Human nature seems to interest itself in an extremely involved problem than an easy issue. It is doubtful if Eve would have fussed so much about the apple in the Garden of Eden if there was not that authority forbidding the partaking of it. We have it on good authority that Native Amalaita and kindred gangs have no difficulty in carrying out their objectives through the imposition of the pass or registration system, and that bogus European employers regularly supply them with passes at all times. Therefore it is not the criminal Native that suffers the heavy burden of these laws, but the law-abiding citizen who is always out on a legitimate purpose. Why then perpetuate this system when you have the common law of the land (which in the end is always resorted to) in subduing crime? In the Cape Province, the Curfew municipal bye-law is the bane to Native womenfolk in towns. Natives cannot be blamed for the extreme abhorrence they have of the curfew that subjects their womenfolk to an unnecessary indignity without rhyme or reason.

The agreement arrived at in Bloemfontein last week between the executive of the African National Congress as representing the House of Chiefs and the National Council of the I.C.U. is a sure sign that Natives have been driven to such a pass that they feel they must adopt new methods of combatting the pass laws and strengthening their demand for more land. It is a pity government has lent a deaf ear to past appeals, and that they did not see fit to modify or restrict the enforcement of the pass system. Methods adopted by an oppressed people to ease their yoke are not always acceptable to the rulers, and we hope that the programme to be followed by the joint council of the I.C.U and National Congress in future, will be taken as a direct outcome of many years' oppression in the pass system and land hunger and not as a mark of conspiracy against the government.

Attack of I.C.U. Office.

Twenty Offenders Fined £2 at Greytown.

A fine of £2, with the alternative of 14 days, imprisonment, was imposed by the Greytown Magistrate (Mr. Piers) on 20 Europeans who were charged with burning the furniture and effects of the Greytown branch of the I.C.U. on March 1. The accused originally numbered 22, but the Prosecutor withdrew the charge against Mr. Alberts, while the Magistrate discharged a youth named Joyce. Mr. Muller appeared for 20 of the accused, and Mr. Becker for Alberts and Joyce. The case for the defence opened yesterday, the chief witness being Cyril Browning, who gave evidence of the burning of the I.C.U. property as a result of the excitement caused by the desecration of graves during the night. Before going to the I.C.U. office, he said, they had obtained a supply of petrol.

Summing up, the Magistrate, after expressing surprise at the large local membership of the I.C.U., said that he could understand the feeling of the Greytown people after the desecration of the cemetery, but remarked that he did not consider that there was any proof that the I.C.U were at the back of the affair. The fact that petrol had been obtained before the Europeans raided the I.C.U. building proved that their action had been thought out previously. He did not wish to be hard on the accused but law and order had to be maintained.

MISSIONARIES PROTEST AGAINST COLOUR BAR.

Bishop on Subject Fraught With Tremendous Difficulties.

No little interest was caused, and much discussion arose, at the recent missionary conference in connection with the Salisbury Town Council's "Colour Bar" resolution in reference to the building of houses for Africans in the location.

In proposing that "This conference urges in the name of justice and freedom the municipal Council of Salisbury to rescind its 'colour-bar' resolution," the Bishop of Southern Rhodesia (the Rev. E. F. Puget) said :—

African World 5-5-28

"The whole subject is fraught with tremendous difficulties, and I think if I was a builder with a family I should be worrying where I was going to be, and where my children were going to be, in the next five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years in regard to employment. But whatever there may be which is right or wrong in regard to the general question of building in the town, there is not, to my mind, the slightest doubt that it is a gross piece of injustice to forbid the African to build his own house. Here we take the African, make him—quite rightly—live in certain areas and in houses—again quite rightly—approved by us, and then we say that not only shall he live in the areas we select, in the houses we approve of, but also only in houses which we Europeans build. I do not think that we, as a Christian body, can countenance a principle like that. The colour bar is slipping in, not in the way in which it is slipping in elsewhere, but just as surely; and if we are going to submit it to this principle, then we had better throw up altogether any idea of the advance of the African people."

The resolution was carried after the Bishop had replied to the debate which followed its proposal.

Native Affairs Bill.

Other matters which engaged the attention of the Conference included the Native Affairs Bill, and a discussion on the question of responsible government in Northern Rhodesia.

Part of the resolution introduced by the Rev. John White on the matter was as follows :—

"We recommend that responsible government for Northern Rhodesia be delayed. We express it as our opinion that the only effective form of political power that can be ceded to the native people is to enfranchise them on a basis that will encourage progress."

The Bishop of Southern Rhodesia said it was their job to look after the workers, missionaries, and natives of Southern, not Northern Rhodesia. He hoped the resolution would not be supported, because, if it was passed, he saw no reason why they should not tell the people in China what to do.

After some further discussion it was resolved that the whole question should be dropped.

NATIVE REQUEST FOR ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Warm Tribute to General Smuts.

At the African National Congress, which is being held at Bloemfontein, a resolution was carried requesting the Government to arrange for a round table conference between Europeans and native chiefs and representatives to consider the report of the Select Committee on the four Native Bills before their final submission to Parliament.

African World 5-5-28

The Congress also placed on record its high appreciation of the manner in which General Smuts, as leader of the Opposition in Parliament, has fought for safeguards for the native races in the Union in the Bills before Parliament. The chiefs feel that the fate of the natives is in the hands of General Smuts and his followers, and earnestly pray the leader of the Opposition to continue his good offices on their behalf. Only by a fair and honourable adjustment of differences will it be possible to achieve a settlement, and accordingly the chiefs appeal to General Smuts to use his fullest influence to induce the Prime Minister to agree to the round table conference asked for by the convention of chiefs.

Native Teachers' Salaries

Mr Payn asked the Minister of Native Affairs in the Assembly on Tuesday 27th March.

1. Whether, in view of the frequent representations made by Native teachers' associations and others urging that Native teachers' salaries should be adequately increased and placed upon a satisfactory and properly graded basis and that a pension fund should be created, and in view of the increased revenues accruing to the Treasury by reason of the recent Native taxation measure, any steps are being taken to meet such representations; and if so,

2 whether he is prepared to make a statement regarding the matter ?

The Minister's reply was :

In 1923 the Native Affairs Commission drew up uniform incremental scales of salaries for Native teachers for application throughout the Union. These were accepted by the Government and the several Provincial authorities. 4-17-28

Grants towards Native teachers' salaries are not made from revenue accruing to the Treasury but from the Native Development Account constituted under Act No 41 of 1925 and as far as the funds of that Account permit money is annually provided to enable the provincial Education Departments to place as many teachers as possible on their respective scales.

Early in the present year the Native Affairs Commission recommended the adoption of more liberal scales and these are under the consideration of the Government and the Provincial authorities.

The question of a pension fund is being considered.

Communist Views

The Friend newspaper and several other papers, Native papers included, made us understand that the assembly of the Native Chiefs of the Union of South Africa and the Territories which was convened at Bloemfontein, on Easter holidays under the auspices of the African National Congress, passed a resolution disassociating itself from the Communist Party, and another which was passed by the joint meeting of the I.C.U council and the Executive committee of the assembly of chiefs, the African National Congress repudiating its association with the Communist Party. 4-27-28

The "South African Worker," a newspaper published at Johannesburg by the Communist Party, alleges that these resolutions were proposed but were not passed. Further it shows that there were sinister motives behind these two motions In fact the way they put the matter, it would appear as if the "Friend" representative inspired these motions and others to be proposed. Nevertheless, after carefully reading the different reports of the deliberations of the two associations one cannot help feeling, people like Mr Thomas Mpikea have even gone too far to look for the destruction work of the Communist Party in that they think it was aiming, first to destroy the power of chiefs or the murder of them. By so saying, it seems they look beyond the horizon of the Communist Party intrigues The first bombshell of the campaign of the Communist Party will burst within the Congress. The Congress has allowed "Samson" of the Communist Party to lean against the pillars, and he will pull the house down upon them

The Communist Party has brain power that serves it right. They know unless they can break down the influence of the two great influential associations in South Africa, namely the African Congress and the I.C.U, they cannot catch enough followers to be able to break down or destroy the established authority of chiefs They must clear their way of these stumbling blocks first before they lift their axe to cut the roots of chieftainship.

The Congress, in order to avoid the surely planned split, must be ware of Gumede. See that he is not brought within reach of the two pillars on which the Congress is resting. He will bring the whole house down. In other words Gumede plays the old disciple, who asked the chief priests, "what will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you ?"

THE CAPE

Native Teachers' Association.

The above Association is holding its Eighth Annual Conference in Kimberley. Delegates arrive **on the 27th June.** Reception the same evening. The **28th** and **29th** will be devoted to Conference business. The **30th** to sightseeing and sports; and **the 1st July** services to be conducted by visitors

Intending delegates and those interested must communicate early with Mr. H. M. Jno. Masiza, No. 2 Location, Kimberley 5-7-28

Motions must reach me before the 11th June. Subscriptions must be sent to Dr. Jas Henderson, Treasurer, Lovedale, before date of Conference.

BENNETT B. MDLEDLE,
General Secretary.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

Native Bills And Native Leaders.

Dear Editor—Your correspondent, Mr Makalima has struck the keynote of his ideas when he ends up his letter by saying that if politics were a religious institution he would be a free thinker.

From this remark we may rightly infer that he is not prepared to take the Christian point of view of the present political situation at all. I hope your readers are taking special note of this point. 5-29-28

The other point to be noted is the unusual procedure which your correspondent says was followed at the Bantu Union conference at Middle Drift, that of receiving and adopting the Committee's report of the criticisms of the Native Bills and then after being told that the said criticisms were already in the hands of the Government to proceed to examine them clause by clause There were many sensible men in that conference who, I am sure would have questioned the Committee's right to send the criticisms to the Government before being passed by the conference.

I must have been under some hypnotic spell if what the Secretary says is true, and if so, I am really beaten.

It is true Dr Rubusana, then Vice President proposed the total rejection of the Bills on the grounds that first we should by so doing be showing our approval of what took place at the Pretoria conference and secondly, by reason of the fact that the Bills were inter-related and we could not accept one and reject the others. However Sir, I still cling to what I said in my previous letter.

I remember addressing the conference and pointing out, in support of Dr Rubusana, the thin end of the wedge, in that the clause in the South Africa Act which was not to be repealed made it possible for us to be deprived of the vote by a two thirds majority in Parliament and if we accepted the repeal of the clause mentioned in the Representation Bill which clause I then read out, we would be giving General Hertzog the two-thirds majority as probably all the constituencies controlled by our vote would then be taken over by the Nats. If this is what Mr Makalima means by saying I took up cudgels for Dr Rubusana the Vice President I agree; and I still hold on that view that the danger in this so called Separate Representation lies just there.

Mr Pelem in his presidential address did not say that we must give away the vote but he maintained that General Hertzog was opening the door which had long been locked and that perhaps this was the first step in the ladder towards what we all desire "The Representation of Natives by Natives." His view is reasonable; but the Bantu Union could not uphold it on the grounds I have mentioned above. I want to tell Mr Makalima that he is not wise in writing so disparagingly of leaders of world wide reputation, men who not only have the experience as leaders but who have sacrificed themselves on behalf of the Bantu. I refer to Drs Abdurahman Rubusana and Professor Jabavu.

His question to these men is not fair, and in answering it I say, nobody has any right to condemn the South African Europeans and say they can never vote with the Native to send a Native to Parliament. Let him please read the memorandum of the Johannesburg Joint Council and the resolutions of the Grahamstown Native Welfare Society on the Franchise and compare with the leading articles of the "E P Herald" of 23rd, and 25th April and he will see that the Christian spirit is growing in this country and the good times are coming for those who will follow Christianity and leave the free thinkers alone.

For my part I believe the question of Native policy is more of prayer than discussion, and I would call upon all Christians, White and Black to pray with the Church in these days of the coming of God the Holy Spirit, so that on Pentecost Day 27th May, the rulers of this country may receive the necessary revelation to guide them in doing at all times what is truly best for the loyal subject races for whom they hold a sacred responsibility to God.

JAMES A CALATA.

Old Age Pensions Bill.

The second reading of the above bill introduced by the Minister of Finance in the House of Assembly was passed last week. The principle of providing for indigent whites and coloureds above the age of 65 years has thus been adopted. Where the yearly means of a coloured man do not exceed £18 he will be awarded a pension of £18 per annum and the scale rises in the case of a coloured applicant whose yearly means do not exceed £33 per annum to a correspondingly decreased pension of £3 per year. A higher scale is provided for Europeans. In their case an applicant whose yearly means do not exceed £24 per year will be entitled to a pension of £30, rising to a maximum of a yearly means of £51 where the pension dwindles down to £3. It will thus be seen that a differentiation is made between Coloured and European. Further, the pension is not available for a Hottentot, Bushman or Koranna, or a "supposed" Coloured man who resides in a Native location under the same conditions as a Native; but may be claimed by a Cape Malay or Griqua. So, even among our Coloured friends a sharp division is made in favour of what is commonly known as the Cape Coloured or the type who are the first issue of European and Hottentot parentage.

The poor aboriginal Native in this bill finds yet another colour bar iron door banged against him. He is not entitled to any such pension. His contributions to the State are to be utilised for the benefit of poor whites and coloureds. Mr. Havenga throws the blame for leaving out Natives on the Commission that reported on this bill, which ruled that the bill would be impracticable for Natives. It was argued in the House by Sir Drummond Chaplin that it was difficult to differentiate between educated and non-educated Natives. Curiously enough there was no one to argue that when it came to taxation, educated and non-educated Natives were gladly taken in with the Europeans under the Income Tax Act and both these classes came under the majestic swoop of the Taxation and Development Act 41 of 1925. The irony of this bill is that the Coloureds do not come under Act 41 of 1925 and yet they benefited in this exclusive privilege of pensions. Sir D. Chaplin favoured the benefit for all nationalities in the Union except Natives! It was Mr. Alexander (Hanover Street), who raised a voice in the wilderness of injustice that he saw no reason for excluding Natives. If Mr. Havenga had to deal with hard facts, as he said he had to, can he get over the fact that Coloureds contributed a negligible quantity in taxation as compared with Natives? The only consolation Minister Havenga gives Natives is that of looking to the Provincial authority for assistance, knowing full well that what funds are available there are charity endowments. Natives cannot be expected to be so devoid of commonsense as to welcome charity in preference to a fixed pension.

Jerusalem Conference.

We extend a most cordial welcome to Professor D D T Jabavu, B.A., of Fort Hare on his safe return home from his historical sojourn to the Holy Land. It is not possible to fully appreciate the services he has rendered to his people at the moment, but the near future will gradually unfold the untold blessing he has brought the aboriginal races of this land. Needless to say, Professor Jabavu's experiences will be abundantly useful in his professional career, and we are sure the Natives of South Africa will benefit spiritually and materially by this momentous mission to Palestine. We republish his first instalment of observations on the above Conference contributed to the "Daily Dispatch" of the 22nd. inst. for its exceptional interest and educative value. Prof. Jabavu thus observes in the "Dispatch":—"Jerusalem during last March was, to the world of Christian missions, a kind of Mecca to the Muhammadan believers, because it was invaded by a legion of unarmed Christian Crusaders in the shape of over 240 delegates from almost every part of the habitable globe. This was the conference of the enlarged International Missionary Council which has succeeded the Continuation Committee of the epoch-making Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. The most heavily represented countries were the United States of America, China, India, England, Japan and Korea, which sent 96 delegates between them, whilst the members hailed from

Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chili, Congo, Denmark, Egypt, Eritrea, Figi Islands, Finland, Formosa, France, Germany, Gold Coast, Iraq, Ireland, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Palestine, Persia, Philippine Islands, Scotland, Siam, South Africa, Straits Settlements, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Transjordania, Turkey, Uganda and Uruguay. The oriental aboriginal delegates in their national apparel of arrestingly contrasted colours provided a resplendant sight that placed them in continual request by cinema photographers. Not the least conspicuous of these was Siruano Kulubya, a tall, dignified and intelligent-looking African chief from Uganda. Much time has been spent, and enormous distances covered—in the case of the present writer, four weeks and 9,000 miles, via London, France, Italy and Egypt—to reach the Mount of Olives, which was the rendezvous of the meeting

The chairman was Dr. John R Mott, of New York, the celebrated veteran president of the World's Students' Christian Movement, who, in opening the assembly with a speech of characteristic eloquence, reminded his hearers that the world expected, and justifiably expected from them, a true and courageous lead with regard to all the subjects on the agenda. Those subjects were: The Message of Christianity to Confucianism, Islam, Buddhism and Secular Civilisation: Relations of the Older and Younger Churches; Religious Education; Christianity and Rural Problems; Inter-Racial Relationship; Industrial Problems; The Home Base; Missions to the Jews; The Christian Modern Message; Medical Missions; Future Organisation; Christianity and War; Protection of Missionaries during National Disturbances; Co-operation and a Call to Prayer.

Sixteen days, inclusive of three Sundays, of which the third was Easter Sunday, were spent in a minute discussion over these subjects; and inasmuch as the proceedings and findings will be printed and published in due course we shall limit our observations in this article to but a few points that struck one as being fraught with special interest for South Africa.

The subjects of "The Christian Message in Relation to Rural Problems" compelled attention because of its surprising freshness and practical touch with reality. There was no room here for recondite abstractions; for nothing but a practical solution was required to meet the hard facts which revealed, for example, that in almost all non-Western and new countries Christian agencies were labouring among predominantly rural populations. Some of the difficulties specially associated with such people were; poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. An eminent Indian delegate said such people were often at the mercy of superstition, quack doctors, extortionate money-lenders, a penchant for litigation with drastic consequences at the hands of unscrupulous lawyers, debt, low wages and inadequate land. Among the solutions tendered were the establishment of farmers' unions and special agricultural training for missionaries who, according to Dr. Diffendorfer, of New York, should be trained not in the city but in the country, where conditions approximated to the mission field, and who should preferably be nations (i.e., indigenous people), because these have a better sense of the dignity of manual labour than the white foreigner.

The findings under this head are lengthy, but the folowing short paragraph well illustrates their trend:—

The rural work in mission fields is an organic part of the service demanded of the church everywhere, East and West, to lead in the effort to build a rural civilisation that shall be Christian to the core. This effort looks toward the development of an intelligent, literate and efficient rural population, well organised and well led, who shall share the economic, the political and the social emancipation, as well as the continued advancement of the masses of men, who shall participate fully in world affairs, and who shall be motivated and inspired by the Christian spirit.

South Africa will naturally be closely interested in the discussion

INTER RACIAL

RELATIONSHIPS

on which a very able preliminary paper had been contributed by Dr. J Dexter Taylor, of Durban, alongside of other writers The discussion was opened by three black people, the first of whom was Dr. John Hope. M A, principal of a negro college in Georgia, U.S.A., who cautioned the audience against the growing and voluminous literature on this subject by ambitious students who chose it as an easy thesis for graduation whether their examiners knew little about it. He pointed out that white people often observed lofty ethics in dealing with each other, but, strangely enough, left out the negro from their code Even a good character on the part of a black man did not solve the problem, because, for instance, a respectable negro in America once purchased a decent house to live in but was attacked by his white neighbours only because he was black Even education, taken by itself, provided no salvation. He pinned his faith in the fine sense of justice found among the best citizens and the inexorable working of the spirit of Jesus Christ, in the hearts of men.

The next speaker, the Rev. Max Yergan, M A., of Alice, Cape Province secretary of the Students' Christian Association in South Africa pleaded for a better recognition of personality in all men, irrespective of race and colour, and for the development of co-operation with constructive aims by means of Native welfare societies and the Students' Christian Movement. Bishop Uzaki, of Japan, urged the Christian principle of the golden rule. In the discussion that followed, several phases of the question were brought out by various speakers. Dr. S Zwemer, of Cairo, pointed out that racial pride was one of the weaknesses in Christian practice as against the practice of some of the other religions.

The Rev. Ralla Ram (India) said this weakness, unfortunately, characteristic of some races other than European, for example, the caste system in India with its despised class untouchables Among the whites in India it was characterised by social snobbery and the domination complex.

The present writer said that race prejudice had proved a stumbling block and a hindrance to the progress of Christianity, because it produced pride in those who favoured coloured discrimination as well as social insults with ostracism and exploitation at the expense of the helpless, not to mention anti Native laws, such as were frequently being registered in the Statute book of the Union Government of South Africa He proposed a resolution condemning the use of race prejudice to the disadvantage of subject races.

Mr H A Grimshaw, M.A, (of the International Labour Office in Geneva), in an earnest speech, said although Yergan and Jabavu showed no bitterness in their remarks by reason of their studied self control, it must be remembered that the millions they represented were really bitter, because they directly suffered from the cruel effects of unsatisfactory industrial conditions due to bad race relations, to colour bar laws and colour bar practice, even where the latter was unconsciously applied, as, for instance, in the Pacific primitive people, whose social organisations had been actually destroyed and their country depopulated in consequence

Mr. Basil Mathews, M.A., (Geneva proposed the adoption of a programme of investigations by experts with a view to an authoritative collation of the facts in which the causes of racial friction shall be tabulated and solutions sought as to the light shed thereon by the teaching of Jesus Christ

Among other constructive suggestions were these: Dr. W Alexander (Georgia, U.S.A.) urged faith in the moderate white minorities where this problem existed, with an indirect, instead of a frontal, attack on the question by the formation of inter racial committee groups conducting research on race studies, and the mobilisation of the younger generation into the requisite spiritual forces

Dr. W H Murray (South Africa) pleaded for a more optimistic view such as is described in certain sections of Dr. Taylor's paper.

Dr. W Shell (New York) stated that an effective solution seemed to be forthcoming from Christian sources; for in Detroit the Students' Volunteer Movement declined to patronise hotels with a colour bar in their conferences.

In this he was supported by the Rev E F Campbell (Yale University, who held that the churches should, in conjunction with the students, take a clear stand on the issue and also be helpful to foreign students.

Miss M Underhill (London) commended the importance of training young children at home in the right attitude so that they should grow up to become an improved generation.

The present writer explained how in South Africa recent events showed that some of the young European members of the Students' Christian Association were taking the lead and showing an advanced attitude by getting into contact with the Bantu students of their organisation, proving

that Jesus Christ was the only conceivable solution of the problem The discussion closed with a series of admirable findings which will appear in the report of the conference.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

The Leadership of the Church.

The Friend of the 14th instant, commenting on the resolution of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church condemning dance and women's skirts, made remarks which served as an eye-opener on the part played by the church in the leadership of the people.

We, personally, have no reasons to condemn or speak in favour of dances It is the matter that we look upon as one that concerns white people. However there are to day, among Native families the town element which find some fun in dancing, and they are ever trying to bring it in the list of their past-time social events. Nevertheless, it is not tolerated by the bulk of the population of Basutoland. But it is, apparently, the social event that has come to stay among our people.

As to modern skirts mostly worn by European women, are to the Native point of view immodest. But it is not that the people wearing these dresses are themselves immodest. The Natives, instead of feeling that the women appearing dressed in these modern fashions, are immodest, admire them as brave.

Now one may wonder why Natives view differ from that of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod, as well as from that of the Friend Newspaper. The reason is not difficult to find, as the same reasons that influenced the Native mind in this way are based on the Church leadership

The first pioneers who brought the Native Christianity found our people dressing or covering their bodies like Adam and Eve, round the waist only. Then those leaders gave them the impression that their dresses were contemptible, and that they should cover their bodies. Of course, our people paid the penalty of their credulity. They lost their robust bodies, they became sickly and weak. Now they are suffering from many diseases which are mostly as corrections to mistakes they make in clothing their bodies.

There are many faults that are noticeable to-day amongst the Christian communities of the Bantu people due to the kind of Church leadership they first received. To-day there have sprung among Native communities leaders of many creeds and qualifications. While the Church leaders care for our souls, and provide for their needs, there are sections that care for our limbs, in many different ways. These leaders are as useful to the needs of our limbs as the leadership of the Church is to our souls. Between these two right kind of intelligence must prevail in order to harmonise the two leaderships that work for the common good of the natural gifts of mankind.

Through the many influences of the leaderships that are all at work among the people of all shades now, it is apparent that the Church leadership is left behind. For in many respects, instead of the church assimilating the new discoveries of the other forces that are in the field with it, it is trying to antagonise their discoveries and new inventions. The fact, is, the people will not be kept waiting if the Church leadership will not advance.

The Status of the Union Natives.

An interesting discussion took place in the Transkeian Council on the status of Natives in the Union, says the Friend. Councillor Jeremiah Moshesh, moved: "That in view of the Native Administration Bill and the sovereign independence of the Union, as defined by the recent Imperial Conference, the Government be respectfully requested to define the status of Natives in the Union of South Africa."

They saw in the papers what the Prime Minister was saying about the new status of the Union and how he was giving the people to understand that South Africa could remain neutral while Britain was at war, but the Natives would find it impossible to remain neutral while Britain was at war, as that would show the deepest ingratitude

The Transkeian Council have asked a question that is settled by Dominion Governments. If the Union Government prefers, as the majority of its members of Parliament may signify, to remain neutral when Britain is at war, it will mean that all people within the Dominion of the Union of South Africa shall remain neutral. We do not think the Union Government may place any restrictions against any individuals who may go to the war zone to enlist as soldiers in the British forces. Of course, the Union Government may, as they did during the last war, place restrictions in the way of Natives who may wish to join the active forces, and may forbid Native volunteers from their dominion. But, however, a definite statement in this respect is necessary in respect of Native British Territories, now still directly under the Imperial Government.

We, in Basutoland, are governed by the Imperial Government through representatives, and our High Commissioner is the Union Governor-General. His legal advisers for the Union Government are his legal advisers for the territories as well. Therefore there is no doubt that our Government and legislation receive their influence from the Union Government. Now the question is may not the same influences that apply in case of our Government and legislation to-day likewise influence our Government decision in respect of war. Would we be in a belligerent state while our neighbour next to us remain neutral? Would the Governor-General of South Africa seal the declaration of the Union Government of neutrality and with the same seal declare war in the British Territaries? Would he be faithful to all in his dual capacity? Or would we all repose true faith in him.

As far as British territories are concerned this is a grave matter which will affect the Natives of those territories, and it is desirous that we Natives in Territories should be enlightened on it, and we hope that a statement to this effect will be forthcoming in the next National Council.

South West Africa.

THE proposal put forward by the Union press to the effect that the League of Nations should be approached by the Union of South Africa for the purpose of requesting that Supreme Court of the combination of greot powers to grant to the Union of South Africa that mandated territory of German west Africa for the former to settle the Natives of South Africa there in order to achieve the segregation policy of General Hertzog which he has failed to carry through. This consolation, in which the Free State press, the Friend has taken the lead is brought about in order to cover the ignominy of a failure that has attended the Prime Minister, after he was hailed for his boldness for coming out with a scheme, such as of his own, and for his preparedness to lay his hands where his predecessors were afraid to do. He has publicly admitted his failure before going beyond what he said and promised to do outside Parliament. He has still his segregation policy in a bundle of manuscripts in his hands. The members of Parliament will come back home with the sharpened blades of their respective knives for the policy not used This proposal, which we view no other way, except as a kind of consolation to General Hertzog, can have no other effect on Natives except that of alienating the whole six million of the aborigines of South Africa, and in consequence putting a seal to a common talk of deciphering this dominion as ' White South Africa" The matter cannot end in settling in German West

Africa Natives that have nowhere to go. It will enable the Government to carry onward the scheme they have started in Natal, of appropriating all Crown lands for the purpose of alloting it to European settlers. Still that would not be the end of the matter, if the European areas became congested the Natives occupying territories in the South would be ordered away to South West Africa, to make room for the white people. South West Africa is a mandated land. It is not annexed to South Africa nor to Great Britain. It is still a German territory, and the League of Nations may some day, in future have reasons to clip off the mandatory authority of South Africa over it, ond restore to Germany its full powers over it, where will the Natives be? Again have not the Germans their Native problems to settle, and have they not the Natives to settle on the land?

All powers that have formed themselves into League of Nations had strongly resented the policy of annexation as abominable at the Peace Convention. Will they go back on their word in order to facilitate the carrying out of a segregation policy of one particular Dominion, on which even the opinion in that Dominion was still divided? This is inconceivable. Last but least, we Natives, would view the League of Nations as anti-Natives and in no lesser degree anti-German.

General Notes.

Bantu Lawyers.

There was a time when the Native Territories and the Cis-Kei could boast of many Law Agents spread all over the Transkei, and in the Cis-Kei Keiskama Hoek, Middle Drift, Stutterheim and Peddie, but unfortunately their numbers declined and conditions for entrance to the profession were tightened with the advance of the times, and the condition requiring one to be articled to an attorney before being accepted by the profession came as a sort of a colour bar to the Bantu, as no attorneys felt inclined to article Natives—thus our people were in a dilemma. The late Mr. Attorney Poswayo passed away too soon, and thanks to the Hemmings of Umtata Mr. Qunta was articled, and passed his examinations and started on his own at Engcobo, and as if to fulfil the old saying that "a single swallow maketh not the summer," Mr. Bikitsha of Butterworth has now joined him. Needless to say their carreer will be watched and hopes are entertained that they may escape the pitfalls which beset many in the profession.

Hertzog's Native Bills.

(By our Correspondent.)

At a Native public meeting on the 23rd April held in Grahamstown of the Native Welfare Association, it was resolved to place on record the sincere appreciation that was felt for the noble stand taken by General Smuts to maintain the policy initiated by the late Mr Cecil Rhodes of "Equal rights for all civilized men." The Native Bills which General Hertzog intends to present to the House of Assembly are to the Native mind, intended to exclude the loyal Bantu people of this country from their share in matters, political and educational.

The Cape civilized Natives have for a long period enjoyed the privilege of the franchise, and regard it as a sacred trust bestowed on them by Queen Victoria of illustrious memory, a trust which they have never abused, and which they would never willingly sacrifice.

The above resolution was sent to General Smuts and the following to Dr Abdurahman At a public meeting of Natives held in Grahamstown under auspices of the Native Welfare Association the following resolution was passed—"That the thanks of this meeting be conveyed to Dr Abdurahman for his sympathy with the Native races in connection with the proposed disfranchisement expressed by him at the General Conference of the A.P.O. and also for his excellent speech at the meeting of the Provincial Council against restrictions on Coloured and Native education."

Retiring officers of the N.W.A. Grahamstown Messrs Foley (Chairman) Nkosinkulu (Secretary) and others. The present nominated committee Messrs Mzizi, Ntong, Nkosinkulu, Cewu, Gonya, Rev Rwaimal (Vice Chairman) Mr Foley, Jarha Chairman) Moyake (Secretary) Tyamzashe (Treasurer.)

The Cape Native Franchise.

[By Ch. Elgin Sishuba.]

All those who think it necessary that the Native in the Cape ought to be deprived of his vote and that he ought not to have any say in the present Union Government, must understand exactly what the outcome of the disfranchisement of the Cape Native will be.

If this terrible blot occurs and any change is brought about slavery will come into being and the Native will go to destruction and he shall not be spoken of as a human being any longer. The whites are united but the blacks disunited Unless we are bound together by love to one another, we shall always be an easy prey to our foes. It is the time now for every intelligent and efficient man to carry his franchise on his broad or narrow shoulders and run for his life.

It is long we had been granted it and we never abused it. What definite reasons do they give for depriving us of our long—ago granted right? I do not approve of the substitute they promise us. The Cape Native Franchise ought to be preserved as long as the present native generation exists.

The Native in the Cape simply cannot live and prosper without a vote. Let us unite and protect our franchise from being so taken away from us.

Fingo Day Celebration.

(From a Correspondent)

(In the Daily Dispatch.)

Near Mr. Lloyd's residence a crowd numbering roughly a thousand people gathered to celebrate the 14th annual anniversary of the Fingos' Day. The celebration was supervised by the Rev E G Mpinda of Middle Drift district who had been invited by the local committee. The women were girded with grass and they had grass on their heads. The young men rode on bicycles beautifully decorated with grass and green leaves, all this symbolising the blankets the Fingos wore on their way from Zululand. The young men had grass moustaches and button holes Some women had mud smeared on their faces, symbolising the mud which the Fingos ate owing to the scarcity of food.

The Rev. Mr. Mpinda gave a very impressive sermon, speaking of the kindness with which the Fingos were received by Hintsa, the then Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka. He strongly refuted the statement that Hintsa treated the Fingos with cruelty. The Fingos, he said, were never treated as slaves by Hintsa, and any cruelty that was at times practised on the Fingos by Hintsa's men was a punishable offence. He said he wished everybody to understand that the Fingos on the celebration of the day invited everybody, white or black. The celebration was not intended to encourage racialism, and the popular statement that it did was ridiculous and erroneous. When the Fingos were granted permission to observe May 14 each year as a public holiday to commemorate the hardships their ancestors underwent in journeying from Zululand to Hintsa's country, their chiefs faithfully promised that they would remain as loyal to the British Sovereignty as they were in the past. He spoke very emphatically on the importance of loyalty to the British Sovereignty.

An hour's inspiring address ended in a procession to the Independent School Room, where a sumptuous dinner was arranged. It was noteworthy to see how well disciplined this procession was, and how the hostility that used to prevail between Fingos and Xosas at past anniversies had been eliminated.

Native Taxation.

The following correspondence in reply to a resolution passed by the Fort Beaufort Native Vigilance Association speaks for itself:—

Sir Thomas Smartt, M.L.A., writes: "I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th April conveying a resolution passed at the meeting of your association on the 16th April. I can well understand the disappointment of the natives in connection with the very small relaxation of the taxation with goods principally used by Natives referred to in the Budget Speeches of the Minister of Finance.

"You may, however, have seen that Mr. Jagger, Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Payn and other members criticised very strongly the action of the Government in not reducing taxation very materially on such articles as Kafir Blankets, which are so largely used by the Native population, and on which the Customs charges are so extremely heavy."

The Private Secretary, Minister of Finance, writes:—In reply to your letter of the 16th April forwarding resolution adopted by your Association, I am directed by my Minister to point out that Natives as a class share equally with Europeans in the various reductions in taxation contemplated under the Budget. In regard to cotton blankets these as well as woollen blankets are being manufactured in increasing numbers at reasonable prices in this country."

The League of Nations.

Many subject races who entertained great hopes at the inauguration of the League must by this time be greatly disappointed at the course events are taking. The recent crisis in Egypt is a case in point. Many would have thought that a dispute of this kind would have been referred to the League for arbitration, but it was otherwise. We were always under the impression that in a domestic question of this kind a dominion was as free as air; for example General Hertzog's utterances on the Union enhanced status. Could any of our contemporaries shed more light on this mystery which is baffling to the Bantu?

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa

EMANCIPATION DAY IN SIERRA LEONE.

OVER 200,000 DOMESTIC SLAVES FREED.

January 1, 1928.

New Year's Day was emancipation day in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, when 215,000 domestic slaves gain the right to complete liberty.

African World

It will be remembered that, at the urgent instruction of the Colonial Office, an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council in September last under which the total abolition of the legal status of slavery was to take place on January 1, 1928. This ordinance, according to the Government's plan, was to be promulgated by the Governor of Sierra Leone to the 31 Commissioners in charge of the 31 districts of the Protectorate. It does not insist on the immediate release of these domestic slaves, but gives the latter complete power to sever any connection they may have had previously with their masters. It remains to be seen how far these natives may avail themselves of the privilege.—Reuter.

1-7-28

Results of the Measure.

It should be understood that the system of slavery practised during recent years in the Sierra Leone Protectorate has borne no resemblance to conditions such as are depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," says the "Times." It is, and has been, a mild form of domestic servitude objectionable in so far as domestics have been subjected to restraints not imposed on the free citizen.

Nevertheless, the Government of Sierra Leone has, since the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896, steadily worked for the abolition of slavery in any form. Any legislative "clean cut" in the matter would have led to disastrous results in the early days of the Protectorate, but measures for the gradual suppression of slavery were taken from time to time with the approval of the British Government. In 1926 the former Governor, Sir Ransford Slater, after exhaustive inquiries, passed a legislative measure which appeared to the Government of Sierra Leone to set the seal finally on the work done towards ending slavery. By the Protectorate (No. 2) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1926, it was enacted that no claim for or in respect of any slave could be entertained by any of the Courts of the Protectorate, that all persons thereafter born or brought into the Protectorate should be free, and that all persons treated as slaves or held in any manner of servitude should become free on the death of their owners. The legal status of slavery was not specifically abolished because it was considered that the provisions named would be sufficient to abolish that status. That the intention of the legislation was not given full legal effect was made manifest when the Appeal Court of the Colony, by a majority of Judges, decided that neither the 1926 Ordinance nor any other Ordinance in force in the Protectorate had the effect of making it illegal for a master to use a not unreasonable amount of force for the purpose of recapturing his runaway slave.

As soon as the presence of this unsuspected defect in the statute was made manifest, and before the influence of any outside body had been brought to bear, Sir Ransford Slater and his advisers took immediate steps to remedy the defect revealed. In close consultation with the Colonial Office, the Sierra Leone Government decided early in September that the legal status of slavery must be definitely abolished. The "date of commencement" was fixed as January 1, 1928, and the Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance was on September 22 passed unanimously by the Legislative Council, sitting as members of which body were three Paramount Chiefs (representing the three Provinces of the Protectorate), all of whom were themselves slaveowners on a comparatively large scale.

The Future.

It now remains to consider the probable effects of this enactment. Bound up inextricably with the question of slavery is that of the tenure of land—a question no less complicated (and at times contradictory) in Sierra Leone than in other parts of primitive Africa. The occupation of land is a family matter, and cultivation is effected by the head of the family, his sons, nephews, and "domestics," or slaves. The young men of the family work side by side with the "domestics," differing little from them in their mode of life. The "domestic," as a general rule, may not hold property, anything that he may acquire being regarded as the property of his master, who, in return for his labour, clothes, houses, and feeds him and his family. But cases have frequently occurred in which good and useful slaves have been granted portions of land to hold and cultivate on the same terms as the free members of the family; they did not thereby lose their status as "domestics" (unless by statutory redemption—viz., by a payment of £4 to the owner), a procedure only rarely resorted to), but their holding of property was freely permitted by the master and connived at by the tribal authority, and not infrequently such slaves have prospered and have attained to some degree of wealth, and, indeed eminence of station, being at times made headmen of towns or even sub-chiefs of districts.

That there have been, and are, oppressive masters and discontented slaves is true. Indeed, the defect in the 1926 enactment would not have been made manifest had not a number of discontented slaves decamped from their masters, to be recaptured afterwards by force. But in the main the effects of slavery, as seen in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, have in practice been innocuous. It is, therefore, not surprising that senior political officers in the Sierra Leone Protectorate do not fear any general exodus of manumitted slaves from the territory of their late masters to neighbouring chiefdoms.

Land for Freed Slaves.

Still, there will be problems to face. As to land, no difficulty is anticipated. Many of the slaves who are genuinely attached to good masters will decline to leave them, and their late masters will find land for them if they desire it; if not, they will remain with their masters as paid employees instead of as unpaid slaves. Others less fortunately situated who desire to leave their late masters—and these cases are expected to occur mainly among the Mandingoes and Susus living in the sparsely populated regions of the Northern Province—will be found land in the near vicinity. The Hon. Bai Comber, a member of the Legislative Council, representing, as a Paramount Chief, the peoples of the Central Province, and himself a large slaveowner, stated definitely in Council when the Bill was debated that there would be no trouble in connection with the provision of land. This opinion is shared by the political officers. Bai Comber, in the same speech, wisely remarked that in his opinion intermarriage would speedily settle the whole situation—i.e., by merging into one the two elements in the population, free and newly-freed. Other questions involving marriage and property raised by the new law will be settled in accordance with native law and custom, which, as now modified by British influence, are eminently reasonable and just.

Socially and politically, therefore, the new enactment is expected to have little disturbing effect. If, as is the fact, large numbers of slaves returning to Sierra Leone after the war from East Africa, where they had been employed as carriers, and provided with large sums of money due to them as wages, made no attempt to purchase their freedom, it seems reasonable to suppose that they will not be in haste to alter their mode of life in consequence of the freedom now given them by statute.

It should be remembered that the new law, while it abolishes the legal status of slavery, and thus technically liberates some 117,000 persons, does not, and is not intended to, compel any alteration in the voluntary social habits of the people.

No great economic results should be expected from the new law. Theoretically, the attainment of freedom ought to be an increased incentive to production. But we are dealing with a primitive people of few material wants and fewer aspirations—and it cannot be predicted with certainty that increased production will result.

To the masters no compensation is to be awarded; and wisely, for apart from other reasons, the good masters will suffer little, while the bad masters whose slaves desert them are deserving of no consideration. That the late masters entertain some fears of pecuniary loss cannot be denied; but they are preparing to accept loyally the provisions of the new enactment, and this testifies to the confidence they have in the administration of the Government and its political officers.

LAND SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. O. ZACHARIAH'S VIEWS.

(*From the "Graaff Reinet Advertiser."*)

Mr. O. Zachariah has contributed a most interesting letter on the subject of land settlement in South Africa to the Graaff Reinet paper. He writes:—

African World

Sir,—You published on the 2nd inst. opinions on land settlement expressed by certain members of the Z.R.F.A. Their view was that all would like to see more settlers to develop the farming of South Africa, but that the country was not yet ripe for this, and especially that the Karoo was not suitable. Australia—yes, it was ready to go ahead, but not South Africa.

Coming from so important a source, and touching so vital a subject, these opinions merit discussion.

1-7-28

In land settlement, what is it that gives Australia the ascendancy over South Africa? It cannot be merely climate, for drought and other weather vagaries are equally formidable in both countries—Australia has just lost 12 million sheep. Nor is it that conditions generally are easier in Australia than here, for, besides facing all the technical difficulties common to South Africa, the settler in Australia as often as not has with his own hands to clear his holding of timber—a task that takes years—before he can even plough or sow.

What, then, is the advantage Australia enjoys? It is this: the Australians outdistance us in land settlement, as in so much else, not because they have a better or an easier country, but because they have confidence in their country and in themselves; they have the courage of their convictions; above all, they have grit and a capacity for instilling it in others, and instead of the customary South African discouragement, they have practical help and the hope of the sanguine to offer to settlers.

That is the main difference. And when we think on land settlement let us face the facts and admit that it is the mentality of the people of this country rather than the country itself that is not ripe.

Always it has been so. It is not many years since the first commercial fruit-growing was started in South Africa. The country was not ripe. But it never would be ripe unless somebody did something. So Rhodes started. Everybody jeered at him as a "cheque-book" farmer. To-day fruit-growing is one of our most valuable industries.

Or on the Witwatersrand. There was a time when millions had to be poured into the development of the mines. As it hap-

---

Agriculture in South Africa is a coy maiden, hard to woo. But such maidens are often most worth winning. And, even so, South Africa is a country which does yield rich reward to hard work and vigorous effort; a country where even natural obstacles may prove a blessing in disguise, calling out the best that is in us.—Administrator of the Transvaal.

pened, it was a development that saved South Africa from becoming merely a collection of native states. But was it encouraged? Certainly not. There was no knowing what the outcome would be, so, as is customary in South Africa, every discouragement that scepticism could conceive was placed in the way of the developers, but they and their enterprise in time refuted the sceptics.

Similarly in our district. It is within living memory when South African merinos were a byword, and South African wool an article of contempt. Was the place or the time ripe for improvement? No! The veld was too poor, the diseases and afflictions too many. Australia might do wonders in wool, but not we. South Africa was not ripe. Well, vermin-proof fencing, subdivision of camps, and improved rams have put that right.

And now that irrigation farming is on the boards, there is the old attitude. Look at Kendrew, we are told; it has come to nought. Look also at an Old Etonian, who is working as a "common" labourer!

But it is only 2½ years since the first planting was done at Kendrew, and though those have been years of incessant drought, we have fruit trees and lucerne fields and other crops and developments that for their age and in the circumstances equal or excel those in the most famous and oldest districts.

We might well look at Kendrew and draw a heartening moral from it. But why not also look at England, where this year they have lost 70 per cent. of their crops; and at the United States, where the weather has done countless millions of sterling worth of damage? Yet I have not heard that those countries are giving up.

As for the Old Etonian, he has something worth coming back to when the drought does end. Meanwhile, though a man of culture, he has had the grit and adaptability to turn to what was offering, and is working not as a "common" labourer, but as a skilled mechanic. And the pity is that out

MR. O. ZACHARIAH.

here we have so little of the manly grit which he has shown. More of it would have made a country of South Africa by now. We cannot all be clerks in white collars or shopkeepers in towns, and I don't know that we would if we could. Some of us prefer more virile work even if it soils our hands and shocks our critics.

The plain fact is that always and everywhere progress and development entail struggle. Set-backs and some disappointments are inevitable in land settlement as in everything else; but if there be a measure of success, even delayed success, that justifies the whole. But unfortunately we have, as you know, Sir, an old proverb in this country that "To-morrow is also a day." Whenever anything difficult or strenuous presents itself, we take refuge in that old saw. Many useful things that might be done are not done, because "To-morrow is also a day," and so we remain the backwater among the Dominions.

And now it would seem we are to have another tag, that "the country is not ripe"; and that also, unless we are careful, will hang for generations like a curse over our land and over our people, enervating all initiative and action, hampering everybody and everything. And those who should do South Africa service will again have done her dis-service, and if by any chance she should nevertheless progress and prosper, no doubt they will then sit back complacently as though they had helped.

The Seamen's Friend.

The death of Mrs. de Gruchy, wife of the Superintendent of the Seamen's Institute, Cape Town, has come as a great loss to those who attend the Institute in Dock Road, where she, with her husband, was in charge. A severe attack of appendicitis necessitated an operation, which was performed at the Monastery, but proved unsuccessful.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Negro Education in America.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg has shown that his interest in the African race has not ceased with his retirement from the Governorship of the Gold Coast. He has been travelling through the United States and studying negro education by visiting the principal educational negro establishments of the Southern States. In an interview with the Special Correspondent of the "Daily Mail" at Montreal he has stated his impression of the negro in the United States, especially in those Southern States where the black man is under the greatest handicaps, but where he has also been granted the greatest facilities for higher education. In judging the progress made by the negroes of those districts it must be remembered that before emancipation the laws of several States made it a criminal offence to educate negroes, and that the system of education set up by the "carpet-baggers" during reconstruction evoked strong hostility from the whites, who regarded the common schools as a subtle scheme to enslave the whites and place them under the domination of their former slaves. When the "carpet-bag" regime was overthrown, the Southern States heartily supported the public schools in which their racial sentiment was satisfied by provision of separate schools for the two races. Although free opportunity of education has been available to it in the Southern States for less than 50 years, the negro population has made extraordinary progress. The Southern negroes are not only catching up with their more favoured brethren in the North, but are pressing hard on the heels of the whites. In his monumental work on "The Negro in American Life" Mr. Jerome Dowd states that "at the close of the Civil War not more than 10 per cent. of the negroes could read and write." By 1880 the percentage of illiterates had been reduced by nearly one-fourth. "From 1880 to 1920 the white people of the United States reduced their illiteracy from 17 per cent. to 6 per cent., while the negroes reduced theirs from 70 per cent. to 22.9 per cent." The lapse of time has led to milder and saner views among the Southern whites and to provision of more and better schools for the negroes. The conscience of the whole people has been roused. The Hampton Institute, the pioneer of negro higher education, has now many companions, and, through its greatest pupil, Booker T. Washington, is the stepmother of Tuskegee and other institutions founded and controlled by negroes for negroes. American financial magnates are contributing funds of millions of dollars, while numerous smaller donations are being made to negro education by others of less colossal wealth. Besides the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which is so well known to our readers, there are the Slater Endowment ($1,750,000), the Duke Endowments (over $1,000,000), the Jeanes Fund ($1,000,000), and the Daniel Hand Fund ($1,500,000). There are also about 20 industrial schools in the Southern States, all more or less copies of Hampton and Tuskegee, and most of them founded by graduates of those institutions.

The Keystone of Progress.

In his booklet "The Keystone" Sir Gordon stated his faith in the African's right to the provision, in his own country, of the means of obtaining "an education and training which will fit him to take a greater share in the development of his own land." He gave practical proof of his faith in the capacity of West Africans to absorb and benefit by higher education by the foundation of Achimota, "the stepping-stone towards the university, which it is the desire of the Africans to have." His visit to the United States was for the purpose of studying the response of the American negro to the opportunities afforded to him, as a criterion by which to judge the negro's capacity for mental development. In that country opinion on that capacity has undergone a radical change during the last 30 years. Up to 1895 that opinion was pessimistic. Critics of negro progress failed to appreciate the initial difficulties of the race in making a place for itself at the close of the Civil War. Because the period of struggle for a footing in the economic system, which involved a revolution in the negroes' status and relation to the social system, they were too much occupied in the stress of the combat to establish a right to earn or make a living, to spare energy for intellectual advancement. The great mass of illiterates, unacquainted with any work except labour in the fields, was a drag on the 10 per cent. who had acquired varying degrees of education. In his book on the "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro" (1896), Frederick Hoffman expressed the mind of many when he wrote:—"In the plain language of the facts brought together, the coloured race is shown to be on a downward grade, tending towards a condition in which matters will be worse than they are now . . . when the number of births will fall below the deaths, and gradual extinction of the race take place." But in 1895 a prophet had arisen among the American negroes, a Moses who roused their racial consciousness, and rallied them for the exodus from the land of bondage. Booker Washington roused his people to thrift and self-reliance. Beginning with agriculture, Washington's urge was felt in other lines of activity. When he organised the National Negro Business League in 1899 there were 20,000 businesses with a capitalisation of ten million dollars; in 1923 there were 60,000, with 60 million dollars of capital; the number of concerns had trebled, and the average capital had doubled. "Since 1895 the negroes of the United States have developed all of the fundamental requisites of industrial efficiency . . . and models, types, and patterns to stimulate emulation." This is the legacy of Booker Washington, who looked upon the industrialism he preached as merely a means to an end. "The man who grows corn must remember that the growing of corn is not the end of life, but that corn can be turned into refinements and beauties of a civilised life and a Christian home."

The Position To-day.

Sir Gordon has stated that he has been profoundly impressed by the evidence he has seen of real intellectual and scientific ability among the American negroes. "In meeting men like Major Moton, the negro head of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and a former secretary of Booker Washington, and many others like Dr. Hope, the Principal of Moorhouse College; Dr. Mordecai Johnston, President of Harvard University; Dr. Scott; Mr. Alain Locke, the author, one is conscious of being in contact with a very high quality of mental development." If the fruit of the first generation of progress is such as this, may not great hopes be founded on such a beginning.

A West African may, perhaps, be allowed to call attention to the fact that this progress of the American negro has been coincident with the remarkable progress of the British West African colonies. On both sides of the Atlantic "the people who sat in darkness have seen a great light"—the light of the brighter day which is dawning upon them.

W. F. H.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

LABOUR PARTY CRISIS—COL. CRESWELL'S CHALLENGE —A PIQUANT POSITION—PACT CRITICS—LUCKY MR. HAVENGA—MISCELLANEA.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, January 27.

Colonel Creswell is still at loggerheads with the National Council of the Labour Party, and the desperate efforts to pour oil on the troubled waters are only hastening the crisis that is inevitable.

Colonel Creswell is still flushed with the success (more imaginary than real) that his firm stand against the dictatorial attitude of those who pull the Labour strings behind the scenes, is in no mood to climb down. Consequently he has become an embarrassment to his party, which is now enjoying a first-class family quarrel, to the amusement of the political world.

African World 2-23-28

Creswell Must Go !

Creswell Must Go! That is the cry of the Labour leader's opponents. But the gentleman is not to be removed from office quite so easily as this. Continued pressure may, however, work the trick, and Colonel Creswell may yet find himself presiding at South Africa House in London. He has powerful critics in Mr. John Christie and Mr. Jack Allen, both of them members of Parliament and of the National Council.

Their leader, they say, has blundered. His mind has become so influenced by suspicions and whispered accusations that he cannot view the position dispassionately. Colonel Creswell is suffering from hypochondriasis, mental depression originating in morbid sensations.

"I cannot subscribe to the position as it is to-day," states Mr. Christie. "When a leader takes sides with a faction against the remainder of his followers we must logically conclude that he intends to continue that leadership through the domination of that faction. Such a position cannot be tolerated in a democratic party, and must be resisted to the utmost. I shall assist in resisting that position."

Hamstrung the Party.

Mr. Jack Allen is even more outspoken. "Colonel Creswell has hamstrung the Labour Party," and describes Colonel Creswell as a mad Dervish with a peculiar kink. "Colonel Creswell, blatantly pandering to hero-worship," he says, "has relinquished the leadership of the Labour Party for the leadership of a faction."

Mr. Allen also suggests that it is likely that when Colonel Creswell gets up to speak in the House of Assembly a member of the Opposition will ask, "For whom do you speak? For what section do you speak? For what faction in your caucus do you speak?" That position Colonel Creswell has created for himself. It is a regrettable and disastrous climax, an anti-climax to a long and useful political career.

Somehow it seems too good to be true. I have a shrewd idea that "wiser counsels" will prevail, and we shall be robbed of our little sensation. Incidentally, Colonel Creswell may have something to say about it, and as a fighter he is displaying quite unexpected qualities. One thing, however, is certain: a break of some sort must come. Otherwise the Labour Party will be killed by ridicule.

Mr. Nicholls Hits Out.

The South African Party has not been very vociferous of late. Mr Heaton Nicholls, the very enterprising member for Zululand, has, however, come forward with a very candid view of the Government. His belief is that the Government will sing its nunc dimittis during the present session. And he thinks it will sing it in four different voices, for there are now four parties in the Government

There is the Left wing of Nationalism, the bitter-enders led by Dr. Malan. There is the Liberal Nationalist Party led by Mr Tielman Roos. There is the Red Flag Party led by Mr. Madeley, and, finally and for ever, there are the Ruskinian picture Socialists led by Colonel Creswell.

"It's a fine mix-up," remarks Mr. Nicholls. "You can imagine what a Cabinet meeting is like with a mystical confused Prime Minister blown about between the four trying to find a landing-place. The Pact chickens are coming home to roost, and I shall be surprised if we do not get a number of real thrills. The Nationalists, of course, are split from end to end. There is evolving a Left and Right wing of Nationalism which will become distinct during the session. These two sections are now glaring at each other with more bitter intensity than they glare at us. The rank and file are beginning to ask for something more substantial than racial heroics, but the cupboard is bare. Disillusionment and keenly expressed disaappointment is apparent throughout the country, in spite of the fat surplus gained from fortuitous circumstances."

So even if the Creswell prediction fails, we may expect a certain liveliness in other directions.

A Club for Natives.

The natives' wants, political and social, are increasing daily, and they have come to the conclusion that if their white brethren won't help them then they must help themselves. Acting on this basis, the I.C.U., of which Clements Kadalie is the ruling spirit, has opened a non-European workers' club at Johannesburg. The opening ceremony, which was performed by Mr. C. F. Glass, was quite an important occasion from the black man's point of view.

A. J. Phojolo, on behalf of the I.C.U., told a large audience the club was the beginning of better things for the natives.

"We cannot go to the Empire Theatre," he said, "because we are black. The Wanderers' Sports Ground is barred to us, and we are prohibited from entering the university. In future we shall not have to rely on the European for the provision of these facilities. We have now our own club, and in due course we shall have our own theatres, sports teams, and the like."

Well, why not? All these ambitions are bound to be fulfilled in course of time, even if not in our time. America was faced with a very similar problem. To-day New York has its Harlem, so why not Johannesburg?

Another Surplus.

The Government's good fortune in the realm of finance continues to hold good. Already there are indications that Mr. Havenga will produce another surplus—possibly a record one. The estimates vary between a million and a-half and two millions. The more conservative figure is based on the Treasury returns for the nine months ended December 31 last, with the best quarter of the year for income-tax collections still to come. These show that the revenue position as compared with expenditure has improved by £1,250,000 over the corresponding period of 1926.

The chief factor in this very favourable position has been the steadily maintained yield from duties of Customs and Excise. In framing his budget Mr. Havenga estimated a reduction in the revenue from Customs duties of £600,000 on the previous year. The actual receipts from Customs and Excise duties in the first nine months have been £8,216,500, an excess over the estimate of £780,000. The yield has averaged £913,000 per month, as against an estimate of £826,000.

The whole of the surplus, it is reported, has already been earmarked to inaugurate the scheme of old age pensions which Mr. Havenga hopes to introduce this year.

How the versatile Winston must envy the happy Havenga!

SOME NOTES ON THE PIRATES AND SLAVERS ACTIVE AROUND SIERRA LEONE AND THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA, 1680—1723.

CHAPTER IV.

Among freebooters of lesser interest was Captain Jean Hamlin, a Frenchman, who, sailing from the West Indies, appeared off Sierra Leone in 1683, where, disguised as an English man-of-war, he cruised for some seven months, capturing during the period 17 Dutch and English ships. Escaping chase by a man-of-war here he returned to Dominica, where his vessel was attacked and destroyed by H.M.S. Francis. Hamlin escaped by the connivance of the Governor of the island, but a number of his crew was captured and hanged.

The notorious Captain England being captured in his younger days by a pirate named Winter turned rover himself and went "on the account" in 1718, when he captured off Sierra Leone the Cadogan snow (Captain Skinner) with Davis as mate. The unfortunate Skinner met among England's crew a number of men who had previously mutinied and deserted a ship of which he had been commander. Seeking revenge these men tortured their former captain, eventually shooting him. Soon after this England seized four vessels off Sierra Leone. To one, the Pearl, he transferred his flag, christening her the Royal James.

2-18-28

Sailing South with his captives he careened and refitted at Whydah—a famous slave port in Dahomey, where he met with a French pirate refitting after being severely mauled by a fighting merchantman.

The combined crews gave themselves up to a terrific orgie, lasting nearly two months—"when they lived very wantonly, making free with the Negro girls and committing such outrageous acts that they came to open rupture with the Natives, several of whom they killed and one of their towns they set on fire."

Hearing rumours of men-of-war in the offing Captain England set sail, rounded the Cape and made the Indian Ocean, where a long series of further adventures do not here concern us. He was last heard of destitute, living on the charity of other pirates in Madagascar.

There is some evidence that Captain Rackham, chiefly celebrated as being the paramour of Anne Bonny, one of the only two women pirates, visited Sierra Leone, where in 1719 he captured two large merchantmen off these shores. Rackham was a desperate fellow operating principally in the West Indies, where his amours and popularity among the fair sex, no less than his prowess as a pirate, earned him a considerable reputation.. His direct methods of attack both in love and war procured him the sobriquet of "Calico Jack," by which name he was everywhere known. It is related that "Jack's methods of taking a ship or a lady were similar; no time wasted, straight up alongside, every gun brought to bear and the prize seized."

That he and Anne Bonny deemed it healthy and advisable to leave the West Indies for a while is very likely. Their activities in African waters, though they captured two vessels, were of brief duration for we know that in 1720 Rackham and Anne Bonny were again in the West Indies, where late one evening they were surprised in their ship by a Government armed sloop. In the ensuing fight Rackham and his Anne were taken prisoners together with Mary Read—who had just joined them and is the only other woman pirate known to history.

The careers of these two women though only slightly

connected with West African waters make an interesting study, for in ferocity and reckless courage they were the equals of any pirates afloat.

At Jamaica in 1720 the captured Rackham was tried for piracy, convicted and hanged, his body being hung in chains, and buried as were all executed pirates, below high-water mark. The fate of Anne Bonny and Mary Read is uncertain, but from the evidence it seems unlikely they were hanged.

Curious, unusual partners and pirates were Captain Massey and George Lowther.

Massey had served as a lieutenant in the army under Marlborough, gaining some renown. In 1721 he sailed from the Thames in the ship Gambia Castle bound for the Gambia river, being sent out with a number of soldiers to regarrison and recondition the fort or castle which, as we have seen, was dismantled by Davis. On the vessel Gambia Castle was a second mate named Lowther, a man of some force of character who, on the long voyage out, became very friendly with Massey. They arrived in Gambia in May at the same time as the new Governor, Colonel Whitney, who, however, travelled in another ship. Massey soon fell foul of the Governor, also the local merchants—the latter being caterers for the garrison. Fever was rife at the time. It was not long before the Governor, who suffered greatly, had to repair on board the Gambia Castle to recuperate in the harbour breeze. In his absence acts of indiscipline and insubordinaton occurred culminating in Massey and Lowther joining forces, defying the Governor and causing a mutiny among the men who, declaring they would not be "housed and fed as Guinea slaves," demanded return to England. Dissensions broke out on all sides. Massey and Lowther, after sounding the garrison, determined to break away, got most of the munitions and stores from the fort, seized the Gambia Castle, sending her captain (Russell) and the Governor ashore.

An attempt to sail out from the harbour was then made. This nearly ended in disaster for the ship ran ashore and heeled over, compelling Massey to row to the beach, remount the guns of the fort (which he had previously dismounted) to guard the helpless ship with those attempting to refloat her.

Eventually their combined efforts were successful, whereupon spiking and again dismounting the guns of the fort he blew up the repairs he had recently superintended, rejoined the Gambia Castle, and with Lowther sailed away.

On board that night the two leaders persuaded the mutineers they had as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb for a voyage to England would merely be a voyage to Wapping and Execution Dock. The truth of this being apparent prevailed upon the whole company, who appointed officers, drew up articles and went "on the account," sailing from Gambia to the West Indies without doing further damage on this coast.

In these islands some French garrisons were attacked and several merchantmen were plundered.

But Lowther and Massey were too much alike to run long in double harness.

The inevitable quarrel coming, Massey with a few followers, sailed away in a captured craft to Port Royal, Jamaica, where his plausible manners and narrative of escape from pirates so impressed the Governor that he sent him with a certain Captain Laws to hunt for Lowther. Needless to say Lowther was not found.

Nevertheless disbanding the residue of his men Massey got a clean passage to England, where in a short while, being recognised by some of his former victims, and in spite of a long, plausible tale, was brought to trial, convicted and hanged at Tyburn on July 26, 1723.

In the same year Lowther, after being in action the Government sloop Eagle, near Blanco, was com to surrender, but eventually escaped. Shortly wards he was found on shore dead, shot by his hand.

GERMAN MISSIONS IN TANGANYIKA.

Renting Land to German Settlers.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,

Some of the German missions in Southern Tanganyika have rented land to their fellow-countrymen who are planting coffee already, and I know of one other German mission which is now making preparations for big planting operations. The stations are actually occupied by German missionaries, and everyone is naturally inquiring what the Tanganyika Government can be thinking about to let these foreign missions lease to their compatriots for commercial aims land given expressly for missionary purposes.

East Africa 2-9-28

The scandal of the whole thing is made greater by the fact that some of this land is being leased to German settlers in districts which are now closed to white settlement. In other words, while British colonists are turned away, German missions are openly accommodating ex-enemies. The Mandate does not allow us to discriminate against the Germans, but, as *East Africa* has said, the existence of such conditions as I describe above means that, through the folly of the British administration, Germans are placed in the position of being able to discriminate against Britons and in favour of our ex-enemies. Would any other nation in the world be so foolish?

Yours faithfully,

Tanganyika. G.E.A. CAMPAIGNER.

[A leading article on the subject of German mssions in Tanganyika Territory appears in this issue.—*Ed.* "*E.A.*"]

USAMBARA PLANTERS & "EAST AFRICA."

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,

At the last meeting of the Usambara Planters' Association, held at Lushoto on December 10, it was unanimously decided to request your valuable paper to be the official organ in Great Britain of this Association.

I have therefore much pleasure to ask if you will add the name of this Association to your list of Associations for which your most useful paper is already the official organ.

Yours faithfully,

Usambara Planters' Association,

MAXTONE L. MAILER, *Chairman.*

Mombo, Tanganyika Territory.

[We accept the invitation with pleasure.—*Ed.* "*E.A.*"]

WHITE SETTLEMENT IN TANGANYIKA.

Areas Now Closed to Europeans.

In response to repeated requests for information as to which areas of Tanganyika Territory are closed to white settlement, we publish the following official notice recently issued by the local Government. It reads as follows:—

The following summary of areas of the Territory in which applications for the alienation of land will not be entertained in future, except in special circumstances, or except in the particular neighbourhoods noted, is published for general information:—

CENTRAL PROVINCE.

Kondoa District.—The area enclosed by following boundaries: West: A line running approximately 800 yards west of the Kondoa-Mbugwe road, and parallel to it, from Galai to the Kondoa-Mbulu border; North: The Kondoa-Mbulu border; East: A line running along the foot of the steep escarpment, excluding the easier lower slopes which are suited to Native settlement; South: a line running east and west through Galai.

East Africa

IRINGA PROVINCE.

Iringa, Mbeya, Njombe, and Rungwe.—The whole districts of Iringa, Mbeya, Rungwe, and Njombe, except that in the Njombe district applications will be considered for pastoral leases of not less than 5,000 acres in Ubena. 2-9-28

NORTHERN PROVINCE.

Arusha District.—The cultivated area around Meru, excepting (*a*) the northern slopes of Meru, and (*b*) the southern slopes of Mondul.

Moshi.—The cultivated area round Kilimanjaro, excepting the area round Arusha Chini.

Masai District.—The whole district, excepting the area south of the Nduruma settlement.

Mbulu.—The area enclosed by the following boundaries: West: The Rift Valley wall; North: A line running east and west from northern spurs of Mount Ufiome to Major Cooper's farm north of Ndareda; East: The Masai district; South: The district of Kondoa.

TANGA PROVINCE.

Tanga, Pangani, and Usambara.—The whole districts of Tanga, Usambara, and Pangani, excepting in the Pangani district the area south of the Pangani River.

"The most important event since the reoccupation of the Bahr el Ghazal in 1902," was the way in which Major Wheatley, O.B.E., Governor of the Province, described the new Stack Memorial School, when opening it recently at Wau. The school, he said, was dedicated to the memory of Sir Lee Stack, whose high ideals, fine character, and self-sacrificing labour should be an inspiration to the people of the Bahr el Ghazal to forget self and work for their country. "A lazy and dishonourable chief," added the Governor, "means a lazy and dishonourable people, and a backward land." Tributes to Major Wheatley's interest in education were made by Bishop Stoppani, of the Italian Mission, who deplored the Provincial Governor's retirement.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa

PROGRESS IN THE SUDAN.

East Africa

Wonderful Increase in Cotton.

THE remarkable increase in cotton production is the feature of the Annual Report for 1926-27 of the Director of the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Sudan Central Economic Board, copies of which may be obtained at 3s. each from the Controller of the Sudan Government Offices, Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1, or from the Central Economic Board, Khartoum.

In 1925 the Gezira irrigation scheme, which cost £E.11,000,000, was brought into operation on a large scale, and remarkably successful results were obtained. 83,240 acres were put under cotton, and 51,900 under grain; and the yield of ginned cotton was 463 lb. per acre, which brought a cash return to the tenants of nearly £E.1,000,000. The future of the country, says the report, is bound up with the success of this scheme; and, judging from its initial success, the prospect seems bright.

Grain for food has been scarce and dear since September, 1925, and the resultant increase in the cost of living has had unfavourable reactions in many directions. Dura (millet) to the amount of 21,734 tons had to be imported, a poor rainfall and a low Nile in 1925 and a second failure of the rains in 1926 being the causes of the small food crop. Government accepted fully its obligation to come to the help of the people, and kept prices steady at a not unreasonable level, the average retail price of grain in 1926 having been £E.14 per ton, while for the last few months it fell to £E.12 per ton. The Government acquired for reserve 11,200 tons of grain, and stored 8,000 tons of it in heaps in the open at Khartoum North; and the sight of this reserve, and the gradual spread of the news of it throughout the country, did much to allay alarm and give confidence to the people.

The Two Basic Factors.

Of cotton and dura, the two basic factors in the economic situation, it is difficult to say which is the more important. There is no essential opposition between cotton growing and grain interests, for, on balance, increased cotton cultivation has so far resulted in increased dura production. Moreover, the increase in the amounts of sugar consumed by Natives—from 15,439 tons in 1925 to 20,340 tons in 1926—is a very reliable indication of the economic condition of the people. On the whole the country has shown remarkable staying power. The export of gum arabic was the largest on record—22,744 tons, valued at £E.844,198—and with cotton and cotton seed accounted for 80·7% of the total exports, the balance being made up mainly of cattle, sheep, hides and skins, sesame, and ground nuts, which totalled 12·8%.

The total exports of the Sudan during the period under review increased from £E.3,801,348 to £E.4,876,236, a gain of 28%, but the value of exports other than cotton declined from £E.2,045,531 to £E.1,773,851, a decrease of 13%; but as the value of cotton and cotton seed exported increased 43%, cotton more than compensated for the decline in other exports. Of the total value of cotton exported, the Gezira accounted for £E.2,834,895, or 81%.

Shipping at Port Sudan continues to grow in volume, the 700,000 tons before the War having increased to more than 2,500,000 in 1925 and to 3,174,500 in 1926. The new railway from Kassala to Gedaref, which should give substantial help towards an additional supply of dura, and will be about 135 miles in length, reached Abu Deleig, on the Atbara, on January 27, 1927. The erection of the bridge will commence directly after the rains, when the line will be carried into Gedaref. It is possible that trade with Abyssinia *via* Gallabat will respond to the improved transport facilities thus afforded.

Motor transport has made great strides, there being now about 1,300 motor vehicles in the Sudan. It is a matter for regret, however, that so few of these are of British manufacture. Only 8% of the motor cars are recorded under the names of British firms, though 77% of the motor cycles come under that category.

Visitors to the Sudan on business are becoming more and more numerous, on account of the increase in external trade. (While in 1925 the increase was already 25% over the previous twelve months, that in 1926 was 28% over 1925—a matter of £E.1,158,815.) Tourists also increased in number; and for some time past motor transport has been possible between Kenya and Uganda and the Sudan for several months in the year. This route is becoming so popular that it has now become necessary to cater specially for the modernisation of the ancient trans-Africa route.

Although Great Britain still heads the list of importers, with 34·9%, the proportion is less than in 1925 and considerably less than in 1923 (40%). Egypt comes next with 14·5%, then India and Aden (14·3%), Japan (5·6%), Abyssinia (4·3%), South Africa (2·3%), Italy (1·9%), France (1·8%), the United States (1·1%), and Australia (1·0%). Direct exports to Great Britain showed an increase of 59·6%.

It is impossible in a short space to review fully so comprehensive and detailed a report, but all those interested in the wonderful work being done by the British in the Sudan should obtain a copy. In it will be found particulars of the general trade of the country, the production of crops, the development of shipping, roads and mechanical transport, the prices of Sudan products at various places, the constitution and activities of the Central Economic Board, and the chief countries of origin of a number of leading lines imported into the country. A good index, a useful map, and a conversion table with English equivalents for money, weights and measures complete its value.

CANON DANIELL ON NEGRO EDUCATION.

East Africa

CANON E. S. DANIELL, who signs as late Warden of the Bishop Tucker College, Mukono, and Canon of the Cathedral, Uganda, writes to the *Observer*.

"Sir Gordon Guggisberg, late Governor of the Gold Coast, speaking of Professor George Carver of Tuskegee, the Negro scientist, said: 'He has refused most tempting offers to go into industry, on the plea that he wishes to remain an educator of his race.' When a member of any race rises to the height of sacrificing personal interests for the good of his own people, we see that there lies in that race the seed of true patriotism and unselfishness. The instance quoted shows how careful we should be in regarding the Negro as incapable of receiving and demonstrating in his daily life the highest of which human nature is capable.

"Sir Gordon noticed the contrast between the farms and homes of the Negroes who had been trained and those in the areas where the people have not been able to obtain such training. This surely answers the critic who cavils at 'educating' the 'black man.' Both Government educators and missionary educationists to-day are giving very much thought to the all-important question of the right type of education. They are seeking how best to adapt our ideas to the needs and environment of the African. We must cater for the *whole* man, body, mind and spirit. I have seen similar contrasts in Uganda between those who have been enlightened and those still following a less elevating ideal.

"The most important point perhaps arises from Sir Gordon's comment on Dr. Burghardt du Bois, the editor of the leading Negro journal, *The Crisis*, whose writings are often too bitter. But why? Sir Gordon Guggisberg hinted at the reason when he said that he is desperately ignorant of modern British administration, and also often ill-informed concerning what is going on, especially in British Tropical Africa. What is needed is knowledge and personal acquaintance with the facts, the factors, and the people on the spot. This would cure many potential Marcus Garveys and the like.

"As a practical solution it struck me what a very valuable thing it would be, for both the future of the African and as a guide to the British Government, if there could be a Congress of real leaders and moulders of African thought, both African, European, and American, at such a centre as Achimota. For instance, if the opening of the Prince of Wales College were chosen for such a congress, it would give a unique opportunity to meet one another and exchange experiences and ideas. Achimota would then become not only a training college for the Gold Coast, but the centre where the friends of Africa of three continents might meet for discussion, thought, and mutual intercourse."

A Return to Armour?

Africans, especially those in Northern Nigeria, where chain armour is still occasionally seen, and Europeans all over the Coast, with sad premonitions of tailors' bills in waiting, will be interested from their different standpoints in an address on a coming all-metal age, delivered at the Hotel Victoria this week, at which examples of "metalised" materials were shown.

An explanation of "metalisation" was given by Mr. W. I. Einstein, a kinsman of Professor Einstein, of relativity fame. The new process has been invented by a Pole, in collaboration with Mr. Einstein.

Metalisation, it was explained, is a new invention by which a wide range of materials may be treated in a metal bath. The distinctive characteristic of the process is that, unlike processes of coating and plating, the metal and the material inter-penetrate to a certain thickness, so forming to that extent a new material combining the qualities of the original material and the applied metal.

It is not a coating which peels off, and, apart from its scientific interest, the new process has an immense range of commercial applications.

Suitings can be so treated as to make all-metal clothes, which, although as flexible as an ordinary suit, will never wear out. Timber can be metalised, preserving it against rot and the death-watch beetle, and rendering it non-inflammable. The process makes glass and pottery unbreakable, and imparts a protective covering to rubber. It produces extremely strong paper, and is especially useful for wallpapers.

Black Trades Unionism.

Imvo Zabantsundu South Africa 1-12-28

So much headway has been made by the promoters of Black Trades Unionism in South Africa that serious attention must inevitably be given to the leading organisation in the country—the I.C.U. by all commercial, industrial and farming concerns. It would appear that the I.C.U. primarily concentrated its energies in organising non-Europeans in the Union since the year 1919, and now the membership reaches the huge total of 100,000, a maximum that has never been reached nor even closely approached by the European Trades Unions in South Africa combined. This alone would conclusively prove that the backbone of our country's labour resources is the non-European.

Be that as it may, it cannot be gainsaid that the European worker has held the position of being the labour party of the land for many years past; and as such has enjoyed the benefits of favourable recognition in the laws enacted by parliament designed to better their lot. The black worker awoke to find himself sadly isolated, and denied the opportunity of enjoying the palatable fruits of labour dominance in parliamentary enactments. The black worker's industrial ostracism has so thoroughly been carried out, that laws have been made e.g. The Industrial and Conciliation Act 1922; Mines and Works Act (Amendment Act) 1926 that definitely debar the black worker from protection and beneficial participation thereunder. The one exception—the Wage Act, that appears to contain no colour line, we are inclined to believe that its accidental elimination, had the sinister object of imposing on the employer of labour such wage conditions as to compel him to give up the black worker's service in favour of the white. The proof of this contention is in the fact that farmers have been excluded from the operations of the Wage Act, this of course being the only occupation that is run exclusively by black labour.

Colour prejudice existing between the employer and black worker, on the one hand, and that existing between the white and black worker on the other has generated the black man's resolve to fight constitutionally for emancipation from these servile conditions. The campaign waged by the I.C.U. against obnoxious and discriminating laws like the Pass Laws, Transvaal Provincial Ordinance against coloured motor drivers and a host of others is carried on simultaneously with the fight to crush the obstinate colour prejudice that exists among white workers of the country—as shown lately by the S.A Trades Union Co-ordinating Committee. The I.C.U., it is gratifying to note, has the support of the International in Geneva—a body composed of all nationalities of the world, and with whom colour prejudice on the lines we have in this country, would be viewed as a sign of unfitness, short-sightedness, and enmity to the general cause of the workers of the world.

It remains to be seen therefore what the attitude of the International will be towards the European. Trades Union Congress of South Africa when it meets this year in Geneva when these facts are taken into consideration. The I.C.U. delegate to Geneva has been elected by the National Council in the person of Kadalie for submission to government. Whether the Minister of Labour will not be satisfied with the selection, as a result of pressure being brought to bear from white labour sources, it is most probable that Kadalie will proceed to Geneva as he did last year, in spite of all obstacles raised.

Meantime the employer will feel relieved at the position of the black worker being at loggerheads with his white brother, knowing as he does that no section of the workers is in a position strong enough to enforce its demands on him for better wage and working conditions.

BANTU MEN'S SOCIAL CENTRE.

Annual Meeting of Native Members.

Basutoland News 1-12-28

The annual meeting of the Bantu Men's Social Centre is being held in the building on Thursday, the 26th inst., at 8 o'clock.

This is a meeting of all members for the purpose of electing their representatives on the Executive Committee. According to the Constitution the Native members shall elect four Natives and three Europeans to this committee. All Natives who have taken out yearly memberships are entitled to one vote each.

Present members of the Executive Committee may be elected again to to that Committee. Any new candidates for election to the Committee must be nominated at least ten days before the date of the annual meeting (by the 16th inst.,) by a member and seconded by another member. Such nominations with names proposers and seconders must be made to the secretary who will post a list of the names of the new candidates on the Notice Board of the B.M.S.C., not later than seven days before the annual meeting.

Present members of the Executive Committee are :—

European Members; elected by Europeans: Cr. W. H. Port (the Mayor), Cr E O. Leak, Mr. H. M. Taberer, Mr J. D. Rheinalot Jones, Rev S. Bovet and Rev J. D. Taylor. Native Members: Rev J. A. Machao and Mr. R. W. Msimang.

Native Members; elected by Native Members: Rev G S. Khosa, Messrs R. V. Selope Thema, L Makau and I. Rathebe. European Members: Messrs Walter S. Webber, Howard Pim and Canon Wilfred Parker.

The B.M S.C., wishes each and every member and friend "A Bright and Happy New Year.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Nigeria.

OUR LAGOS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LAGOS, January 19.

Our Distinguished Guests.

The Parliamentary Mission, consisting of Major Elliot (Chairman), Mr. Garro-Jones, and Mr. William Lunn, arrived here on Friday, January 6, and were the guests of His Excellency the Governor, at Government House. The following day the Governor gave an At Home, at which opportunity was given the representative gathering present to meet the M.P.s., who moved and chatted freely with other guests, African and European. They left the following Monday (January 9) for an extensive tour of the country, visiting the important towns, and will not return to Lagos until February 6, to sail for Plymouth on the 10th of that month. It is regrettable to record that Mr. Lunn's health unfortunately broke down, and under medical orders he had to return to Plymouth by the same boat.

African World 2-11-28

Inter-Colonial Match.

The event of the week was the cricket and tennis matches, which have just been concluded in Lagos between teams representing Nigeria and the Gold Coast, Nigeria returning the compliments paid last year by the Gold Coast by winning the two events.

In cricket, the Gold Coast's first innings realised 109 runs, to which Nigeria replied with 309 runs (Sherley 97, Figuerado 66). In the second innings, the Gold Coast made 210, leaving their opponents to make 2 runs to win. This they did in the first over.

In tennis, the victory was more convincing still. Of the nine sets played the Gold Coast won only one.

The Gold Coast team will be returning by the "Abinsi" to-morrow.

Nigerian Printing and Publishing Co.

This company, who are the proprietors of the "Nigerian Daily Times" and the "African Messenger," continues to flourish, and has declared an 8 per cent. dividend to their shareholders.

The scope and activities of the company, which is under the control of a board of directors; of which Mr. A. Alakija, is the chairman, have been increasing, and with an eye to the future the services of a very experienced and qualified man (evidently a European) are being advertised for at £700 per annum as an initial salary.

The Alake Libel Case.

An echo of the great libel case at Abeokuta was heard, when the appeal of J. K. Coker against the judgment of Mr. Justice M. L. Tew was dismissed by the Full Court last Friday.

It will be remembered that J. K. Coker was found guilty of writing articles against the Alake, and fined £100 (or four months' imprisonment), and to pay the cost of the trial—seventy-five guineas.

It was against this judgment that the appeal was lodged, which is now dismissed with ten guineas costs, the fine and costs to be paid within fourteen days.

Dr. Sapara's Retirement.

That popular Lagos practitioner Dr. Oguntola Sapara, I.S.O., has retired from the Government service on pension as from December 31 last.

A Sanitary Improvement.

A large incinerator of the most modern type is being erected at Lagos. It is designed to consume 120 tons of refuse per day, and a special roadway, along which a fleet of motor-lorries will convey the refuse, is in course of construction.

Late Mr. E. R. Swanston.

The news of Mr. E. R. Swanston's untimely passing while home on leave has been received with keen regret in Nigeria. Mr. Swanston was seconded from the home Board of Education as Inspector of Schools, and was subsequently appointed Deputy Director of Education for the Southern Provinces. An able and hard-working officer, his death is a great loss to the Education Department.

Railway Earnings.

The total earnings of the Nigerian Railway for the week ended December 24 were £73,770, making a total to date of £1,667,617, as compared with £1,674,972 for the corresponding period of 1926.

Sierra Leone.

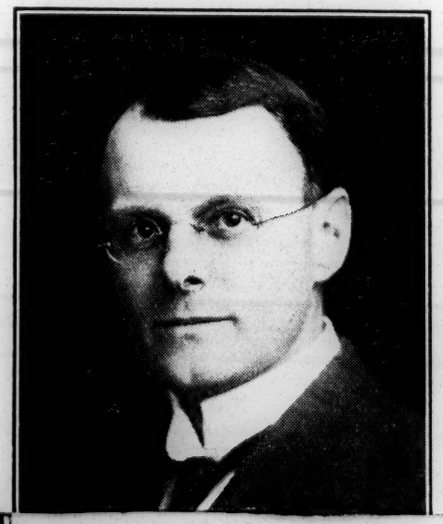
ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Publication of Official Correspondence.

"Correspondence Relating to Domestic Slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate" has been issued as a White Paper (Cmd. 3020, price 1s. 3d.). It will be recalled that the legal status of slavery in the Protectorate was abolished on January 1 of this year. The Ordinance in virtue of which abolition was effected was passed in September last, in consequence of a judgment of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Sierra Leone that notwithstanding the passing of an Ordinance in 1926, which was designed to end the legal recognition of slavery in the Proectorate, a master could use reasonable force to capture a runaway slave.

African World 2-11-28

The correspondence begins on March 27, 1924, with a dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Sierra Leone, forwarding a request by the Council of the League of Nations for information as to action taken to secure the suppression of slavery in British protectorate or mandated territory. Sir Ransford Slater, in reply, summarised the then position in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, which was that "domestic servitude in a very mild form still exists to a considerable extent, though it is gradually dying out."



SIR EDGAR SANDERS,
a Director of the Niger Co., Ltd., who is leaving for West Africa by next week's mail boat.

The Ordinance of 1927 put an end to ambiguity by abolishing in terms the legal status of slavery which, said the Colonial Attorney-General, "is tantamount to making all slaves legally free." The correspondence shows that the Ordinance was passed unanimously after full debate.

In a final dispatch, dated October 12, 1927, Mr. Ormsby-Gore (for the Secretary of State) expresses his gratification at "the harmonious passage of this important Ordinance, and I note with peculiar pleasure the loyal and public-spirited attitude adopted by the Paramount Chiefs in the Council towards a measure which was admittedly in conflict with their personal interests."

EXPLORERS LOST IN AFRICAN WILDS.

Reported Deaths of Mr and Mrs. T. A. Glover.

Fears are expressed as to the probable fate of Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Glover, of the Glover Scientific Expedition, which set out for West and Central Africa over a year ago. Mr. Glover was the kinematographer with Captain Angus Buchanan when the latter made his journey across the Sahara, and afterwards he went with Major and Mrs. Court-Treatt through South Africa and the sub-tropical parts of Rhodesia.

African World

Later he married a London lady, and the two set off from Liverpool in December, 1926. All went well apparently as far as Maidugari, in Northern Nigeria, where the travellers stopped several weeks, and either sold their car or exchanged it for a motor-cycle and side-car. They said good-bye to the dozen or so British people at Maidugari quite six months ago, since when none of their friends in London seems to have heard of or from them.

2-11-28

In the last message Mr. Glover wrote to business friends in Manchester he gave details of plans for the expedition, and mentioned that there was a danger from cannibals. He planned to start from Lagos and go across Nigeria to Lake Chad, penetrating into the Air mountains.

The route would take him through the Gaboon country, where he hoped to gather information about the habits of the people. The hardships of Mr. and Mrs. Glover must have been great, for they were forced on two occasions to build bridges across the Niger and three times to use canoes.

As a "blood brother" to several of the tribes, the explorer had access to rites and ceremonies not usually performed in the presence of white people.

Killed in French Territory?

A parcel sent to them at a place en route according to a pre-arranged time-table has been returned, and a representative of a well-known firm of West African merchants who has just returned from West Africa states that a British political officer in one of the districts towards Lake Chad has sent him a letter reporting that in the French territory beyond Chad both the travellers were killed.

The Colonial Office has received no news of the incident by cable, but the Nigerian Government would not cable in the ordinary course unless the person killed were a member of the official service, more especially if death did not occur in British territory.

Mr. Glover had in his own branch of work made a great reputation with the previous expeditions, says the "Manchester Guardian," and if the Maidugari report is true, the untimely end of him and his wife will be mourned by many, both here and in Africa.

PROFESSOR DAVIDSON DON TENGU JABAVU.

Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., of Fort Hare, who has been giving a number of public lectures at Cape Town on the Native Bills, recently left East London for Basutoland, where he has been invited by the Agricultural Department to give a series of lectures to the Basuto people on agriculture. He was due to sail from Cape Town on the "Armadale Castle" within a fortnight for London, on his way to Jerusalem, where next

African World 3-3-28

PROFESSOR D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A.

month he is attending the International Missionary Council conference as the representative of the Bantu races of Southern Africa. Professor Jabavu, like his distinguished father, is one of the leading native figures in the Union, a brilliant teacher and journalist, and will be cordially welcomed in England. He will arrive next Monday, and expects to return to South Africa in May. During his absence his address will be care of the Editor of the AFRICAN WORLD, 801, Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.2.

SIR ABE BAILEY ON THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

NO ROYAL ROAD TO A SOLUTION.

The native problem cannot be solved. At best it can only be canalised and the danger spots drained.

In this arresting statement Sir Abe Bailey summed up his views on native policy in an interview with the Parliamentary correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail." He has been watching closely the latest trend of current thought on the native question, and like everyone else, is anxiously looking forward to the report of the Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Native Bills, which is due to be presented to Parliament in March.

The main principles underlying General Hertzog's Bills as originally published, particularly the Native Lands Act (Amendment) Bill, which makes it easier for the native to acquire the land he needs for his development, have no warmer or more powerful supporter than Sir Abe Bailey, who in this matter has, as he has so often told the public, the traditional mental outlook of the old Boer and sees the native problem very much from his angle.

Danger of Sentimentality.

It is the possibility that the Prime Minister's proposals may be whittled down by sloppy sentimentalists or the excessive zeal of theorists that gives to Sir Abe's views at the present juncture an especial significance. These he expresses with characteristic directness, simple force, and picturesque analogy and anecdote.

He is all in favour of the abolition of the Cape native vote and the substitution of a uniform system of separate representation of the native population by special members in the Union Parliament. On the other hand, following the policy of Rhodes, he would make the franchise qualification the same for both black and white, thus giving to the European a stronger incentive to maintain his standard of life, and to the native a definite aim to reach by making a high property and educational test the qualification for the exercise of the right to vote. At the same time he is opposed to the creation of a Native Council for the whole Union, which in effect would be a rival black Parliament that might in time be tempted to challenge the authority of the white one. In the first place the proposed representation in the Union Parliament makes this Bill superfluous and unnecessary. In the second, there is sufficient additional machinery under the Native Affairs Act and other existing legislation for consulting native opinion without adding this new elected body to the superstructure.

Thirdly, the creation of a legislative body such as is proposed in the Bill, even if its powers were circumscribed, would teach and encourage the natives to combine to such an extent that they must ultimately come into conflict with the White Parliament.

"The whole existence of the white race in South Africa," declared Sir Abe to the "Rand Daily Mail" correspondent, "depends on how wisely and skilfully we handle this native question. We must so frame our policy that while placing no obstacle in the way of the moral and material advancement of the native it will ensure that the white man rises in the scale proportionately to the black man. In this a certain amount of expediency in practical politics is inevitable. Ethical principles cannot, of course, be disregarded, but they simply must not be permitted to be the sole determining factor."

Reminiscence of Onze Jan.

Sir Abe here quoted an illuminating reminiscence to point his argument. "I will tell you what happened here on this very stoep in 1905," he said. "I was sitting here discussing this very same question with the late Jan Hofmeyr. I said to him, 'I am a Bondsman, and my father before me was a Bondsman, and I learned my politics at your knee. What is your solution of the native problem?'

"'I can answer you in a word,' replied Onze Jan after a couple of moments' reflection. 'It is expediency.'

"And as it was then, so it is now," continued Sir Abe.

"There is no royal road to the solution of the native problem, nor can it be disposed of by any fixed law or statutory scheme. The most you can hope to do is to canalise the current of native life and drain off the danger spots.

"The Cape franchise must go, but the natives of the whole Union must have representation. I would give them ten seats in the House of Assembly—four for the Cape, three for the Transvaal, two for Natal, and one for the Free State—and four seats in the Senate, one for each Province. But I would make the qualification for the vote high and equal for both black and white. To-day it is too low. The vote is obtained too cheaply.

In the early days of Parliamentary institutions the cry was, 'No taxation without representation.' To-day we have gone to the other extreme. We have too much representation without taxation. The man of straw carries as much weight in the community as the man of substance. We count heads instead of measuring them. This means that the thriftless and improvident section of the population has more influence in controlling the destines of the nation than the thoughtful and industrious section."

Sir Abe Bailey holds that in addition to an educational test no man should be allowed to vote unless he possesses immovable property of a minimum value of £250, or an annual income of £100, and the same qualification should be applied to both Europeans and natives. Such a qualification, he contends, would be an incentive to the European to maintain his standard and improve his condition in life by work, for he could not possibly desire a lower standard than the native, and he has no right to demand that the native should have a higher one. Such a test makes no discrimination against the native and offers him a fixed standard and a definite aim to raise himself in the scale of civilisation.

New Franchise Law.

Sir Abe acknowledged that his proposal would necessitate the introduction of a new uniform franchise law for the Union. The laws in force in 1910 remain, and it is no part of the Prime Minister's present proposals to alter them. This indeed was never contemplated until the Cape native franchise problem has been disposed of. Sir Abe Bailey contends that under his proposals the Native Council Bills would become more or less superfluous, for they give the natives adequate and direct representation in both Houses of the Union Parliament under conditions suited to their present stage of development and on the same qualification as whites.

This, in fact, was the basis of the Rhodes ideal of equal rights for all civilised men. Sir Abe maintains that his ideas are fair and just to the native; that they are not in conflict with the Rhodes policy, but recognise the fundamental differences between the white and black races, and the great gap between the present planes of civilisation, while placing no barrier to the natives' future social, material, and political progress.

In a word they drain off the dangers of the existing situation and canalise the problem along a safe course, with due regard to the practical needs of the day, and that without violating any moral principle.

"In dealing with the native question along these lines," concluded Sir Abe, "party politics should have no part or place. I thoroughly agree with the Prime Minister that native policy is a national, not a party, question, and that it must be settled on non-party lines. It is imperative that there should be a united white front on this issue."

Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu (says the "Cape Mercury") has returned from Capetown, where he addressed a number of meetings on Native affairs, and particularly the Native Bills coming before Parliament. He now proceeds to Basutoland, on the invitation of the Department of Agriculture of that territory, to lecture to the Basutos on agriculture. On February 17 Prof. Jabavu sails from Capetown in the Armadale Castle for England. Thence he goes to Palestine to attend the International Missionary Conference (which this year is being held at Jerusalem), as the representative of the Bantu races. At this conference there will be 200 delegates, representing all the Christian Missions of the world.

POLL TAX HARDSHIP.

Natives in the drought stricken areas of Peddie, King Williamstown, East London, Victoria East and Fort Beaufort have been reduced to unspeakable penury owing to heavy losses sustained due to the death of sheep, cattle, horses, donkeys and even goats. Up to the end of December last stock was holding its own when the veldt had long lost its coat of grass and vegetation, but the hopes of the new year bringing a better fortune of rain were shattered. The occasional showers we have had were only partial relief by way of increased drinking water supply, and no improvement of the veldt has been observed. As a result stock owned by natives has perished in frightful numbers during the month of January, the position daily becoming more serious. We can safely estimate that 50 per cent has been the toll among native cattle and sheep. Overstocking of the pasturage is certainly one cause, but the prolonged drought is the chief agent of this catastrophe. Practically no cultivation has been undertaken in these areas, and even if the precious rain were to fall in the near future, the bulk of natives have no oxen to use for cultivation.

Everything foreshadows a year of dreadful poverty and hunger among natives. Government so far has not seen fit to assist the needy from the Drought Distress Relief Fund. European farmers in the Midland and South Western districts are the fortunate recipients of monetary relief from this purse; and our people are left to take care of themselves. An attempt was recently made to have the King Williamstown area declared a drought stricken area, but this was strongly opposed by a section of white farmers who argued that such a pronouncement would depreciate the value of their farms.

With this position obtaining we do not think that it would be too much to ask the Minister for Native Affairs to use his influence with parliament to waive the poll tax paid by natives at any rate for this year (1928.) Particularly for Native Affairs is the father of natives, surely the children of natives whose livelihood depends on stock-rearing—native living in crown locations, farm labourers and quitrent can expect deliverance and succour in times of tribulation.

SIR ABE BAILEY ON THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

NO ROYAL ROAD TO A SOLUTION.

The native problem cannot be solved. At best it can only be canalised and the danger spots drained.

In this arresting statement Sir Abe Bailey summed up his views on the native policy in an interview with the Parliamentary correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail." He has been watching closely the latest trend of current thought on the native question, and, like everyone else, is anxiously looking forward to the report of the Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Native Bills, which is due to be presented to Parliament in March.

The main principles underlying General Hertzog's Bills as originally published, particularly the Native Lands Act (Amendment) Bill, which makes it easier for the native to acquire the land he needs for his development, have no warmer or more powerful supporter than Sir Abe Bailey, who in this matter has, as he has so often told the public, the traditional mental outlook of the old Boer and sees the native problem very much from his angle.

Danger of Sentimentality.

It is the possibility that the Prime Minister's proposals may be whittled down by sloppy sentimentalists or the excessive zeal of theorists that gives to Sir Abe's views at the present juncture an especial significance. These he expresses with characteristic directness, simple force, and picturesque analogy and anecdote.

He is all in favour of the abolition of the Cape native vote and the substitution of a uniform system of separate representation of the native population by special members in the Union Parliament. On the other hand, following the policy of Rhodes, he would make the franchise qualification the same for both black and white, thus giving to the European a stronger incentive to maintain his standard of life, and to the native a definite aim to reach by making a high property and educational test the qualification for the exercise of the right to vote. At the same time he is opposed to the creation of a Native Council for the whole Union, which in effect would be a rival black Parliament that might in time be tempted to challenge the authority of the white one. In the first place the proposed representation in the Union Parliament makes this Bill superfluous and unnecessary. In the second, there is sufficient additional machinery under the Native Affairs Act and other existing legislation for consulting native opinion without adding this new elected body to the superstructure.

Thirdly, the creation of a legislative body such as is proposed in the Bill, even if its powers were circumscribed, would teach and encourage the natives to combine to such an extent that they must ultimately come into conflict with the White Parliament.

"The whole existence of the white race in South Africa," declared Sir Abe to the "Rand Daily Mail" correspondent, "depends on how wisely and skilfully we handle this native question. We must so frame our policy that while placing no obstacle in the way of the moral and material advancement of the native it will ensure that the white man rises in the scale proportionately to the black man. In this a certain amount of expediency in practical politics is inevitable. Ethical principles cannot, of course, be disregarded, but they simply must not be permitted to be the sole determining factor."

Reminiscence of Onze Jan.

Sir Abe here quoted an illuminating reminiscence to point his argument. "I will tell you what happened here on this very stoep in 1905," he said. "I was sitting here discussing this very same question with the late Jan Hofmeyr. I said to him, 'I am a Bondsman, and my father before me was a Bondsman, and I learned my politics at your knee. What is your solution of the native problem?'

"'I can answer you in a word,' replied Onze Jan after a couple of moments' reflection. 'It is expediency.'

"And as it was then, so it is now," continued Sir Abe.

"There is no royal road to the solution of the native problem, nor can it be disposed of by any fixed law or statutory scheme. The most you can hope to do is to canalise the current of native life and drain off the danger spots.

"The Cape franchise must go, but the natives of the whole Union must have representation. I would give them ten seats in the House of Assembly—four for the Cape, three for the Transvaal, two for Natal, and one for the Free State—and four seats in the Senate, one for each Province. But I would make the qualification for the vote high and equal for both black and white. To-day it is too low. The vote is obtained too cheaply.

In the early days of Parliamentary institutions the cry was, 'No taxation without representation.' To-day we have gone to the other extreme. We have too much representation without taxation. The man of straw carries as much weight in the community as the man of substance. We count heads instead of measuring them. This means that the thriftless and improvident section of the population has more influence in controlling the destines of the nation than the thoughtful and industrious section."

Sir Abe Bailey holds that in addition to an educational test no man should be allowed to vote unless he possesses immovable property of a minimum value of £250, or an annual income of £100, and the same qualification should be applied to both Europeans and natives. Such a qualification, he contends, would be an incentive to the European to maintain his standard and improve his condition in life by work, for he could not possibly desire a lower standard than the native, and he has no right to demand that the native should have a higher one. Such a test makes no discrimination against the native and offers him a fixed standard and a definite aim to raise himself in the scale of civilisation.

New Franchise Law.

Sir Abe acknowledged that his proposal would necessitate the introduction of a new uniform franchise law for the Union. The laws in force in 1910 remain, and it is no part of the Prime Minister's present proposals to alter them. This indeed was never contemplated until the Cape native franchise problem has been disposed of. Sir Abe Bailey contends that under his proposals the Native Council Bills would become more or less superfluous, for they give the natives adequate and direct representation in both Houses of the Union Parliament under conditions suited to their present stage of development and on the same qualification as whites.

This, in fact, was the basis of the Rhodes ideal of equal rights for all civilised men. Sir Abe maintains that his ideas are fair and just to the native; that they are not in conflict with the Rhodes policy, but recognise the fundamental differences between the white and black races, and the great gap between the present planes of civilisation, while placing no barrier to the natives' future social, material, and political progress.

In a word they drain off the dangers of the existing situation and canalise the problem along a safe course, with due regard to the practical needs of the day, and that without violating any moral principle.

"In dealing with the native question along these lines," concluded Sir Abe, "party politics should have no part or place. I thoroughly agree with the Prime Minister that native policy is a national, not a party, question, and that it must be settled on non-party lines. It is imperative that there should be a united white front on this issue."

Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu (says the "Cape Mercury") has returned from Capetown, where he addressed a number of meetings on Native affairs, and particularly the Native Bills coming before Parliament. He now proceeds to Basutoland, on the invitation of the Department of Agriculture of that territory, to lecture to the Basutos on agriculture. On February 17 Prof. Jabavu sails from Capetown in the Armadale Castle for England. Thence he goes to Palestine to attend the International Missionary Conference (which this year is being held at Jerusalem), as the representative of the Bantu races. At this conference there will be 200 delegates, representing all the Christian Missions of the world.

POLL TAX HARDSHIP.

Natives in the drought stricken areas of Peddie, King Williamstown, East London, Victoria East and Fort Beaufort have been reduced to unspeakable penury owing to heavy losses sustained due to the death of sheep, cattle, horses, donkeys and even goats. Up to the end of December last stock was holding its own when the veldt had long lost its coat of grass and vegetation, but the hopes of the new year bringing a better portion of rain were shattered. The occasional showers we have had were only partial relief by way of increased drinking water supply, and no improvement of the veldt has been observed. As a result stock owned by natives has perished in frightful numbers during the month of January, the position daily becoming more serious. We can safely estimate that 50 per cent has been the toll among native cattle and sheep. Overstocking of the pasturage is certainly one cause, but the prolonged drought is the chief agent of this catastrophe. Practically no cultivation has been undertaken in these areas, and even if the precious rain were to fall in the near future, the bulk of natives have no oxen to use for cultivation.

Everything foreshadows a year of dreadful poverty and hunger among natives. Government so far has not seen fit to assist the needy from the Drought Distress Relief Fund. European farmers in the Midland and South Western districts are the fortunate recipients of monetary relief from this purse; and our people are left to take care of themselves. An attempt was recently made to have the King Williamstown area declared a drought stricken area, but this was strongly opposed by a section of white farmers who argued that such a pronouncement would depreciate the value of their farms.

With this position obtaining we do not think that it would be too much to ask the Minister for Native Affairs to use his influence with parliament to waive the poll tax paid by natives at any rate for this year (1928.) Particularly would we intercede in the case of natives, surely the children of natives whose livelihood depends on stock-rearing—native landowners. We can expect deliverance and succour in times of tribulation.

We sincerely trust this appeal will not fall on deaf ears. If the Minister for Native Affairs is the father of the farm labourers and quitrent

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

An Inter-Colonial Conference.

One of the results of the new conception of the Colonial Empire as a corporate body, with common problems and common interests, and not as a group of unrelated entities, has been the initiation of team-work for the solution of above common problems and the advancement of those common interests by conferences of the departmental officers of groups of colonies, of which the conference of agricultural officials of the British West African Colonies held at Ibadan in March last is an illustrative example, and establishes an excellent precedent.

The title of the report of this conference —"Proceedings of the First West African Agricultural Conference"—is an indication that it is one of a series, and that the holding of inter-colonial conferences for mutual information, discussion of difficulties, and consideration of proposals for reforms, is a part of the future routine of the Agricultural Departments. Each colony (except the Gambia) was represented by the head of its Agricultural Department, supported by members of his staff. Many valuable papers were read, the readings being followed by general discussions in which more than local knowledge and experience was brought to bear on the local problems, for, as the foreword of the report points out, "although strictly only a West African Conference, it was a much wider one in one sense, for in practically every tropical colony some member or other of the conference had worked fairly recently."

The practical value of these conferences was demonstrated by the fact that "in several instances the discussion brought to light opportunities for the departments to assist each other, or to work together in various ways. . . . Formal resolutions on these points were submitted to the various Governments concerned. . . . More frequently arrangements for further interchange of knowledge and ideas could be, and were, made between the 'opposite numbers' of the different departments." The Agricultural Departments, at least, of the British West African Colonies are no longer water-tight compartments, but a reservoir in which the knowledge acquired in each colony will be pooled for the benefit of all.

The inevitable corollary is a Central Research Board, for sifting and co-ordinating the knowledge collected, and for directing the researches of local departments so as to prevent overlapping and waste of time and effort. Development is rapid in these days, and so we hope that this culmination may take place in a short time from the meeting of the First Conference.

The Oil-Palm Industry.

The papers included in the report naturally deal mainly with the staple industries—oil-palm products, cocoa, and cotton. The oil-palm industry and the "Eastern Menace" bulk largely. The first place is given to a paper by Mr. M. T. Dawe, Commissioner of Lands and Forests (Sierra Leone), and Dr. F. Martin on "The Oil-Palm Industry and Its Problems in Sierra Leone."

This is followed by one on "The Oil-Palm Industry in Sumatra and Malaya," by Mr. G. G. Auchinleck, Deputy-Director of Agriculture (Gold Coast), and Mr. H. B. Waters, Superintendent of Agriculture

dustry, the effects may not be seriously felt for a good many years, as the world's demand for vegetable oils is increasing and there are markets for which palm-oil with a considerable F.F.A. content is more suitable than the more neutral Eastern product.

(Nigeria), giving "a brief summary of the position in 1926 of the Eastern Plantations of Oil-Palms," and another on "The Extraction of Oil-Palm Products," by Mr. A. C. Barnes, Agricultural Chemist (Nigeria). These papers were brought to a focus in a "General Discussion on the Oil-Palm Papers and the Eastern Menace to the West African Trade." While it was admitted by all the speakers that the Eastern plantations, with their highly organised and scientific methods, are a danger to the unorganised and primitive West African in-

Again, as the Eastern planters are concentrating on the production of oil, West Africa will still find a ready market for its kernels. As I have more than once contended in these columns that expansion in its export of palm-kernels will compensate West Africa for any diminution of its export of palm-oil (for which there is a profitable and growing local demand), caused by competition from the East, I am pleased to find that the "experts" hold the same view. Nevertheless, this is no reason for neglecting improvement of the culture and the organisation of the industry. There are two other menaces which Mr. Dawe and others (including myself) consider more immediately dangerous than the Eastern. The first is the Belgian Congo, which is likely to become a seriously competing factor in the near future—in much less than the fifteen or twenty years which it will take to bring the Eastern production to a level with the West African, and will have an almost equal advantage of proximity to the markets of Europe and America.

The most formidable rival to the West African kernel trade in the immediate future will come not from the oil-palm plantations of the East but from its coconut plantations, from whose copra is produced an oil "similar to and often interchangeable in manufacturing process with that obtained from palm kernels." The production of copra is increasing more rapidly than that of Eastern palm-oil and kernels. The impression created by perusal of the papers and dicussion is that the position is serious but by no means desperate and that there is yet time to put the West African Oil palm industry into condition to meet all competitors without fear of defeat.

Cocoa.

The papers on cocoa deal principally with the Gold Coast industry. Mr. A. W. Paterson, Provincial Superintendent of Agriculture (Gold Coast), in a paper on "Some Aspects of the Gold Coast Cocoa Industry," points out that the 1926 crop of 225,000 tons meant "a production of 18 cwt. of dried cocoa per able-bodied man" of the population of the cocoa districts, which he considers, "must be close to the maximum production for the population," but, as Mr. Lamb reminded him, "we have heard for many years that the production of cocoa on the Gold Coast cannot go on increasing but must almost certainly decline," and that if the Gold Coast farmers, trained in the hard school of experience, can produce 1,800 lb. of dry cocoa per acre "we must conclude that . . . as regards yield per acre they are some of the most successful in the world."

In the course of a paper on "The Grading of Cotton, Cocoa and Palm Kernels," Messrs. A. J. Findlay and G. MacL. Watson (Nigeria) described an interesting and successful fermentation scheme in that colony, which was thoroughly appreciated, and led to "a considerable extension of the scheme and the establishment of graded prices."

Such schemes and a proper system of grading, by educating the farmers, will more rapidly and effectively improve the industry than the application of such methods of compulsion as the ill-considered and abortive Plants (Injurious Pests) Ordinance of the Gold Coast."

W. F. H.

Native Welfare Movement.

What is popularly termed "The Native Question" (says the "Daily Dispatch") has always been with us in this country, is with us to day, and will continue to be the principal factor in our economic, industrial, commercial, social, and religious life. On this matter everybody in South Africa poses as an expert. The man in the street considers that his actual contact with the native in business, or otherwise, entitles him to speak with authority. Usually he has nothing but contempt for the opinions of others outside South Africa with regard to the native, and is about as blind to the right of others to present their views as he is to his own prejudice and limitations. Most of us indeed are content to take the native for granted, and after he has served our purpose in our economic life we do not care a brass farthing what he does with his spare time, where or how he lives, or what influences for good or evil surround him. That is no concern of ours; we pay the native for what he does for us, and there we consider our responsibility ends. For this easy-going policy, however, the time has passed and the welfare of the native people in every department of their life must be the essential concern of the white man if the dominant race is to continue to discharge its public and private duty to the "essential Kaffir," as Dudley Kidd called him. 1-24-28

Mr. Tengo Jabavu, of Fort Hare, who is admittedly an educated, moderate authority on questions appertaining to his own people, said some time ago: "The Bantu people throughout the Union are in a state of positive discontent. One need not be regarded as an alarmist for making such a statement. These people are, as it were, beginning to wake up out of their age long slumber, and to speak through their Press and platform demagogues. In municipal areas like Johannesburg, Capetown, Bloemfontein and East London, their voice is waxing louder and louder, while even in the rural districts of Natal, Pietersburg, the Transkei, and Free State, there is a growing feeling of distrust in the white man's lordship, loss of faith in his protestations of just intentions, and loss of confidence in the old-time kindly protection of the British Constitution. These feelings are not largely expressed, for the native is not given to confiding the secrets of his inmost feelings to Europeans, as in many cases he dare not; nevertheless the feelings are there, and are seething like molten volcanic lava in the breasts of these inarticulate people. And unless something is done to mitigate the causes of present dissatisfaction, it will not be very long before the whole white community must deal with a situation overwhelmingly beyond their control."

The Native Welfare Movement which was inaugurated some years ago with the goodwill of the Government, has as its main object the promotion of the moral, mental, and material welfare of the native people of South Africa, to give lead to public opinion on the various aspects of the Native Question, to co-operate with other societies having the same objects, and to induce co-operation and promote understanding between the European and native peoples of South Africa. There are Native Welfare Societies at Capetown, Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein, and other centres, and one also formerly existed in East London.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

An Inter-Colonial Conference.

One of the results of the new conception of the Colonial Empire as a corporate body, with common problems and common interests, and not as a group of unrelated entities, has been the initiation of team-work for the solution of common problems and the advancement of those common interests by conference of the departmental officers of groups of colonies, of which the conference of agricultural officials of the British West African Colonies held at Ibadan in March last is an admirable example, and establishes an excellent precedent.

The title of the report of this conference —"Proceedings of the First West African Agricultural Conference"—is an indication that it is one of a series, and that the holding of inter-colonial conferences for mutual information, discussion of difficulties, and consideration of proposals for reforms, is a part of the future routine of the Agricultural Departments. Each colony (except the Gambia) was represented by the head of its Agricultural Department, supported by members of his staff. Many valuable papers were read, the readings being followed by general discussions in which more than local knowledge and experience was brought to bear on the local problems, for, as the foreword of the report points out, "although strictly only a West African Conference, it was a much wider one in one sense, for in practically every tropical colony some member or other of the conference had worked fairly recently."

The practical value of these conferences was demonstrated by the fact that "in several instances the discussion brought to light opportunities for the departments to assist each other, or to work together in various ways. . . . Formal resolutions on these points were submitted to the various Governments concerned. . . . More frequently arrangements for further interchange of knowledge and ideas could be, and were, made between the 'opposite numbers' of the different departments." The Agricultural Departments, at least, of the British West African Colonies are no longer watertight compartments, but a reservoir in which the knowledge acquired in each colony will be pooled for the benefit of all.

The inevitable corollary is a Central Research Board, for sifting and co-ordinating the knowledge collected, and for directing the researches of local departments so as to prevent overlapping and waste of time and effort. Development is rapid in these days, and so we hope that this culmination may take place in a short time from the meeting of the First Conference.

The Oil-Palm Industry.

The papers included in the report naturally deal mainly with the staple industries oil-palm products, cocoa, and cotton. The oil-palm industry and the "Eastern Menace" bulk largely. The first place is given to a paper by Mr. M. T. Dawe, Commissioner of Lands and Forests (Sierra Leone), and Dr. F. Martin on "The Oil-Palm Industry and Its Problems in Sierra Leone."

This is followed by one on "The Oil-Palm Industry in Sumatra and Malaya," by Mr. G. G. Auchinleck, Deputy-Director of Agriculture (Gold Coast), and Mr. H. B. Waters, Superintendent of Agriculture

Efficiency

25.11.28

dustry, the effects may not be seriously felt for a good many years, as the world's demand for vegetable oils is increasing and there are markets for which palm-oil with a considerable F.F.A. content is more suitable than the more neutral Eastern product.

(Nigeria), giving "a brief summary of the position in 1926 of the Eastern Plantations of Oil-Palms," and another on "The Extraction of Oil-Palm Products," by Mr. A. C. Barnes, Agricultural Chemist (Nigeria). These papers were brought to a focus in a "General Discussion on the Oil-Palm Papers and the Eastern Menace to the West African Trade." While it was admitted by all the speakers that the Eastern plantations, with their highly organised and scientific methods, are a danger to the unorganised and primitive West African industry,

Again, as the Eastern planters are concentrating on the production of oil, West Africa will still find a ready market for its kernels. As I have more than once contended in these columns that expansion in its export of palm-kernels will compensate West Africa for any diminution of its export of palm-oil (for which there is a profitable and growing local demand), caused by competition from the East, I am pleased to find that the "experts" hold the same view. Nevertheless, this is no reason for neglecting improvement of the culture and the organisation of the industry. There are two other menaces which Mr. Dawe and others (including myself) consider more immediately dangerous than the Eastern. The first is the Belgian Congo, which is likely to become a seriously competing factor in the near future—in much less than the fifteen or twenty years which it will take to bring the Eastern production to a level with the West African, and will have an almost equal advantage of proximity to the markets of Europe and America.

The most formidable rival to the West African kernel trade in the immediate future will come not from the oil-palm plantations of the East but from its coconut plantations, from whose copra is produced an oil "similar to and often interchangeable in manufacturing process with that obtained from palm kernels." The production of copra is increasing more rapidly than that of Eastern palm-oil and kernels. The impression created by perusal of the papers and dicussion is that the position is serious but by no means desperate and that there is yet time to put the West African Oil palm industry into condition to meet all competitors without fear of defeat.

Cocoa.

The papers on cocoa deal principally with the Gold Coast industry. Mr. A. W. Paterson, Provincial Superintendent of Agriculture (Gold Coast), in a paper on "Some Aspects of the Gold Coast Cocoa Industry," points out that the 1926 crop of 225,000 tons meant "a production of 18 cwt. of dried cocoa per able-bodied man" of the population of the cocoa districts, which he considers, "must be close to the maximum production for the population," but, as Mr. Lamb reminded him, "we have heard for many years that the production of cocoa on the Gold Coast cannot go on increasing but must almost certainly decline," and that if the Gold Coast farmers, trained in the hard school of experience, can produce 1,800 lb. of dry cocoa per acre "we must conclude that . . . as regards yield per acre they are some of the most successful in the world."

In the course of a paper on "The Grading of Cotton, Cocoa and Palm Kernels," Messrs. A. J. Findlay and G. MacL. Watson (Nigeria) described an interesting and successful fermentation scheme in that colony, which was thoroughly appreciated, and led to "a considerable extension of the scheme and the establishment of graded prices."

Such schemes and a proper system of grading, by educating the farmers, will more rapidly and effectively improve the industry than the application of such methods of compulsion as the ill-considered and abortive Plants (Injurious Pests) Ordinance of the Gold Coast."

W. F. H.

Native Welfare Movement.

What is popularly termed "The Native Question" (says the "Daily Dispatch") has always been with us in this country, is with us to day, and will continue to be the principal factor in our economic, industrial, commercial, social, and religious life. On this matter everybody in South Africa poses as an expert. The man in the street considers that his actual contact with the native in business, or otherwise, entitles him to speak with authority. Usually he has nothing but contempt for the opinions of others outside South Africa with regard to the native, and is about as blind to the right of others to present their views as he is to his own prejudice and limitations. Most of us indeed are content to take the native for granted, and after he has served our purpose in our economic life, we do not care a brass farthing what he does with his spare time, where or how he lives, or what influences for good or evil surround him. That is no concern of ours; we pay the native for what he does for us, and there we consider our responsibility ends. For this easy-going policy, however, the time has passed and the welfare of the native people in every department of their life must be the essential concern of the white man if the dominant race is to continue to discharge its public and private duty to the "essential Kaffir," as Dudley Kidd called him.

1-24-28

Mr. Tengo Jabavu, of Fort Hare, who is admittedly an educated, moderate authority on questions appertaining to his own people, said some time ago: "The Bantu people throughout the Union are in a state of positive discontent. One need not be regarded as an alarmist for making such a statement. These people are, as it were, beginning to wake up out of their age long slumber, and to speak through their Press and platform demagogues. In municipal areas like Johannesburg, Capetown, Bloemfontein and East London, their voice is waxing louder and louder, while even in the rural districts of Natal, Pietersburg, the Transkei, and Free State, there is a growing feeling of distrust in the white man's lordship, loss of faith in his protestations of just intentions, and loss of confidence in the old-time kindly protection of the British Constitution. These feelings are not largely expressed, for the native is not given to confiding the secrets of his inmost feelings to Europeans, as in many cases he dare not; nevertheless the feelings are there, and are seething like molten volcanic lava in the breasts of these inarticulate people. And unless something is done to mitigate the causes of present dissatisfaction, it will not be very long before the whole white community must deal with a situation over-whelmingly beyond their control."

The Native Welfare Movement which was inaugurated some years ago with the goodwill of the Government, has as its main object the promotion of the moral, mental, and material welfare of the native people of South Africa, to give lead to public opinion on the various aspects of the Native Question, to co-operate with other societies having the same objects, and to induce co-operation and promote understanding between the European and native peoples of South Africa. There are Native Welfare Societies at Capetown, Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein, and other centres, and one also formerly existed in East London.

PAINTING AFRICA IN LIGHTER HUES

A STRANGE white man came to a native village in the heart of Africa, where there were no others of his color. Two days later the houseboys of another white man living three hundred miles away were telling their master of the stranger's favorite breakfast food, his occupations, the degree of his liberality, his name, and his native nickname. Thus Erick Berry, in the New York *Times* Magazine, disposes of a "favorite yarn of the fictionists," who seem to believe that Africa is an excellent place to lose oneself. Because, Mr. Berry remarks, white men are so few and far between, the movements of any stranger are watched carefully by the ever-inquisitive and garrulous native. The writer continues with some advice:

No; if a man is crossed in love or has committed a crime and wishes to disappear forever by hiding alone in the jungle, then let him choose South America or even Brooklyn; but not the African jungle.

Nor is the Dark Continent as black as it is painted, he comments as he proceeds to dispel a few popular beliefs:

In the first place, what is meant by Africa is not always clear. To take in its whole range, one must roam from the Riff to the Kongo Basin, from the sophisticated Shepheard's Hotel in Cairo, with its dances, teas and Parisian toilets, to Cape Town, with its not less elegant social festivities. The span is some 5,000 miles. But what is popularly meant by Africa is a strip of land, nearly 3,000 miles wide, that borders the equator from 10 degrees north to 10 degrees south. And even that wide strip of country is variegated in aspect; it is not all dank, dark jungle; there are thousands of square miles of scrub bush, or rolling savannah land, where cities teem with native and trading life. And there are, too, sandy deserts, foothills, and high mountains.

The African himself is no more of one race or of one hue than is the European. He is, in fact, more of a generality. There is the primitive savage living in the hills, the skilled mechanical expert on the railways and the roads, the Oxford and Cambridge graduate back to practise law in his own country, and the native chief who holds court with all the pomp and elaboration of an Eastern potentate.

Cannibals are few, Mr. Berry tells us, as he comes to that most popular belief regarding the African native, and they form a smaller percentage of the natives in Africa than the bootleggers do in America. We read on:

It is the fashion among fiction writers to describe "cannibal villages" as being littered with human bones. One novelist writing about a village in West Africa, which is my part of the country, says: "We passed a woman who was running as fast as she could toward her hut. She bore in her hand a piece of human thigh, just as we would go to market and carry thence a joint or steak." Another popular book is full of allusions to "cannibal tribes." Cannibalism, however, is not the mark of a tribe.

The African native eats human flesh for two reasons. The first is because he wishes to punish the man, for eating him is a religious punishment that is supposed to destroy his soul; the second is that the subject of the meal is great, strong, brave, or has other commendable qualities which, on eating, will enter into the constitution of the feaster and become part of him much as we eat a beefsteak to benefit from its vitamins. It is, perhaps, a little more direct than the vitamin urge, but the idea is the same. There are some other less important reasons, but almost without exception cannibalism is a religious ceremony, and not a daily diet. Women and children are not allowed to eat human flesh, nor are they in turn eaten, lest the men in doing so become effeminate or childish.

Another myth is that of the voodoo. Voodoo is really an American word, confined to the natives of Haiti and the West Indies. Juju means "religion," and it is as correct to say that the African practises juju as it is to say that the white man practises religion. There are, of course, hundreds of local names for it, such as tsafi, warri, and boka; but none of the meanings is descriptive of a particular kind of witchcraft.

So far as the native is concerned, the white visitor to the Dark Continent is amusingly safe, we learn, as Mr. Berry pursues his disillusioning course. The only death he is likely to meet is that caused by a fly or a mosquito or other animal enemy. In fact, as we read on:

White men usually emerge safely from the hinterland, where, perhaps, they have been taking phonograph records of the songs of a little-known tribe, or wandering about the face of tropical Africa shut up in a cage, and wearing green pajamas as camouflage to study the speech of the monkeys. They will receive from the natives an almost unlimited, if a little bewildered, courtesy and kindness, and even hospitality. They may be, indeed, and often are, considered a little mad by the tribesmen, who usually have no idea of what their doings mean.

The patient black man will sit hour after hour while his habits are studied, his most intimate home life pried into, and strange and incomprehensible pictures are made of him, and then allow the white man to depart unharmed. For all the natives know he may have taken out their very ghost with his strange black box, and have gone off with it, but he is a stranger in the country and hence to be treated with courtesy and kindness. In fact, and it is a fact, in many pagan languages the word for "stranger" and "guest" are the same.

Among the wives of government officials in the British colonies and among the missionaries, are many women who make long trips into the interior, alone and entirely unarmed. They go for days along the rude trails and rough bush roads of the Africa interior and see no white face for hundreds of miles. But rarely do they pass a native who, with his great broad smile, fails to salute them in one of the weird fashions peculiar to the negroes of the Dark Continent. Sometimes the black womenfolk giggle, but it is more a giggle of embarrassed pleasure than unkindly. Most of the tribesmen carry bows and arrows, or a spear, and sometimes both; but often the left hand carries a bird-cage with a bright yellow canary inside, or a smoky teapot made in Birmingham.

KENYA NATIVES' CLAIMS.

Land Security and Education.

Some idea of the dissatisfaction prevailing among the natives of Kenya Colony, together with an insight into the difficulties which the Hilton Young Commission has to overcome, is contained, the Central News states, in a memorandum presented to the Commission by the Kikuyu Central Association.

The memorandum says that the association, which has 3,000 members, is representative of the Kikuyus—a large Bantu tribe chiefly maintaining themselves by agriculture.

It expresses alarm that non-official Europeans are to be associated in a larger degree with the Government in its trusteeship of the natives, as "in the past, whenever the unofficial European had his way, he has shown a decided tendency in the direction of usurping the natives' land, reducing him to the position of a wage-earner, and restricting him in movement and opportunities."

The association therefore recommends that (a) the boundary of the native land area should be properly and justly fixed in consultation with the tribes concerned; (b) individual life deeds should be issued to native landholders to ensure that no more land shall be alienated from them; (c) that a statutory guarantee should be provided that no native land will in future be reserved for non-native communities.

Pointing out that the natives of Kenya "pay a huge amount in the shape of taxation," the association considers that all income from native taxation, and the greater proportion of the income from non-native taxation, should be spent on the development of native education, agriculture, and sanitary and medical services.

It further suggests that native district councils "should be encouraged to send deserving boys to England or elsewhere to receive education in the arts, medicine, agriculture, engineering, etc., through the medium of State-aided scholarships."

SIR ABE BAILEY ON THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

Sir Abe Bailey has made many notable pronouncements on questions of vital importance to South Africa's well-being, but none has been more illuminating, courageous, or more constructive in its criticism than his utterance on the South African native problem. It cannot be solved, he declares with characteristic frankness, contending that at best it can only be canalised and the danger spots drained. No one who has come face to face with this burning question, simply bristling as it does with complexities, will feel disposed to disagree with Sir Abe Bailey's contention, though the majority of South Africa's statesmen have feared to confront the truth, preferring to delude themselves into the misbelief that a royal road to a solution was to be found, though none has come forward with any very practicable suggestion as to where the magic panacea was to be unearthed. They have hugged a policy of wait-and-see, but the day of decision is at hand, for this month the report of the Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Native Bills is to be presented to Parliament. A bold attempt is being made to evolve a plan that will go some way towards solving the problem of the native, and Sir Abe Bailey has rendered a signal service to the country in drawing attention to the pitfalls that exist and the danger of pandering to sloppy sentiment. At the present juncture Sir Abe Bailey's views are invested with an especial significance, and there is not the slightest doubt that if his ideas are acted upon there is every reason to believe that something approaching a real solution to the native problem will be forthcoming. Segregation, he rightly declares, has become impractical; the opportunity for its application has passed. But he propounds alternatives. He would give the natives of the whole Union parliamentary representation, but he would limit their powers to questions which do not involve altering the Union Constitution as it affects natives. He also advocates making the qualification for the vote equal for both black and white, but he would make that qualification high. To-day he considers it is too low and too easily obtainable. For the present, however, the Europeans on the voters' rolls would not be subject to his proposed new qualification (an educational and property one) which would only apply to new voters. The next election would be fought on the present register, but natives would not be included in the Union Voters' rolls for following elections. All these suggestions are worthy of the closest consideration. They will make a strong appeal to all who desire justice for the native and who fear the launching of any policy calculated to undermine the White Man's prestige in Africa. Tackled in the right spirit and with a united white Government, there is no reason why the native problem should not be freed of many of its present intricacies, and a far happier situation created than that existing at present.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

OUR CHOICE IN AFRICA.

II.—"Trusteeship."

By Lord Olivier.

The phrase of describing Imperial Powers as "trustees" for "backward peoples" has now become quite familiar. Its vogue dates from the Covenant of the League of Nations, though it had often been used of our rule in India. The Covenant gave the notion a formal reality. Written instruments were drawn up expressly purporting to be deeds of trust, appointing certain among the victorious Allies to be "mandatories"—for former German colonies. The duties of the Trustee Powers were defined in those documents. The idea caught on, and our statesmen began to talk, metaphorically, of trusteeship for natives in our own unmandated colonies and protectorates also. The idea is a gracious one; the habit of so thinking of ourselves is comfortable to our self-respect. Sincerely conceived and applied it can be wholesome; its implications appear more genteel than those of the doctrine of "undeveloped estates." But it may conceal pitfalls. The duties and implications of our self-attributed trusts are not defined. There is no trust deed, as there is in a mandate. There is no Chancery to interpret the trust and protect its beneficiaries, as there is in the League's Commission for Mandates. It implies little more than an attitude which humane and disinterested folk of British traditions (commonly spoken of as "idealists" when any practical issue arises) would desire that we should observe. Parliamentary vigilance, directed by public opinion, is its only safeguard. And what reason is there for confidence that this will operate more effectually now than it used to before we talked of trusteeship and simply relied on what Englishmen, informed by an open press, understand as the common rules of civilised Christian behaviour? But Exeter Hall having become an hotel, and most of our press being still of the Chamberlain-Kipling philosophy, the preaching of trusteeship, given proper definition of principles and disinterested administration, no doubt goes some way towards providing a substitute for those weakened defences of humanism.

Trusteeship, but No Trust Deed.

Unfortunately "trusteeship" without a trust deed or court is a blessed word very easy to juggle with. Mr. Amery's new departure in regard to East Africa, his recent White Paper amending the declaration of our principles of trusteeship made in the Kenya White Paper of 1923 (after the tussle over forced native labour and Indians' rights), and his instructions to Sir E. Hilton Young's Commission strikingly illustrate this facility.

The White Paper of 1923 declared that the Imperial Government regarded itself as the sole trustee for natives and that in the exercise of that trust natives' interests were to be "paramount." I myself have often wondered whether its well-meant phrases were not a bit enthusiastic and injudicious. Imperialist real-politicians and East African pioneers smiled at them as transparent but harmless bunkum. Harmless, at any rate, so long as their friends might be in power. But the portent of a Labour Government got them busy. "Labour," they said, "will restore Tanganyika to Germany. It will establish native Soviets. Entrust us with East Africa." Hence the Commission. Outside of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland (which it has been assumed are to join the happy family of the South African Union), it was manifest that no African territory had been annexed by Great Britain in the interests of the natives, and, except missionaries and perhaps a few public officials, no European had ever entered any such territory in those interests or was occupied in pursuing them, nor had the Government of any British East African territory, least of all Kenya, been administered with that paramount object. The imperially thinking public had, on the contrary, been encouraged to understand that the value of these new dominions was to provide raw materials and tropical products for British manufactures and trade, and new homes for Englishmen. And their progress had been annually gauged by the amount of such exports produced through the activities of such Englishmen. All very capital, no doubt, but not suggesting consciousness of the paramountcy of native interests.

Some Forgotten Principles.

The time has now come, Mr. Amery tells us, to associate in our trusteeship immigrant residents in the territories. Now, as any solicitor would explain to us, a trustee cannot have an unlimited personal interest in the trust property; nor can he delegate or divide his trust. He remains solely responsible. Manifestly, at any rate, the duties of Britain under the Tanganyika mandate cannot be so shared. Our Government alone is responsible to the authority (wherever that now resides) that created that trust. Outside the mandated territory, however, we are at liberty to interpret our self-assigned trusteeship just as we please; it is merely a metaphorical declaration of good intentions. The elasticity of its interpretation accommodates itself to the views of the Minister and the mood of the Parliament of the day. The term "trusteeship" is, in fact, in this last White Paper used equivocally in two distinct senses.

I sometimes think that we could afford to dispense with some of the propagation of the gospel of trusteeship in exchange for a revival of livelier insistence by British opinion and more uncompromising instructions to governors by the Colonial Office that British colonial government is to adhere to the principles which it observed in the Victorian Age of our Empire, before the vogue of the theory that the promotion of capitalistic exploitation of our undeveloped estates was a public duty.

Preposterous Administration in Kenya.

We have been witnessing two important experiments in the last-mentioned method of African Imperialism. Southern Rhodesia, whatever its future may be, was, during its earlier growth, more circumspectly handled than Kenya has been. The "trustee" there was the Chartered Company, not the settling community; and there were oppositions between the two which assisted criticism. There was also, ostensibly, a more jealous posture of vigilance by the Colonial Office towards the Company than there could be by our Foreign and Colonial Ministers towards the agents of their somewhat erratic ideas and ambitions for Kenya development. The way in which Kenya was actually handled can only be described as preposterous. The Governors appointed, at least up to 1923, however conspicuously qualified to shine in other vocations, stand out (with a short-lived exception) as the most remarkable procession of misfits within living memory of colonial affairs. One after another they met some Boojum, and vanished.

Public officers were allowed to own and traffic in land, on the ground that this would combine their interests in the "development" of the country with those of the settlers. And this unique scandal is still permitted, though the Colonial Regulations forbade it in all other Crown colonies on precisely the grounds on which it is more obnoxious in Kenya than it could well have been anywhere else, for nowhere else have divisions of interest between white men and natives in land and labour questions given rise to such controversies. But the Colonial Regulations were framed before the theory of trusteeship, in the paramount interest of natives, was mooted. They aimed at no more than purity of administration and disinterested consideration for white and black alike. This abuse is an example of the elasticity of a vague theory of trusteeship, adaptable to the ideas of the men on the spot, without reference to principles established by long experience. I might give others, but the point of the illustration is that in Kenya there has flourished especially the doctrine that the white man's trusteeship for civilisation must be exercised "educationally" through the very simple method of inducing the native to work on the white man's estate. This is spoken of as the "contact theory." We are all in favour of contact and intercourse, which elsewhere in our colonies successfully and progressively maintain, without compulsion, white Christian civilisation. But East African settlers were not introduced as trustees for natives, but to farm and plant and make money, and no one need be surprised if they adopted too exclusively Lord Milner's idea that it is a providential arrangement that natives of simple needs are in Africa to work for civilised men and to be uplifted in doing so. Our own farmers are equally sure that the dungyard is the best schoolroom for village boys. That theory dominated till Sir Robert Coryndon flanked it with the much-advertised discovery of the "dual policy," announcing that the Government must try to help natives also to civilise themselves in their own homes. Meanwhile, however, there had been imposed, agreeably to the theory of trusteeship and civilisation by "contact," excessive rates of direct taxation on natives, the proceeds of which go mainly to making things easy for white men and which, Mr. Ormsby-Gore's Commission reported, is the principal incentive to natives to work on estates, combined with a complete system of registration, identification, and passes for adult natives to assist the enforcing of the contracts for periods of labour into which they are thus impelled to enter.

Yet Another Appeal.

To a newspaper representative at Bloemfontein last week Gen. Hertzog is reported to have expressed the hope that he would get the support of other parties in getting his four Native Bills to become law, and that if the support was forthcoming he saw no reason why the bills should not become law this year. The Prime Minister stated that the Select Committee would complete its work of taking evidence by the 20th of this month and the data would then be considered immediately and probably be disposed of by the middle of March.

It is quite clear that the fierce battle that has been fought between the Cape Natives and the Prime Minister since these bills have been put to the country will soon reach its climax. The Natives are on the verge of heaving a sigh of despair in regard to the safety of their individual franchise, unless drastic changes to avoid this cataclysm will be recommended by the Select Committee and adopted by parliament. The evidence in the hands of the Select Committee will be voluminous, coming as it does from all shades of European opinion. But it must be borne in mind that Natives throughout South Africa are crying out with one voice and trying to make themselves heard, with the plea of retaining the old Cape system of parliamentary registration of voters. The preponderating weight of European evidence that may be submitted in conflict with the Natives wishes will not, to our mind, render the conscience of our legislators free from guilt if the injustice of robbing the Cape Native vote is placed on the Statute Book. After all it is the Cape Native who stands to lose in the bargaining. The European voter has nothing to lose either way, except by the suggested mythical fear of being swamped in years to come if the Native vote is to remain as it is.

It must be patent to our Prime Minister that the substitution of the first privilege of democracy in a democratic country—the individual expression of one's opinion, for a mediocre representation of civilized men by a coterie of semi-civilised chiefs and headmen who are government servants is a wanton destruction of all native civilisation and development which is the fruit of missionary labour and European colonisation since the advent of the white man in this country Gen Hertzog and the Union Parliament will be aware that the tide of native development that has been flowing to one direction for generations, if the Cape native vote is tampered with in the manner suggested in the Native Bills, will at once change its direction inversely. This revolution will not occur without its dangers and pitfalls. The recognition by the State of semi civilised talent among the Natives; the replacement of "intellectual" leadership by the inferior leadership of government servants has no parallel in the history of European nations; and a system like this cannot be commendable for Natives as an exception either, for in Bantu psychology and tradition it is the man who has the best brains who is elected chief counsellor to the ruler.

It has been our opinion that a good government aims at making just laws; laws that will be reasonable, and by virtue of their reasonableness such laws are accepted and carried out by the subject with submissiveness. Not all laws are loved by all people; but by reason of a given number being in favour of a law, it is practicable to carry it out. When however it comes to a law not being loved by all people, a new frame of mind is introduced in a formerly loyal subject race—a mind that will gradually be imbued with antagonism, distrust and a sense of feeling that the law-maker is out to obliterate his very existence. We still trust even unto this moment that parliament will take a more serious view of the Representation of Natives in Parliament bill, as affecting the Cape Natives, and not make use of the privilege they have of flouting the wishes of a subject race.

Correspondence.

HEALDTOWN AFFAIRS.

A Confusion worse Confounded.

Healdtown was occupied by the Fingoes in 1848 under tribal or communal tenure, the land being solely granted to the chiefs whose authority government of the affairs of the tribes well suited that primitive stage in which the people at that time lived A representative of Her Majesty's Government and tax collector by the name of Verity was stationed at Mpeke Ndlaza's, the Great Chief, to help guiding the affairs of the tribes for the peaceful settlement of disputes

After the death of the most revered Rev John Ayliff, the founder of the settlement with its educational institution, Mr. Verity became the channel between Government and the Chiefs The introduction of survey of the present allotments in 1859 by the command of Sir George Grey, as petitioned by the chiefs in 1857 on the advice, guidance and patronage of Mr. Ayliff, was therefore the introduction of individualism. Thus the powers of the chiefs had to a large extent suffered limitations, so much so, that in course of time the alienation of their right of authority over the land made it necessary and easy enough to lower their status to that of ordinary headmen.

In 1881 the Cape Parliament passed the Villages Management Act, in pursuance of, and consistently with, the conditions embodied in the Title Deeds of the lot owners; and in 1884 a proclamation legally establishing the Village Management Board at Heald Town was issued. This Board was vested with plenary powers to control, to manage and to administer all the affairs of the area under its jurisdiction, including the protection of the commonage and all vegetation. Further limitations were thus effected on the powers of the headmen, as they were only confined to their respective locations, merely as assistants of the location superintendent in the collection of quitrent.

The administration of all local affairs was entirely in the hands of the Board, which was almost on the same level with the Municipal Councils in the range and exercise of powers. It was an institution which introduced a new and a most salutary departure from the old vague, and it is proved to be a fact that should be borne out with candour that these people had become head and shoulders above the rest as a result of being habituated to principles of constitutional government most compatible with individualistic conditions. When the policy of breaking the power of chieftainship was applied it was obviously with an intent to pave the way for the more advanced principles of government; hence this enactment which is considered as a criterion of the spirit of goodwill which dominantly pervaded British liberalism of the Victorian era.

Its effect on the people was highly elevating, and a sense of responsibility was being fairly instrained in them. However, serious failures and shortcomings there were indeed, but such were occurrences natural to any growing people. Nevertheless they were unsurpassed by any single community, white or black, as far as the protection of trees was concerned.

They issued paid for licences for cutting wood for sale, and this was one of, if not easily, the richest sources from which they derived their revenue. The sale of wood was made principally with the Healdtown Institution, and it was a paying concern to such as had strength of cutting and the means of conveying the wood. Many worked as partners in the business To guard against possible infringements and excesses by the licencees and others commonage rangers were appointed, and their remuneration was only a small commission deducted from the fines imposed for any successful cases brought in.

In June 1921 a proclamation was issued by which the proclamation of 1884 was abolished, and thus the Board of Management at Healdtown was summarily declared abolished. It was definitely stated by the Government upon enquiry that the abolition of the Board was with the intention of introducing a system of local self-government conferring greater and wider powers on natives than did the Village Management Board, in the shape of the "Bunga" Act of 1920. In the meantime, while local autonomy at Healdtown had ceased to exist, the magistrate, as a matter of course, commanded the transference of the local administrative machinery to the Divisional Council, with the Superintendent of Native Locations, at the head of a host of headmen, to grasp the reins of the management of local affairs.

The people were prohibited from cutting wood for sale, without first obtaining licence at the Superintendent's Office. The Institution authorities, somehow or other, got permission to cut wood without anybody's knowledge, so far as the natives are concerned. Now licence seems to have been given to a European farmer, at least he says he possesses it, to cut wood for sale. All the people, except the headmen, perhaps, are in a state of absolute confusion and bewilderment. The trend of things, under the regime of the present masters, seems totally to take away every bit of right and liberty from the people, and it is extremely difficult to foretell what in future all this will bring us. It is worse than a relapse on the primitive tribal rule of autocratic chiefs. There is not as much as a smell of the principles of constitutionalism and democracy. It is a confusion worse confounded, and we fancy the Government looking on whilst we are stewing as we do on this grease into which they themselves led us.

C. A. W. SIGILA.

Fort Beaufort.

Race Problem – 1928.

Africa.

"Ukutwala" or "Twala"

The Joint European and Bantu Society is functioning in a way fraught with much good for both Europeans and Bantu, removing as it does much misunderstanding, and creating a helpful spirit of knowing each other better and elucidating many questions. The address delivered recently by Mr. Britten, Chief Magistrate of King Williamstown at a meeting of this society on the Native Custom of "ukutwala" was very interesting. He dealt with the question of Native Marriages of the various provinces within the Union very exhaustively, showing with reading of laws pertaining to Native Marriages, and that the "Twala" custom was only practised in the Cape Province. It was somewhat unfortunate that only what may be termed "abuses" (for want of a better name) of this old time Native custom were enlarged upon, as if in other ordinary marriages abuses did not exist. The fundamental principle underlying this custom was not touched, namely,—that Native parents rightly maintain that they are the best judges of the future homes of their daughters—caring little for their children's choice or dislikes. Native parents never believed in marrying their daughters to perfect strangers, or men of straw. We may safely say that 90 per cent of marriages so arranged have been happy. Many a girl who howled and screamed when being taken to her new home has had to admit that her parents were on the right. This "Twala" custom is now gradually dying out, young people marry "at sight," resulting in many unhappy marriages. Young wives are often left with little children without support. Is it too much to expect that the King Wm's Town Welfare Society may also probe the question of maintenance of wives and children of these unhappy marriages?

THE COURSE OF THE AGES.

'HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.'

(By "Noxoti")

[*Continued*]

But slavery is one of the dreadful records in the history of mankind, and a record which always ends in retribution. Slaves were an article of traffic throughout antiquity, up to the fall of the Roman Empire. The traffic in slaves ceased. However, in Christian Europe about the end of the 12th century; but Negro slaves from Africa became an article of trade from the 15th to the 19th century. It has been suggested that in modern times war is of no commercial value to the victorious nation. In days of slave—capture the victors must have profited greatly Since, there was no machinery and no steam to drive it, both the architecture and the agriculture of the Assyrian community depended upon the existence of slaves and foreign conquest to keep up the supply. As the Roman Empire grew, wealth and luxury increased, free labour declined, and nearly all handiwork was peformed by slaves. Slavery is of two kinds, predial and domestic Predial orplantation slavery is the name given to the system under which agricultural labour is done by gangs of slaves working nnd r foremen. This system prevailed in Sicily, and in Southern Italy, where the slaves were locked up at night in work houses or prisons, and and by day led or driven to work. This system is one that gives rise to abuses, and slave revolts and wars were not of infrequent occurrence during the latter days of the Roman Republic. The other system—domestic slavery—is one under which the slaves do domestic and other work, and form part of the house-hold. Slaves in this position in Rome were generally well treated, and became the friends and confidants of their masters. They were often employed to trade for their masters, and received a portion of their gains. They often were emancipated by their masters, or bought their own freedom, and on being free they became the dependents (freedmen of their former masters. During the Roman Empire time the practice of emancipating slaves became extremely common, and to check it a tax was imposed. Most of the nations of Europe except England have adopted the Roman law as the basis of their legal system notwithstanding the fact that "the Mosaic Law recognised the institution of slavery and made various humane provisions as to the status and treatment of slaves. The N.T. nowhere forbids slavery, but it inculcates principles which must prove fatal to an institution based on a supposed inferiority in individual and social rights. It is the glory of Christianity to deny such inferiority and to assert the equality of men in the sight of God and of Christian law, and the modern disappearance of slavery in Christianised societies testifies to the sure working of the N.T principles. See especially 1. Cor. 7: 21—24; Eph. 6: 5—9; Col. 3: 22—4: 1, and the Epistle to Philemon Now, when anyone speaks up like a man, and says, slavery is necessary to us, we can't get along without it, we should be beggared if we give it up, and of course we mean to hold on to it this is strong, clear, well defined language; it has the respectability of truth to it; and if we may judge by their practice, the majority of the world will be on us out in it. But when he begins to put on a long face and snuffle, and quote Scripture; I incline to think he isn't much better than he should be. For all the law is fulfilled in one word even in this Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them for this is the law and the prophets—Mat: 7: 12. The influence of the Christian Church was a humanising one, and tended to encourage by its teaching the emancipation of slaves, and it was in fact owing to its influence that slavery, as distinct from serfdom or villanage, died out in Europe; although, better still is a slave than a free man without the rights of a free man.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter

LOURENCO MARQUES, February 22.

Carnival.

This week has been marked by festivities, as a carnival began on the previous Saturday and continued until the Tuesday. Many appeared in carnival dress, with masks, and armed with the usual novelties. Some of the more enterprising hired motor-cars and drove through the principal parts of the town, causing some amusement as the masked revellers engaged in mimic battle.

Masked balls were given in the evenings, some being specially for children. The First of January School on two evenings gave children's balls and small dramatic plays. At the close the children received gifts for dancing and acting, these gifts being of a useful character, such as watches, clocks bangles, etc. This break in the usual routine life of the town was much appreciated.

Coal Export.

The week has been a poor one for the handling of Transvaal coal; in fact, no coal for export passed through the wharf. Of the steamers that arrived during the week eighteen took bunkers, and all of them cleared during that period.

The total handled was 3,827 tons, of which 2,051 tons passed by the MacMylor hoist and 1,776 tons were dealt with at the wharf by two-ton baskets and buckets.

On two days no coal was handled at all. Of course, it is not fair to take one week as an example, as it often happens that steamers chartered for cargo are delayed in off-loading at other ports, as was the case in this instance, as three steamers to take full load were delayed, which will naturally make next week a very good one.

There is always plenty of coal on hand to begin coaling vessels. Taking the week past, the average amount of coal on hand was over 4,000 tons per day, and so quickly can coal be obtained from the Witbank Collieries that coal can be despatched and received in time for continual loading from the stocks on hand.

The C.F.L.M. gives great attention to the transport of coal; in fact, except for the tri-weekly mail service to the Union, the transit of coal takes the premier position on the line, local passenger trains having to remain in sidings until coal trains pass. This delays passenger trains sometimes for twenty minutes, but the coal is hauled by powerful Mallett locomotives, and as the line is in good condition these trains travel at a rapid rate.

Movement of Trucks.

Much attention is given to the movement of trucks. Loaded trucks come down, are soon emptied, and when not required for cargo are returned empty. The number of loaded trucks that came down during the week was 368, of which thirty-six were C.F.L.M. loaded with coal; the number of empty trucks returned was sixty-three, of which forty-eight were C.F.L.M.

The number of loaded trucks that left Lourenco Marques during the week was 436, which represents the return of 113 trucks more than were received during the week.

As there is no coal deposit here the coal remains on the trucks, but great care is taken to off-load them as quickly as possible. The number of trucks off-loaded during the week was 103, and the coal on hand on Saturday (to be augmented on Sunday) was only 829 tons.

Goods Railed to the Union.

The loading and despatch of goods during the week was quite exceptional, reminding one of the early days, say 1914, of the Convention. From the wharf 6,723 tons were loaded in 269 trucks. This tonnage represents cargo handled direct from ships' slings to trucks and railed from the sheds. From importers' bonds 3,032 tons were loaded in 165 trucks, the total forwarded for the week being 9,819 tons, in 484 trucks.

X. X. X.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory

THE PORT CONTROVERSY.

Chimoio Farmer's Views.

The "Beira News" quotes an interview which recently appeared in the "Diario de Lisboa" with Senor Jose Oliveira da Silva on the subject of the port contracts. Senhor Oliveira da Silva's refreshingly sane and realistic outlook is in striking contrast with the fantasies of the opponents of the port development scheme. 5-31-28

Senhor Oliveira da Silva asserted that the population of the territory was not in accord with the campaign of the ex-Governor, Commander H. M. Correa da Silva, and was, in fact, astonished by his actions. The port contracts had been signed by persons of so honourable a position in the national and colonial life that it was impossible to doubt their good faith and patriotic intentions.

Asked as to whether there was not danger in having the port improvements carried out with foreign capital, Senhor Oliveira da Silva said that while he would prefer to see the work done with national capital, he did not regard foreign capital as the hobgoblin which it appeared to many persons. He always remembered the campaign many years ago against the construction of Lobito Bay by Mr. Robert Williams. Now that this had been finished everyone agreed with it. To that campaign Senhor Teixeira de Sousa, then Prime Minister, replied in Parliament saying that he considered the happiest day of his life was the one in which he signed that contract. And so said Angola now.

Senhor Oliveira da Silva is a well-known Chimoio farmer, who has resided in that district since 1915, and has filled many important positions on the commercial and agricultural associations, as well as on the administrative council.

Tractor Demonstration.

In the presence of seventy-five farmers from the Chimoio district a very successful demonstration of the "Bulldog" tractor was held at Cafumpe. The tractor pulled a four-disc plough on very hard, uncleaned land at high speed. It was found unnecessary to use the low gear. The tractor was started and driven without assistance by a native motor-car driver who had never previously driven a tractor. The economical running and simplicity of the machine produced a very favourable impression.

Deep Water Wharf.

The last pile of the approach viaduct to the deep water wharf was driven on March 1 in the presence of the Acting Governor and Senhor Pery de Lind.

The first Rolls-Royce car to be seen in Beira was landed from the s.s. "Adolph Woermann." It belonged to a passenger, Mr. John Taylor, who was en route to Tete.

Dr. Luis Gonçalves Forte, formerly Public Prosecutor, who was in partnership with Dr. Manoel Lacerda, died suddenly after a short illness just before he was due to sail for Portugal, where he was intending to live in retirement after twenty-seven years of exacting and responsible work in the Portuguese colonies. The news came as a severe shock to Beira, where Dr. Forte enjoyed great popularity. Dr. Forte was Consul for China, and a number of the local Chinese community were present at the funeral, which was very largely attended.

NATIVE LABOUR REGULATIONS.

LISBON, March 24

The Government has decided to institute by decree a new code regulating native labour in the African Colonies.—Reuter.

THE COURSE OF THE AGES.

'HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.'

(By "Noxota")

[*Continued*]

As we consider the present stage of our civilisation, we must be struck by the fact that the energies of the whole world are spent in the creation of wealth Life in the Roman world, as in modern Europe, presented the strangest contrasts wealth and poverty, of brutality and refinement, of luxurious idleness and hard work, and yet what is the real use of this outlay of human exertion and ingenuity? What is its real purpose? The mere speeding up of the machine cannot be an end in itself; the mechanism is nothing, the intelligent purpose everything. The immense improvements in the means of travel are of little value if our reasons for travelling are less worthy than those of our grandfathers; rapidity and ease of communication are a positive harm if they are chiefly used to spread trivial and undesirable information; the increase of leisure is beneficial only, if it is intelligently enjoyed. And, indeed, it seems that the mechanism of social life has developed more rapidly than the insight which controls aud directs it; for those who do least are often the most richly rewarded. while those who work hardest win the least profit and the least leisure, nor are they taught to use either wisely when they have it.

Amusement becomes a matter of very earnest concern, while interest in more serious things, such as law and business and the social and moral condition of the world, seem on the wane. People seem to shrink more from what is irksome and disagreeable; they react strongly against the appeal for self discipline and self denial for their own and the general good.

The moralists of course, have said things like these in all the ages, and they have always had some material on which to base their strictures. Plenty of it is available to day, since we are living in disturbed and distracting times, following on an upheaval such as the world has never known Modern Education, new inventions, rapid means of communication between widely-separated countries, the drawing together of the ends of the earth have immensely widened man's capacity for interest. Even the quiet dweller on the backveld is interested today in a dozen things that had no existence whatever for his grandfathers. Fifty years or so ago the ordinary employer or workman had very little outside the sphere of work to make a special appeal But it is vastly different today Games make a strong appeal. The cinemas attract crowds. Newspapers and magazines of all sorts circulate in hundreds of thousands. Novels dealing with modern life, and especially with the froth of modern society, are read by eager eyes. Conventions are falling to pieces. Old restraints are collapsing in the face of vigorous onslaughts of the many persons who have drunk not wisely but too well of the heady wine of liberty. There is a restlessness abroad. Concentration on the serious purposes of life is not easy to secure

This blind rush must be stopped, and the course must be reversed, for, better is little with the fear of the Lord than great treasure and trouble therewith Prov. 15:16; Ps. 37:16. A sane view of the situation of the whole must be the first duty. Clear thinking is necessary to clear vision. Rallying accusations will not carry us far back. But when these and allied facts have been taken into account there is certainly need of such warning notes as the moralists are sounding today.

If ever Africa shall show an elevated and cultivated race,—and come it must some time, her turn to figure in the great drama of human improvements,—life will awake there with a gorgeousness and splendour of which our cold western tribes faintly have conceived. In that far-off mystic land of gold, and gems, and spices, and waving palms, and wondrous flowers, and miraculous fertility, will awake new forms of art, new styles of splendour; and the negro race, no longer despised and trodden down, will, perhaps, show forth some of the latest and most magnificent revelations of human life.

(To be continued)

Compromise on Native Bills

According to the political correspondent of the "Friend" at Cape Town, the Prime Minister and General Smuts have found common ground on the solution of the Native question, to be the basis of a national agreement on the Native Bills, and he claims to be in a position to give the main points on which he believes an understanding has been reached The correspondent states that, in the first place, a compromise has been effected in regard to the Cape Native franchise Instead of seven members being allotted to the whole of the Native population of the Union five members will be allotted to the Natives of the Cape Province in the House of Assembly and five members to the Natives of the Transvaal, Free State and Natal in the Senate. The four Senators at present nominated by the Government to represent Native interests will be abolished. "The existing franchise qualifications in the Cape will remain (says the correspondent) but a different franchise qualification for the election of the Natives' representatives to the Senate in the other Provinces will be fixed. The Cape Native voters at present on the roll will have the choice either of remaining on the register and voting with the European electors for the ordinary members in their divisions, or of enrolling on the new register for the special Native constituencies For these a quota of 4,000 based roughly on the present total Native electorate in the Cape has been proposed and will, of course, be subject to amendment from time to time as more Natives become qualified to vote in the five new Native constituencies This proposal meets one of the main objections of General Smuts to the original Bill."

In a later message the "Friend" correspondent says he learns that it is proposed to fix the franchise qualification of the Natives outside the Cape, and of those in the Cape who will transfer to the new register, on an educational test and property qualification which will be fairly high, and probably not lower than the minimum suggested recently by Sir Abe Bailey, namely, an annual income of £100, or the possession of immovable property valued at £250. A further statement from the same source that the Native Councils Bill and the Land Act Amendment Bill will be dropped, and only the two Bills dealing with Native and Coloured rights will be proceeded with if the proposed compromise is accepted. "The Select Committee on the Native Bills has not yet completed its labours, and it is within the bounds of possibility—if the understanding between the leaders receives the sanction of their respective parliamentary caucuses—that its terms will be brought before it and embodied in the Bills, resulting in the report being submitted to Parliament with an agreed Bill, thus considerably shortening the discussion of the whole problem."

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Basutoland National Council.

SUMMARY REPORT

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Basutoland Sta

We are just fulfilling our promise to our readers of publishing a summary report of the proceedings of the last Basutoland National Council from the pen of His Honour, Mr J. C. R. Sturrock, President of the Basutoland National Council. This report should have been published early in December 1927, but owing to pressure of work and the smallness of space at our disposal then we thus decid d to postpone the matter until now.

Mareteng Basutoland

1-13-28

This last session has been the shortest of all and second to none in the importance of the subjects dealt with, and this summary report will supply our readers with the pith of the subjects discussed and passed by the Council.

The opening meeting of the twenty-second session of the Basutoland Council was held in the Council Chamber on Saturday, the 8th October, 1927. After prayer the Resident Commissioner read the Council message from His Excellency the High Commissioner and his own address opening the Council. Council adjourned.

The second meeting of the Council was held on Monday, 10th October, 1927 when after the prayer and roll call, the minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted. The Resident Commissioner then read his opening address paragraph by paragraph for discussion by members. The first four paragraphs called for no discussion beyond that with reference to paragraph four regarding the general prosperity of the country in the past year, one Councillor suggested that the Council should meet before the ploughing season. Paragraph five, dealing with the administration of justice in Native Courts, came next for discussion. A number of Councillors agreed that the position with regard to this matter was still as bad as before; they would consider the concrete suggestions which would be distributed to the nation six months before the next session of Council. Some maintained that as people were granted leave to appeal it could not be said that there was on justice in Native Courts. Paragraph six on Equine Mange was the next subject, and after a few questions, discussion of this and paragraph seven dealing with scab was left open until the Principal Veterinary Officer came in the afternoon.

Mr Verny, the Principal Veterinary Officer, addressed the Council on Scab and gave figures of amounts received from the wool export duty, £1,7150, and expended on the scab campaign, £18,236. It had been found that expenditure exceeded revenue, and it was suggested to increase the wool export duty from one farthing to one half-penny per pound in order to carry on the work of the present dipping tanks and to build other tanks where they did not exist. Mr Verney also answered questions on both scab and mange. The Council readily accepted the suggestion to increase the wool tax, some members asked that their cattle and horses should also be treated at the tanks. The Resident Commissioner in thanking the Council for accepting the increase wool tax stated that he would write to His Excellency the High Commissioner asking for authority to borrow money so that the work of building tanks in the mountain areas might proceed at once. Council adjourned.

The third meeting of the Council was held on Tuesday, 11th October. After prayer the President read to the Council a telegram from the Assistant Commissioner, at Leribe, reporting the death of Cr Mojela Seshopo. The Resident Commissioner read out paragraphs eight and nine of the opening address, dealing with bastards and Persian sheep, snd noxious weeds respectively. Speakers were all agreed as to clearing their flocks of non-wool-bearing sheep. With reference to noxious weeds one Councillor pointed out that the Paramount Chief did all he could but that some of his Chiefs failed to help him. The Council passed on to paragraph ten regarding agriculture

Council continued the discussion on agriculture at the afternoon sitting. While all realised the benefit of improved methods of agriculture, a complaint was raised by some that Agricultural Officer did not visit certain of the dry parts of the country, namely the southern districts. Mr Wacher, addressed the Council on agriculture generally. Paragraph eleven on agriculture in the mountain areas, was read out, but as there was not sufficient time for its discussion, the Council adjourned until the next morning.

The fourth meeting of the Council continued on Wednesday, the 12th October. Mr Wacher, the Agricultural Officer, addressed the Council on the ploughing of hillsides in the Maluti, which was a danger both to pasturage and to agriculture. A number of Councillors spoke agreeing with the Agricultural Officer as to the danger. The Principal Veterinary Officer also addressed the Council on the same subject, from the point of view of flock rearing. Speakers all realised the danger, but some thought the matter was one to be raised to the Paramount Chief and not to the Council.

In the afternoon the Paramount Chief's representative suggested that Council should send some Councillors to inform the Paramount Chief about the discussion on the ploughing of mountain slopes in the Maluti. A letter from Chief Jonathan Molapo on administration of justice in Native Courts was read out to the Council. Cr. Joseph Molapo made proposals for reform of Native courts, suggesting inter alia that there should be three classes of salaried Native courts on the lines of European courts. The paragraph on Native Education was then read out, but as it could not be discussed in the absence of the Director of Education, the Council adjourned until the following morning.

The fifth meeting of the Council was held on Thursday, the 13th October, when the Director of Education addressed the Council on the new classification of schools, and gave detailed figures showing the receipts and expenditure of the schools for the year ended 31st March, 1927. Members of the Council thanked the Director at the same time requesting that the new School Regulations should be supplied to Councillors in Sesuto and not in English as has been done.

Resuming in the afternoon on paragraph thirteen of the Resident's Commissioner's opening address, on the Basutoland Industrial School was discussed, the Director of the School addressed the Council. Speakers expressed regret that the numbers of apprentices were not

being kept up The discussion was proceeding when the Council rose at 4 p m.

On the sixth day Friday, 14th October, the discussion followed on the Industrial School, and speakers urged the Council to encourage the people to send their sons to the school. The Resident Commissioner in closing the discussion expressed the hope that the Council would practise what they said, and that next year it would not be necessary to refer to the matter again. Arising out of motions by members the Resident Commissioner informed the Conucil that the Council constitution laid down that members of Council for any one year should be nominate and appointed in January and remain such until December of the same year and that this should therefore be done in future. The motions of Cr Joseph Molapo came next for discussion: (1) That the name "Basutoland Industrial School" should be changed to "Lerotholi Industrial School." On the advice of the Resident Commissioner, the word 'Industrial' was also to be replaced by "Technical," and the Council was unanimous in renaming the School "Lerotholi Technical School." (2) That Council members travelling by train to meetings of Council should have the privilege of concession tickets, and those coming on horsesback have forage allowance. After discussion the Resident Commissioner stated that he would represent the matter to His Excellency the High Commissioner, but that it should be borne in mind that the Railway Administration and not the Basutoland Government laid down the regulations that only certain classes of people should have the privilege of reduced fare. (3) That certain Councillors be supplied with newspapers between them to keep them abreast of times, which was discussed, and the Resident Commissioner regretted that this cannot be granted, but he would see that the Paramount Chief gets a copy of the High Commissioner's Gazette if he did not already do so. (4) That special passes be issued to various people according to their rank. The matter of passes the Resident Commissioner thought was for the Union Government, and all this Government did was to meet the requirements of that Government. The Resident Commissioner would study the position and see if alterations could be made. (5) That tax be gleaned (payment forced) in winter when people have means to pay it. Speakers pointed out that the suggested procedure already obtains.

Continued Cr Joseph Molapo in the afternoon, raised another motion: (6) That Basuto be allowed to deal in any produce of Basutoland without licence. This was discussed and replied to by the reading out of Proclamation No. 25 of 1927. The Resident Commissioner expressed sympathy with the motion. (7) The motion by Cr Rapase Sefali was taken up next, which read: "Thieving is getting worse in Maluti and throughout the nation. Would it not be good if the Government would send police patrols into Maluti and make stations for the police who should have a sergeant? Discussion was proceeding when the Council adjourned at 4 p.m.

The seventh meeting of the Council was held on Saturday, the 15th October. Discussion was continued on the motion of Cr Rapase Sefali on stock theft, and the Resident Commissioner stated that he was prepared to continue police patrols in the Maluti (8) Cr Philip Molise's motion came next proposing that Native Evangelists and others with some knowledge of European drugs should be allowed to practise medicine. Dr Macfarlane addressed the Council and disagreed with the proposal, stating that among other things that a Government wagon to be used as a travelling dispensary was coming from England with a qualified medical man. Some Conucillors asked for Native dispensers to be stationed in the interior of the conutry. The Resident Commissioner closed the discussion by stating that unqualified practitioners could not be allowed to play with other people's lives. (9) The next subject was a motion by Cr Bennett Leshuta proprosing the prohibition of new polygamous marriages, which was unanimously rejected as being a subject for a sermon and not for Council discussion. (10) Cr Bennett Leshuta then proposed that at the opening day of the Council, the Paramount Chief should also have his own opening address, to which Council replied that this was one to be raised by the Paramount Chief any time he wished it. In reply to Cr Josias Mopeli, the Resident Commissioner informed the Council that the Proclamations mentioned in his opening address would be translated into Sesuto and sent to each Councillor. All business being over, the twenty second session terminated at about 1.30 in the afternoon.

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian

MAR 2 2 1928

African Students' Union in Session

The annual convention of the African Students' Union of America opens tonight at the Gammon Seminary in connection with the annual convention of the Student Missionary Foundation of the institution. A reception, honoring Bishop Clair and a delegation of students from South, East and West Africa, opens the meetings. The convention ends Sunday.

A number of addresses on mission work in Africa will feature tomorrow's program. The annual missionary sermon is to be preached Sunday morning at 11 o'clock by the Rev. C. D. Gerard.

Correspondence.

THEFT FROM HOSPITAL

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir,—In your issue of the appear two letters indignantly testing against my contention the Natives about Alice (not the who'e Bantu race as one correspondent seems to think) might well make some public act of reparation for the disgraceful thefts from the Lovedale Missionary Hospital by five Native women. I still adhere to this though it may smooth matters a little in the eyes of your correspondent "Sympathiser," if I state that I would have said exactly the same to a European community, if certain members of it had been guilty of robbing an institution which was rendering the surrounding population similar beneficent services. For many years this hospital, as the result of great self sacrifice and service on the part of the Europeans, (who not only brought it into being, but continue to run it) has alleviated Native suffering in these parts, and to steal from such an institution is like a child stealing from a most devoted parent I know the Natives of Africa often suffer great injustice from harsh European made laws, and Art 3 of the Native Administration Act may be one, but I do not see much connection between it and the question under discussion. Still it may interest your correspondent to know that I have several times made efforts to expose these injustices, and on one occasion, after considerable difficulty, I was instrumental in getting a case reviewed, with the result that a Coloured man (whom I had never even seen) served only 9 months imprisonment instead of the 10 years to which he was sentenced.

The second letter, by H D Tyamzashe of Johannesburg, which refers to my "*vicious letter*," and later on "the spirit in which the Rev. Henchman's letter is written has not even a slight trace of Christianity in it," is scarcely worth noticing, though it is possible that he may have a together failed to grasp my conception of a voluntary act of reparation. If some wicked act were done against Natives by Europeans in these parts, I for one would not hesitate to go to the Natives and say I am ashamed of what my European countrymen have done, and if by gifts of money or otherwise, the evil could in part be rectified, I would not be slow to seize the opportunity. To show that I have the Native cause at heart, I may state that for over seven years I have served on this Hospital Board without receiving a penny in remuneration; and this is as nothing in comparison with the magnificent services rendered by the other Europeans connected with the Hospital. My father died as a Missionary in Central Africa, and my maternal grandfather (in whose home I was brought up) established several small Missions in South Africa, and spent much of his own money on them.

H. L. HENCHMAN.

Alice.

Race Problem - 1928
Africa.

GREATER RHODESIA.

MOVE TOWARDS A CENTRAL AFRICAN DOMINION.

(Specially written for the "African World" by G. H. LEPPER.)

African World

It is less than five years since Southern Rhodesia, at the termination of a generation of Chartered Company rule, courageously elected to paddle her own canoe as a self-governing colony rather than enter the South African Union as a fifth province. Yet so successful has been the experiment under the wise guidance of the late Sir Charles Coghlan and his successor, Mr. H. U. Moffat, that Southern Rhodesia, with a white population of less than 50,000, is already thinking seriously of expansion.

Her eyes are turning to the west, to the north, and to the north-east. With an area of 150,000 square miles and a total population of rather less than a million, of whom more than nine-tenths are natives, Southern Rhodesia is looking forward to closer union with neighbouring territories having an aggregate area and population more than double her own. Yet it is not megalomania or overweening conceit which has induced this expansionist sentiment. The underlying motives are much more creditable and, be it added, more complex. As a background there is the deep-rooted feeling that a reunion of the two Rhodesias has historical sanction, and that it would correctly interpret the wishes and intentions of their great founder.

But the more immediate cause that has brought the matter into the sphere of active political issues was the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission to investigate, *inter alia*, the possibilities of closer union between the British East and Central African territories. In the event of a recommendation by that Commission favouring the early federation of all the British territories between the Zambesi and the Nile, Southern Rhodesia would be left in an isolated position as a small buffer State between the Union of South Africa and the new East African federation.

For many reasons it is unlikely that any such recommendation will be made, but the contingency was so distasteful to the Southern Rhodesian Government that it requested an extension of the terms of reference of the Hilton Young Commission to enable it to consider the future relations between Southern Rhodesia and the territories to the north of the Zambesi. It was accordingly arranged that the Commission should visit Salisbury to consult with the Colonial Government at the conclusion of its tour.

Economic Factors.

In between the historical background and the immediate stimulus of the Greater Rhodesia conception are several factors of the economic order which link the two Rhodesias, even in their present state of administrative detachment, and suggest a common destiny. The railway system of both Colony and Protectorate is owned by the British South Africa Company through a number of subsidiaries. These railways are now subject to the control of a Railway Commission on which the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate are represented. And as the greater part of the earnings of this railway system is derived from traffic originating in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia, or carried to those destinations, there is an obvious advantage in retaining the system under unified management and control. Were Northern Rhodesia to enter an East African federation, in which the principle of State ownership of railways is elsewhere firmly entrenched, difficulties would be almost inevitable, particularly in the event of an extension of the Tanganyika railways into Northern Rhodesia.

There is also the important question of mineral rights. These are still owned by the British South Africa Company in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia, as well as in the northern part of Nyasaland. This state of affairs obviously cannot persist indefinitely, for public opinion will almost certainly demand, sooner or later, that the State should purchase the mineral rights either at an agreed figure or at a price to be fixed by arbitration. The time has not arrived for a settlement of this matter, but when the opportunity comes it would plainly be easier to come to terms if one Government could speak for all the area concerned. Mr. Moffat, the Premier of Southern Rhodesia, himself mentioned this point as one of the advantages that would result from an amalgamation of the two Rhodesias in a speech delivered by him a few months ago.

Northern Opinion.

At the moment opinion in Northern Rhodesia is much less convinced of the desirability of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia than is the case in the Colony. A public meeting held recently at Livingstone, the capital, rejected the idea of any change in the present status of Northern Rhodesia. This is hardly to be wondered at because Livingstone, which could hardly be worse sited as the capital of the protectorate, placed as it is at one edge of a territory a thousand miles long, would risk the loss of its status and much of its trade in the event of any alteration. At Lusaka, approximately halfway between the Zambesi and the Congo border, a similar meeting favoured a conference with Southern Rhodesian representatives to ascertain the terms on which amalgamation could be effected. This more open-minded attitude is probably shared by most of the unofficial white population strung out along the railway between Livingstone and the Congo frontier. At Fort Jameson, in the extreme east of the Protectorate, where the only other concentration of white residents is to be found, the close economic and transport affiliations with Nyasaland complicate the outlook. For although a motor road, now nearly complete, links Fort Jameson with the Rhodesian railway system at Lusaka, the only practical outlet for the Fort Jameson district is by road to Blantyre, in Nyasaland, and thence by the Shiré Highlands, Central Africa, and Trans-Zambesia Railways to the port of Beira.

Consequently, the amalgamation of this part of Northern Rhodesia with Nyasaland is a third possibility which finds some support at Fort Jameson as well as in Nyasaland. Yet there is a good deal of opposition, both official and unofficial, to the idea of partitioning Northern Rhodesia, and it is not very probable that any such solution, which, in the nature of things, could only be temporary, will be adopted.

The connection between the Fort Jameson district and Nyasaland, coupled with the common interest of these territories and Southern Rhodesia in the port of Beira, has added Nyasaland to the list of countries which are being viewed in Southern Rhodesia as possible components of the Greater Rhodesia of the future. There are other links, such as the existence of continuous railway connection via Beira with a common gauge (3 ft. 6 in.) and company ownership of the railways between Beira and Nyasaland and the use of a pounds, shillings, and pence currency in Nyasaland, as in the two Rhodesias. In the East African territories —Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika—the railways are of metre gauge and are State-owned; the currency, too, is different, being on a shilling and cent basis under the control of the East African Currency Board.

These similarities, added to the southward direction of Nyasaland's trade, outweigh the differences between Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. The latter consist mainly of a different native policy and attachment to distinct Customs régimes. Nyasaland, like the northern portion of Northern Rhodesia, is subject to the tariff restrictions imposed by the so-called Congo Basin Treaties, as amended by the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1919. Southern Rhodesia and the remainder of Northern Rhodesia form part of the South African Customs Union. It is, however, not unlikely that an effort will be made shortly to regain fiscal freedom for the territories now subject to the Congo Basin régime. The Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye is due for revision next year, and Kenya in particular is anxious to be released from restrictions which prevent the grant of a preference to British goods.

Native policy is a more serious gulf to be bridged. In Nyasaland there are no white artisans, a class which is becoming numerous in Southern Rhodesia. The Nyasaland natives are intelligent and easily trained as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and mechanics. The density of the population—thirty-four to the square mile—is also much greater than in any other part of East or Central Africa except Uganda, where it is virtually the same. (In Southern Rhodesia it is little more than six to the square mile and in Northern Rhodesia less than four.) As the highland area fit for European colonisation is limited Nyasaland can never accommodate a very large white population, and must remain like Uganda, mainly a native area. An adjustment between Rhodesian and Nyasaland views in regard to the relations of Europeans and natives, although not impossible, can only be reached by the exercise of statesmanship of a high order.

Mr. Moffat's Influence.

The personality of Mr. Moffat, a grandson of Dr. Livingstone, should go a long way towards smoothing the path towards a workable agreement, but it would be foolish to pretend that there are no formidable obstacles to be overcome. Another aspect of the native question which offers difficulties to the closer union of the Central African territories is the fear entertained by Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that any such political development would result in a serious drain of native labour towards the mines and farms of Southern Rhodesia. In fact the suspicion is widespread that some such consideration is at the back of much of Southern Rhodesia's enthusiasm for closer union. Yet it would seem that this apprehension is more a bogey than a real danger.

As matters stand, Southern Rhodesia, with its higher scale of wages, attracts many thousands of natives from the north, and it is impossible to stop this movement. Indeed, it would be easier to do so if only one Government were concerned, and by exacting suitable guarantees from Southern Rhodesia as part of the price of their consent to enter into closer relations with the Colony the two northern protectorates should be able to safeguard their labour supplies.

The Tati District.

The remaining area towards which Southern Rhodesian eyes are turned is the Tati district of Bechuanaland. The white residents of this small enclave of about 2,000 square miles are in favour of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia, but as they provide a considerable portion of the revenue of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the remainder of which is almost entirely a native territory, the Dominions Office is averse to the transfer. It would lead to deficits in the Protectorate Budget which would have to be made good by grants-in-aid, and this is not a contingency which is likely to appeal to the British Government.

It is true that some of the more enthusiastic advocates of expansion in Southern Rhodesia would cheerfully contemplate taking over the whole of the Bechuanaland Protectorate as a step towards their cherished but visionary project of direct railway communication with Walvis Bay in South-West Africa, but it will be many years before such an immense addition to Southern Rhodesian responsibilities can be seriously considered. Even if an amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia comes about in the near future it is not likely that it will be found desirable to detach the native

GREATER RHODESIA—*Continued.*

kingdom of Barotseland, on the extreme west of Northern Rhodesia, and constitute it a separate native protectorate like Bechuanaland or Basutoland. As an alternative it might be joined to Bechuanaland, with which it could be given a short common frontier on the Zambesi.

In spite of the financial difficulty, the desire for the inclusion of the Tati district in Southern Rhodesia can hardly be thwarted indefinitely, but its realisation will probably have to await an improvement in the revenue of the remainder of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Tati's fate is relatively a minor point. The really important issue is the destiny of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. And it must depend ultimately on the degree of statesmanship displayed by the Government and people of Southern Rhodesia whether the splendid conception of a Greater Rhodesia whose northern limit would be the line joining lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika materialises or is brought to naught. If Southern Rhodesia can allay Northern fears as to the swamping of their interests by the much larger white population of the Colony and satisfy her neighbours in such matters as native policy, labour regulations, development and the improvement of communications, she should be able gradually to overcome their present hesitation and convince them of the mutual advantages to be derived from closer union. In the matter of communications the new motor road from Salisbury to Blantyre via Tete, which will permit the journey to be made by car in two days, will greatly increase the intercourse between Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and put an end to the isolation which is the cause of so much misunderstanding. A motor road from Salisbury to Kafue would similarly improve travel facilities between the Southern Rhodesian capital and the principal centres of white population in Northern Rhodesia.

Question of Guarantees.

Definite guarantees to Northern Rhodesia regarding early construction of the Sinoia-Kafue railway cut-off and to Nyasaland in the matter of the Zambesi bridge, if the British Government continues to delay its decision regarding this urgently needed undertaking, would help to convince the northerners that closer union with their southern neighbour would bring them substantial benefits. Telegraphing on March 22, the Bulawayo correspondent of the "Times" gave some extracts from a speech by Mr. Murray, one of the unofficial members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, at Mazabuka, in which Mr. Murray disclosed the nature of an unofficial conference between himself and another member of the Northern Rhodesian Council and the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet.

At this conference the Southern Rhodesian Ministers agreed that, in the event of amalgamation, Northern Rhodesia should have Parliamentary representation in excess of the proportion to which its white population would entitle it, in addition to representation in the Cabinet. The Northerners asked for an assurance that the Sinoia-Kafue cut-off should be built, but the Southerners suggested the development of road transport in the first place, the railway to follow when traffic had sufficiently expanded. The Southern Rhodesian Cabinet gave assurances that the present limitation on the recruitment of native labour in the north should be continued for some years, that existing regulations concerning cattle transport would be continued, and that the present rights and privileges of Northern Rhodesia civil servants would be guaranteed. The Hilton Young Commission is at Salisbury this week-end, and further discussions will take place in a somewhat less hypothetical atmosphere.

The result of these discussions should go far towards determining whether Southern Rhodesia is to remain a small and isolated colony, which could hardly escape eventual absorption in the South African Union, or whether she is to move forward, in conjunction with the other Central African territories, to a prouder destiny as the Mother State of a new British Dominion which would have an area of nearly half a million square miles and a population of more than

(*Continued at foot of next column.*)

3,000,000. In the latter event we may look forward to the development of three British Dominions on the south and east of the African continent—South Africa, Greater Rhodesia, and East Africa—and, gazing further into the future, it is within the bounds of possibility that the three groups will coalesce to form a single federal State.

IMMIGRATION SWELLING THE POPULATION.

555 Newcomers in One Month.

In January 555 immigrants entered Rhodesia, an increase of 200 compared with the figures of January, 1927. This is a record for one month's immigration.

Although the numbers of both male and female immigrants are increasing, it is noticed (according to figures published by the Government Statistical Department) that the number of unmarried males entering the country is twice as great as the number of unmarried females; the census returns have shown that during recent years there has been a tendency for the number of males and females in the total population to approximate. The present current of immigration seems to point to a reversal, temporary perhaps, of this tendency.

The number of British-born immigrants has remained fairly steady at round about 180 per month. On the other hand the number of immigrants of British South African birth has increased from 111 in January, 1927, to 181 in December, and to 230 in January, 1928. In twelve months, therefore, the number has doubled. The number of immigrants of South African Dutch origin (fifty-five) is twice as great as in January, 1927. There has been a notable increase in the number of European aliens admitted during the month, the number being forty-five against the monthly average of twenty-seven during 1927.

A noticeable feature brought out by this table is the small number of children included among British home-born, compared with the relatively large number of children included among immigrants of British South African-born.

In January, 1927, the number of children of British home-born parents was eight, and of South African-born twenty-one. In January this year the number of children of British home-born parents was twelve, as compared with forty-two of South African-born parents.

British Immigrants.

The total number of British immigrants, wherever born, admitted during the month was 489, an increase of 164 over January, 1927, and fifty-three over the previous month, December, 1927.

One of the conditions of entry into the colony for permanent settlement is the possession of £50 or equivalent assets. The number of persons during January who declared themselves to be in possession of capital, etc., amounting to £100 or more was forty-one, and their aggregate capital amounted to over £20,000. It is interesting to note, however, that of 112 persons entering the colony without assured employment only forty were in possession of over £100. Of these fifteen had under £250, nine over £250 and under £500, nine over £500 and under £1,000, and seven £1,000 and over.

Of 541 immigrants admitted during the month eighty-four gave the United Kingdom and 430 the Union or other African States as their country of last permanent residence. The small balance of twenty-seven came from various British Dominions and European countries.

Of the 182 British home-born immigrants seventy-two came out directly from the United Kingdom, while 108 had spent at least one year in the Union or other African State before coming to Rhodesia. Nearly all British South African-born immigrants and all South African Dutch came to Rhodesia direct from the Union or other African State.

Of forty-five aliens admitted during the month twenty-five, or more than half, had lived for at least a year in the Union, etc., before coming to Southern Rhodesia. Of the remainder, 18 came from European States.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SINOIA LINE.

Northern Rhodesia's Requirements.

Referring to a recent statement of Col. Birney's that the question of a railway being built between Sinoia and a point in Northern Rhodesia would probably depend on Sebungwe mining development, otherwise it might cost Southern Rhodesia a good deal more than the value of the incentive it would give to the junction of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, a correspondent writes in "The Bulawayo Chronicle":—

To the majority of people in Northern Rhodesia that line is of the utmost importance and would be the real incentive to further the feeling of amalgamation, and deliver this country from its present stagnation. We are told we must look to the west for a port and outlet, that the Lobito line is already built to the Congo border. It is, but there is still approximately 400 miles of railway to be completed to the junction at Kambove, and from Kasessi the nearest point the Benguella Railway touches is the Kasai River. Between the months of December and April, I and others have plodded through 200 miles of mud and water, and that is on the watershed. In a distance of approximately 400 miles you pass the headwaters of about 200 big vleis and rivers, and only in two places did I see any stone suitable for ballast.

"Then, again, the distance is all against us. Taking Kafue as a centre, from Kafue to Kambove is approximately 500 miles (railway completed); from Kambove to Kangormbe approximately 400 miles to be completed; from Kangormbe to Lobito Bay approximately 700 miles railway completed. Total distance 1,600 miles, of which only 254 miles is in British territory. From Kafue to Sinoia is approximately 200 miles of railway to be built (a rough survey has been done); from Sinoia to Beira 400 miles; total distance, 600 miles, of which 430 miles is in British territory. From Kafue to Beira via Livingstone, Bulawayo, and Salisbury, is approximately 1,150 miles, a distance we shall never be able to send our produce and make a living. But no doubt with the competition from the west the important mines now being developed in the north will necessitate the shortest route to the coast.

"One has only to look at the colossal revenue earned by the railways this last two years to realise the cost of construction and maintenance of another 200 miles of railway is infinitesimal compared to the enormous benefit to Northern Rhodesia and its development."

NESTLE ANGLO-SWISS MILK COMPANY'S PROJECT.

It is understood, states a Reuter message from Kimberley, that the Rhodesian Railways are at the moment negotiating for the sale of a large block of land on the Molopo River, Bechuanaland, the purchasers, it is stated, being the Nestlé Anglo-Swiss Milk Co. of South Africa, Ltd. The extent of the land is said to be 400,000 morgen, or roughly 1,335 square miles, and presumably it is to be for cattle ranching on a large scale by this well-known condensed milk and chocolate company.

The Molopo River lies about 100 miles west of the main line of railway to Rhodesia, taking a line from Vryburg. It is in the Baralong country to the north of Kuruman, and borders on the Kalahari.

The "Advertiser's" Bulawayo correspondent telegraphed that Colonel Birney, the General Manager of Railways, interviewed regarding the purchase by the Nestlé Company of land from the Rhodesian Railways, said that he had heard there had been a sale of land, although he had no details.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

New Revelation.

THE visit of Professor Jabavu to Basutoland has provided a new revelation to us people of Basutoland. The things that we have always imagined to be difficulties next to impossibility have been rendered easily soluble by him. He has shown, most ably, that things possible in other territories among natives were possible in Basutoland among the Basuto, without in any way impairing the general customs of the people. In his speech he touched on many points which we have always become despondent when we came to think about. After all we have been made to realise that our difficulties were on the whole imaginary; and that only our inactivity made them appear to us as real difficulties. We are sure, we have struck the nail on the head when we say all our intellectuals and the rest of our people who were keen about employing these new improved methods of agriculture had come to look upon chiefs as their stumbling blocks, because our chiefs held themselves aloaf from this departmental teaching; and because they figured mostly among the opposition classes of our people.

After the address of the native Professor we entertain no doubt about the success of the Agricultural Associations and the new methods preached to the meeting which was advisedly representative of chief and the people of all classes, nationality and creeds. The most blessed of our lot are those who had the luck of attending with their own chiefs, and those chiefs too are the luckiest in the whole of Basutoland In their case and that of their followers the Professor has achieved the proverbial expression of "killing two birds with one stone" The secret of the stability of our customs depends largely on the prevailing goodwill obtaining between the chief and his followers; and where such harmony exists there is never a question of custom creating a difficulty. All such would-be difficulties of customs melt away before the will of the chief and his followers. Goodwill is a host of mighty power against our customs and against customs of any people, because in the eyes of that poweful unity right alone counts. We have designated those people who attended with their chiefs as the luckiest of all, because, if those chiefs and their people are determined to put to action what they heard from the meeting nothing would come in their way, they would respond to the ringing of the bell for ploughing at every season of the year (the bell figuratively used for rain). If there are plenty of rains they would plough the year in and year out. They will sow their lands twice in a year. What is done in Transkei they will do in their wards. In the Transkeian territories Natives cut their mealies and stack it in straight rows in their fields and plow and sow wheat between the rows, there is no reason why a chief interested in the welfare of his people cannot provide for that in his ward. Pastural question would create no difficulty. Intelligent chiefs like Lerotholi and Lagden Mahao would, in their respective wards make provision for the grazing of their people's stock. Such chiefs as these two, if they left this meeting fired with zeal, like Professor Jabavu after his gained experience at Tuskegee Institute, to be up and doing they will certainly be the eye-openers in the territory.

We know that the progressive element of our people held a different view from that of our visitor and his host, Mr Watcher, on the use of our latest method agricultural implements They did not think it was right for them to go and use their valuable and expensive ploughs, cultivators and planters at chiefs matsema. But we all must admit that the Professor and Mr Wacher came out all right over the difficulty, because they suggested that the chief of a ward should lead the way by buying these implements himself. Therefore if the chief is inclined to be progressive in the cultivation of his lands, there is no reason why his progressive followers should not go and employ themselves likewise in his own lands There could be no more material waste to these implements than it incurred in the ordinary ones in use now at matsema. In order to achieve material success in the adopting of improved agricultural methods, and turn our lands as our real gold mines, chiefs and the people must reciprocally, learn "to do unto others as they would other do unto them." The people must acquire the habit of doing the best they can on their chiefs lands, as best they could do on their lands, and the chiefs will feel the need of doing their duty to them as best.

For Mr Jabavu's visit we thank the Basutoland Government most heartily, However, best thanks of the people are due to the Agricultural Officer, from whom the suggestion came, Only few officials could do as Mr Wacher did, condescend to give a Native such prominence over him in his own field of work, and before an audience of the Basuto who through ignorance may be wrongfully impressed. It is an ample proof that the foremost aim of his department is to place the interests of the people in front of everything else This last but not least effort of his has won him our full confidence in his department.

THE COURSE OF THE AGES.

'HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.'

(By "Noxota")

We observe much error in all the first guesses of the mind at the mystery of nature, but there is always a grain of truth. Bad shots, perhaps, but shots in the right direction So it was in religion. Most real religions are good, for even the non christian doctrines teach us some wonderful truths. People, however, will quarrel over trifles and ignore the things that really matter. What we call heathenism contains at least an element of truth. Superstition is a bad shot but it is a shot, in the direction traveled by the noblest of religions and the very greatest of the sons of men. Like the child learning to walk, the mind staggers in its first steps towards truth. It, too, must learn to walk before it can run.

Thus did the mind in man very early connect itself with the Mind which is behind the universe Very

energy too, it began to feel itself responsible to this great Mind. That great Mind wished it to act in a particular way, not in another way; moreover, after death the human mind would live again, and and the great Mind would call it to account for all the deeds done in the body. For if man felt himself to be an animal, and was certain that he would not live again after death, he would submit to no laws which stood in the way of his own animal pleasures. But religion gave him an inward law, a law of right and wrong, and set that law in his conscience, and left him alone with the tremendous thought of God. It helped to subdue the animal side of man's nature. But, unfortunately, religion became to the ancient Egyptian another word for fear, the terrible thought of evil spirits haunting him. In spite of this sad fear of Egyptian civilisation, we look to it as the first creative movement of the human mind in those fields of energy and achievement which have given us such extraordinary power over nature.

Thus far had the human mind travelled from barbarism when Egypt fell into alien hands, never again to be independent. Man had learned something about Nature, had risen to great heights in architecture, had learned to sail ships across the sea, had become a craftsman, an artist, an astronomer, a writer, a physician, and a priest; but he was still cruel with the cruelty of an animal; he had learned to extend his natural fear of wild beasts to his fellow-men, and he lived with very little joy, thinking only of self preservation. God could not be pleased with such people. How could He hope for good things from a people who trembled at a shadow. He wished them to understand that everything they saw with their eyes—the sun, fire, animals, and the whole world—was the work of His hands. More than anything else, He wanted man not to be a coward, but a strong, intelligent creature, trusting in the power of the great Creator who made him have dominion over the earth.

Egypt was destined to fall because she depended on slavery. One fact that it is necessary to bear in mind in reading of nations of iniquity is that their social system was based on slavery. Their civilisation was built upon the labour of slaves. From war man had learned this bad idea. It was to him perfectly natural, for what could be wiser than to enslave and keep in terror those who might try one day to take his land from him? War will justify every wickedness. It is the great denial of man's spiritual nature. If there had never been war in the world we should now be thousands of years in advance of our present ideas; and yet, as we have seen, war did teach man certain virtues and hasten them towards the first foot-hill of civilisation.

THE LAST OF HIS TYPE.

The death of the Hon. Shaikh Sulieman bin Mubarak Bawdi et Mauli, ex-Wali of Chake Chake, which occurred at Mkanjuni, removes a figure from Pemba which, states the District Commissioner, is the last of a type. He had a most imposing presence, and his courtesy ranked with the highest. His ideas belonged to a past generation, but he acknowledged the great progress made in Pemba and threw his weight and influence into supporting the Government to this end. His sphere of influence was strongest in Chake Chake and Mkoani, and great weight was given to his advice, which was frequently sought and invariably followed. His loss to the Island will be very great.

He succeeded his father as Wali of Chake Chake on the latter's death early in the nineties, and was the third Wali in the direct line, his grandfather having also held that proud position. Grandfather, father, and son ruled, over all, for well over a hundred years, and the family has always been held in the highest veneration by those who were virtually their subjects, at any rate in the early days.

Prize Essay Scheme

The Board of Missions of the Church of the Province has devised the following plan for encouraging Natives to think out and to write essays upon various subjects, a list of which is below. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has kindly offered money prizes for the best essays on each subject in the four principal languages used in the Union, namely, isi Xosa, isi Zulu, se Suto and se Chuana. A prize of £3 will be given to the writer of the best essay upon each of the subjects given in each language. As there are eight suggested subjects to be written in four languages it will be seen that 32 prizes of £3 each are offered for competition.

The rules of the competition are :—

1. The work submitted shall be entirely that of Natives.

2. No essay shall exceed in length 15 typed or 20 written sheets of foolscap.

3. All essays gaining prizes shall become the property of the S.P.C.K. who shall make what use of them it thinks fit.

4. The judging of the essays shall be done by four committees, one for each of the languages used, whose decision in each case shall be final.

5. Any Native may contribute essays on all or any of the subjects given, and in all, or any of the four languages; provided that all contributors accept the foregoing rules of the competition.

The committees appointed to adjudicate are :—

Xosa : Archdeacon Mather, Canon Malgas, Fr. Callaway.

Zulu : Archdeacon Lee, Canon Troughton, Rev. W. Mzamo.

Sesuto : Archdeacon Sharpe, Canon Mochochoko, Fr. Woodward.

Sechuana : Fr. Firkins, Fr Silk, Rev. Shai, Rev. H Maimane.

Essays should be sent to the first named on each committee. No essay will be accepted after March 31st, 1928.

The subjects are ;—

1. The best translation of the word "God" having regard to Bantu usage, tradition and custom.

2. The relation of Bantu belief to the Christian doctrine of the Father of God.

3. The manifestation and work of the Holy Spirit in preparation for the Gospel.

4. The continued existence of the soul after death in Bantu thought.

5. The relation of Christianity to Bantu circumcision rites.

6. The relation of Christianity to Bantu marriage customs.

7. Witchcraft as a Hindrance to the Christian life.

8. A short story on Bantu life.

The co operation of all interested in Native life and thought is asked in this effort to produce a Bantu contribution to Christian thought.

Any further information that may be required about this matter can be had from Archdeacon Lee, Eshowe, Zululand.

NATIVE OPINION

OF SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLISHED :: :: WEEKLY.

ESTABLISHED IN 1884

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, MAY 27, '28

Vacancies but no Aspirants.

For some years back the Principal of the South African Native College has been calling attention, in his annual reports, to the lack of a sufficient number of qualified candidates for the situations which are opening up for the Native people of South Africa. We learn that at the present moment the demand for matriculated students is much greater than the supply.

Within the last two years a new grade of clerkship has been instituted by the Native Affairs Department, requiring Matriculation as a qualification, and offering quite substantial salary scales for work of this kind. Such posts at present can only be filled by withdrawing matriculated students from the teaching profession, or by withdrawing them from the degree classes of the College. Secondly, there are positions in training schools which are now open to graduates with teaching qualifications, and it is unlikely that all the demands will be met for a number of years. It takes at least five years after the Junior Certificate stage to produce a Native graduate, so that the necessity of looking far ahead is apparent. Thirdly there are positions opening up for men holding the College Diploma in Agriculture, that is, men with a three years' agricultural training based upon a good general education.

Within the last month we learn that calls have been made for teachers, agriculturists, and clerks, and in the teaching profession for women as well as men. We give publicity to these facts to prove that those parents who are far-sighted enough to make great sacrifices for their children are doing so with the certainty that such sacrifice will not be wasted.

We hope that this intimation which we now make, and which we hope other Native papers will copy, will be sufficient to fire the ambition of our youth. The demand we speak of is not only in the Cape, but comes from the three Northern provinces as well.

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa

SAMORY—THE CONQUEROR

By J. A. ROGERS

Samory, West African conqueror, was born at Bissandougou in the basin of the Niger, about 1830. The sobriquet: "The Black Napoleon of the Sudan," was given him in recognition of his great military skill by the French commanders who fought him for eighteen years.

The son of a poor merchant and a female slave, he was captured when about eighteen in one of the numerous wars then raging among the little chiefs but, escaping, he took refuge with the king of Torondo, who, struck by his splendid physique and military bearing made him one of his body-guard. The ambitious Samory learned to read and write Arabic, rose long after to be one of the counsellors of the king, and continued his upward career until he stood next only to the king. Quarreling with this benefactor, however, he decided to return to his home in Bissandougou, where, because of his wealth, he at once became an important figure, being soon after named chief.

Finding himself at last with supreme power in his hands he decided to gratify his lust for conquest and, making war on the neighboring chiefs, killed them and annexed their land. Continuing his march northeastwardly along the banks of the Niger he succeeded in conquering all that region east of Sierra Leone to the buckle of the Niger and well up into the watershed of the Upper Niger. Among those that fell under his invincible march was his benefactor, the king of Torondo, who was beheaded by his orders. Like Napoleon, like most other conquerors, Samory was ruthless and devoid of gratitude to any former friend standing in his path.

Early in life Samory had been won over to the Mohammedan religion and as he swept onwards he gave the conquered the alternative of accepting the Koran and joining with him, or be butchered. Ignoring the title of king or emperor, he took the religious one of "Commander of the Faithful."

But Samory was to meet an impediment greater than the sum total of those he had already encountered. His empire of Ouassoulou, unknown to him, had changed hands—at least it had been given to another power in a conference of which he had perhaps, not heard—a conference at which he at least had not been present. England Germany, Belgium, and Portugal had awarded his land to France.

In 1881, while besieging the town of Keniera, in the Upper Niger, a native sergeant in a French uniform came to him with a request from the French commander, asking him to discontinue the siege. Samory, it is said, ill-treated the envoy, and ordered him held for torture, but, escaping, the man reported to his commander. The prestige of France had to be upheld and so began a war that was to last until 1898.

With three hundred soldiers and the latest machine guns and small cannon the French commander marched toward Keniera, but when he arrived there the town had already fallen, and Samory in retreat. This retreat turned out, however to be only strategy on Samory's part, for marching to meet the French with several thousands of his warriors he gave them battle, which, after three days, turned slightly in favor of the French by reason of their artillery. The latter, however, were finally forced to retreat for lack of ammunition. The warriors of Samory were many of them armed with the latest style of rifle from German, English and Belgian factories. It was said that he got these weapons in Liberia and Sierra Leone largely through the connivance of the powers named.

With success now on the side of the French, now on that of Samory, the war went on for the next five years. France's ambition was to keep a straight overland route from the French Congo to her possessions on the shores of the Mediterranean, but Samory, sweeping down on the caravans from time to time, made it so dangerous that France signed a treaty with him (1886), Samory giving up one of his sons, Karamoko, as proof of faith. Karamoko was then taken to Paris, shown the review of the French army on July 14, and returned to his father to tell what he had seen. Years later when Karamoko pleaded with his father to yield, declaring that the French were too strong for him, he caused the former to be chained in a tent, and fed just enough to keep him alive.

In December of the following year another treaty was made in which Samory agreed to abandon all the territory on the left bank of the Niger. In return he would be free to continue his activities on the right one. As soon as the agreement was concluded the French under Col. Gallieni, later of Paris war defense fame, began to build a number of forts along the river lest Samory should change his mind. Two years later France called for another treaty.

Continuing his conquests on the right bank, the wily Samory was hardly less active on the left where he was inciting the chiefs in that region to rebel. In 1891 war broke out once more. Col. Archinbaud having, as he said, proof of Samory's duplicity, decided to attack him and began by defeating his ally and former enemy, Tieba, the only Negro chief who had been successful in withstanding Samory's attack.

Meeting him at Kokouna, Col. Archinbaud repulsed him and captured his capital, Bissandougou. Samory's army numbered 30,000, a third of which was armed with modern rifles, and 2,000 cavalry. The French force was much smaller but had the advantage of artillery. Samory had only two small cannon and a bomb-thrower taken from the British. These were served by captured British natives.

Samory, however, was far from being beaten and gave battle for the next fifteen days. Finally the French, under Col. Bonnier, a colored officer, decided to make another treaty with him. In this agreement the French retained the captured territory, and marching southward to Kong, Samory continued the extending of his empire, recruiting his army among the Mandingoes, and buying guns with the gold he had hidden. Some time later a French expedition led by Capt. Marchand of Fashoda fame, narrowly escaped capture at his hands.

In June, 1897, due, as was said, to the fact that Samory was barring the route from the Ivory Coast to the Niger, the French once more declared war on him. After a short struggle Samory decided to retreat into the forest with his army of 28,000, a third of which was armed with modern rifles; and 2,000 cavalry. Accompanying were 120,000 women, children and captives, with from 15,000 to 20,000 cattle.

The French had decided to wipe out his power this time and for the next year the struggle lasted, with Samory retreating the greater part of the time. But here also he showed his military skill. Commandant de Lartigue, one of his opponents at this time says of him: "One cannot help admiring from a military point of view, his precision, the minute care with which Samory conducted this retreat and with what zeal his orders were executed by his generals." Among the latter were two of his sons, one of which was Saranke Mory, his heir.

But pressed by a superior force one must sooner or later yield, and in 1898 the end came, brought about as much by a domestic quarrel as by age. The favorite of his 300 wives was accused of infidelity with Saranke Mory, and the latter, threatened with torture, fled, throwing disorder into the ranks. A few days later while reading the Koran alone and unarmed Samory was surprised and captured by a native corporal and a white sergeant. Soon the alarm was given and a battle was about to begin but worn with more than fifty years of almost ceaseless fighting, he gave a sign to his men not to fight. Led away, he was imprisoned in the village of Njole in the Congo, where he died the following year of consumption.

La Grande Encyclopedie (French) says in part of him:

"Samory, great Negro potentate, who disputed deliberately a long time with France for possession of the Soudan . . . Handsome, of splendid height, very intelligent, very cunning, and extremely courageous . . . Unhappily for him he crossed the path of France from the Senegal to the Niger when France wished to ascend the great river towards its source and to descend toward Timbuctoo. The war between us and him commenced in 1881-2 and lasted until 1898.

"Having thus struggled very cleverly against Borgnis-Desbordes, Combes, Humbert, Archinbaud, Bonnier, and after having lost his capital, Bissandougou in 1891, he abandoned the Niger, that he had depopulated and went towards the east in the country of Kong in the region of the rivers. Here he built a new empire from which he was driven by France in 1898."

Like most great generals he relied on strategy almost as much as force. One method of his for frightening the enemy was an orchestra of about a hundred pieces composed of cornets, flutes, fifes, drums, whistles, tom-toms and other contrivances, which made a din that sounded like the shouting of victorious warriors mingled with the cries and groans of the dead, dying and defeated.

Samory has been likened to Napoleon, and who knows, had he been born in Europe, that his name might not have been handed down as one of the greatest military leaders of all time?

In weighing the attainment of an individual against that of another in any field prime consideration must be given to the environment in which each wrought. In this respect the parable of sower in St. Matthew is peculiarly appropriate. Some of the seeds brought forth an hundred fold, while others bore nothing either because they had fallen among weeds, or had been dropped on stony ground, or had been eaten by birds. All the seeds, however, came out of the same bag, and it was a matter of destiny, rather than of inherent ability why some won such brilliant success and others did not.

Two bits of iron alike in quality may find themselves, one, in a revolver and the other in a naval gun. The former will be thrown a few hundred yards, while the latter because of its superior environment will be thrown several miles. So it is with human genius which is alike in all races, but has not the same opportunity. Destiny places one in this environment and another in that.

Pittsburgh Courier 1928

New York, N. Y.

THE RELATIONS OF WHITE AND BLACK.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer has contributed to *The Contemporary Review* a most important article on "The Relations of the White and Coloured Races," a paper which can be recommended for study by all closely concerned with Tropical African development.

East Africa

"The greatest bar set up between the races on the spot," writes this acute observer, "comes less from the big, spectacular injustices that appear in the Press than from the little repeated cases of violence on the part of immature, untested and inexperienced white men, exasperated beyond expression by the ways of primitive man. Before condemning even these acts of violence, we should ask whether we ought not in fact really to condemn the Government and commercial enterprises that send young, untested, inexperienced men of inadequate moral calibre into the interior to difficult posts. The interior should also be subject to regular visitation by inspectors to investigate cases. This system must be accompanied by very careful protection for the witnesses. The inspectors must in all cases be experienced men who know the land and the folk, and the chief's authority must be strengthened. To do away with that authority is to destroy your own intermediary between the administration and the multitude. In Europe the intermediary between Government and the people is the office. That process is impossible with primitive peoples. It is always the man that matters. We have not to do with peoples but with tribes; not with organised Governments but with chiefs.

2-9-28

"The work of education among a primitive people must be a blend of the intellectual and the manual adapted to the needs of citizenship in a primitive society. We must send out to such areas not only ordinary teachers, but artizan educators; in fact, a central problem of education there is how to make a craft loved and practised among primitive peoples. The Native is in danger of cutting out the stage between primitive life and professional. That is, he tends to eliminate the stages of agriculture and handicraft. He has a certain antagonism to the use of tools, and a desire to sit in an office with a cigarette in his mouth and a pen in his hand. I am constantly hearing the phrase, 'I want to be a writer.' At my hospital recently I was helping to carry things to the garden, partly in order to create this impression of the dignity of labour. I saw a Native in white clothes standing by the fence, and asked him to join in and help. His reply was, 'No, I am an intellectual—a brain worker.' . . .

"Man has the right to live where his life has been developed, and not to be displaced. This is a burning point in primitive and semi-primitive society. Yet in colonisation the right is constantly menaced, often not by ill-will in any degree, but by the sheer force of facts. For instance, a large, modern white city grows up round a small primitive village, or the creation and development of an arterial road on which the very lives of the inhabitants depends, involves living by that road. The future development of the good of the people may necessitate the movement of villages, yet if it is done without long foresight, careful planning and adequate warning, with provision for the creation of new plantations, and if any violence enters into it, a fatal impression will be created in the mind of the Native that he is delivered up to the working of an arbitrary will. Any movement that is ordered must always be on a rational basis and for the future good."

"Africa is a very testing continent."—*Sir Edward Grigg, Governor of Kenya.*

POLITICAL PREJUDICE AND EAST AFRICA.

Mr. G. H. Lepper says in the course of an article contributed to the current *English Review*:—

"One of the greatest evils with which East Africa is menaced is the tendency for this region to become a happy hunting-ground not only for British politicians, but also for commissions and experts. This tendency, however, has done something to stimulate the movement towards closer union as a means of achieving greater freedom, and at an earlier date from the control of Downing Street and the attentions of Westminster than would otherwise be realised. The ridiculous and vindictive attacks on the white residents of Kenya made by peers and members of the House of Commons, whose amiable humanitarianism or political prejudices are fired by distorted accounts of isolated incidents and who have no first-hand African experience, have roused in East Africa just such feelings as were widespread in South Africa during the nineteenth century. This attitude has been strengthened by the impression that the British Government is itself not entirely free from a pro-African sentimentality somewhat out of touch with realities, and that some of the administrators and civil servants sent out are heavily tarred with the same brush. The history of our oversea Empire records a constant succession of conflicts of this nature between British Governments and colonists, and in the end the colonists have always had their way, at any rate since the American War of Independence."

East Africa

2-9-28

INDIAN INV[illegible] EAST AFRICA.

An Indian vi[illegible]ca who is contributing his impr[illegible]mbay Daily Mail makes the following comment on a subject often raised when European and Indian modes of life are discussed.

East Africa

"There is in an Englishman an instinct to make in his new surroundings a home as comfortable and happy as his former home, and for this purpose devotes himself heart and soul to the transformation of his new environment into as attractive and enjoyable a place as he possibly can. He spares no pains to use his resourcefulness and withholds no capital for the attainment of this purpose. In short, wherever he treads he aims to render his life as worth living and comfort-giving as he possibly can, by the application of all the capital, industry, and knowledge that he has at his command.

2-9-28

"Now while the quality of applying his industry and knowledge is equally evident in an Indian, the quality of freely devoting his capital also is less evident in him, and it is this shortcoming which is made a good tool by the European settler in East Africa to argue out his case for a preference of rights and privileges over the Indian settlers in the Colonies. Unfortunately, therefore, while the past and present services of the Indians are kept in the background, their shortcoming as investors of capital is given an undue prominence by those settlers there. To remove this blot the only remedy appears to be an endeavour on the part of Indians themselves to act on the same ideals and principles of foreign settlement as the Europeans, and to earnestly and honestly have the intention of improving their country of adoption by spending a good amount of capital in that very country. Exceptions could be found, and justice done to those who have realised this shortcoming and have been well ahead in this respect. However, it remains a fact that the Indians on the whole have been poorer investors of capital than the Europeans."

THE MYSTERY OF ZIMBABWE.

It is pleasing to learn that during the visit of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to South Africa next year some serious endeavours are to be made to elucidate, and possibly solve, the great problem as to the original builders of the vast and wonderful ruins of Central Southern Rhodesia. In 1905 members of the Association during the last visit investigated the ruins with a similar object, but beyond the rather negative reports made by Dr. Randall McIvor nothing has transpired since to throw a light on the identity of those responsible for those wonderful ancient edifices. It is satisfactory to learn that the Rhodes Trustees have offered the Association a sum of money to provide for further research into the origin of the ruins by some really authoritative archæologist. The greatest puzzle connected with the Zimbabwe ruins is the conspicuous absence of any lettering which might throw a light on the nationality or language of the ancient builders. We believe Capt. Wallace, the indefatigable curator in charge of the ruins for many years, has, perhaps, studied the problem of Great Zimbabwe more persistently than anyone else. The volumes produced by the late Mr. R. T. Hall, who truly gave his life work to the scientific exploration of the great ruins, have never been appreciated at their really true value, and it may yet be found that the exclusive information contained in those books will be of invaluable assistance to any competent archæologist who undertakes the task of solving the greatest African problem south of the Equator.

African Wonder

3-9-28

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Despatches Relating to the Native Administration Ordinance.

(Concluded from our last issue.)

Enclosure 7 in Gold Coast No. 389 of 19th May, 1927.

ADJAI CHAMBERS, P.O. BOX 54,
SEKONDI, GOLD COAST COLONY,
April 11th, 1927.

Gold Coast Leader

We the undersigned, representing Crown Colony born British subjects from other parts of Africa, West Indies and American subjects residing and domiciled within the Gold Coast Colony for and on behalf of ourselves, our wives and children, do hereby desire to enter a SOLEMN PROTEST against the definition of the word "NATIVE" in the NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL of 1927 as unconstitutional, objectionable and offensive, and support the Protest from other Provinces of the Gold Coast Colony.

"*Definition of "Native."*—'Native' means a person of African descent who is a native of West Africa or a person of African descent ordinarily residing within the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast or the British Sphere of Togoland and includes Mulattoes, but it does not include persons ordinarily passing as Europeans."

(*a*) The word "Native" as defined is so loose and vague that it includes all persons indigenous to Africa who happen to step on Gold Coast soil irrespective of colour, or nationality by adoption or birth, except those who can "pass as Europeans." What these words mean is enigmatical. A European is a European or not; who can pass as a European is not defined.

Declaration of Native Customary Law.

By section 122, sub-section 1 reads as follows:—

"If at any time a State Council shall make a written statement recording what in its opinion is a Native Customary Law relating to any subject either as applying throughout the State or in any specified part or parts of the State or as affecting certain specified persons or classes of persons in the State or in any part or parts thereof."

"Sub-section 2. The Court...shall thereupon "accept as a true and accurate statement of such native customary law with respect to the subject of which such statement relates etc."

The definition "Native" aims at temporarily divesting, every African British born subject, from any Crown Colony in the word, who happens to reside within the Gold Coast Colony, of his direct allegiance to His Majesty the KING OF ENGLAND; and also of his respective national or individual tribal instincts; and attempts to sandwich between a mongrel allegiance a chimerical sovereignty; a shifting Constitution; and a Customary and Tribal Law (unknown to him) emerging from barbarity and struggling to shape by Legislation.

We are not aware of the fact that the British Government has (as in India) yet recognized the Sovereignty of the Gold Coast Chiefs (though this country is only a Protectorate), nor are we yet aware that the British Government functions only as a Suzerainty over the Chiefs of this Colony.

We do know that the Gold Coast Chiefs are as much fellow British subjects as we all are, under one KING, GEORGE V. of ENGLAND; and yet, this Bill aims at placing, without our consent, one set of British Subjects, born in a Crown Colony, under allegiance to another set of British Subjects protected by Treaty rights only. We respectfully submit that this is unconstitutional. The definition in short, implies that because a man lives in a stable he should be turned into a horse.

How can a West Indian, Sierra Leonean or any coloured American be assigned to a tribal Chief and made amenable to his Tribal and Customary Laws, and thus be divested of his own individual, tribal or national instincts? Such an admixture would be chaotic and not for the benefit of a State or Colony.

From time immemorial nothing has been done by any British born subject from other parts of the world who have resided in the Gold Coast inimical to the influence or respect of the Chiefs or their Tribal Customs, to warrant the introduction of such a prostitution of the definition of the word "Native."

In Nigeria, where there are a number of Gold Coast, Sierra Leone people and West Indians, they are all exempted from the application of the local Tribal Laws and Customs, and are not subject to the Native Jurisdiction of the Native or Provincial Courts.

Objectionable.

The Gold Coast language, Customary and Tribal Laws are quite foreign to other British born subjects of African descent or any other African settling in the Gold Coast, and to many of our wives and children utterly unknown. This definition exposes them to a Tribal and Customary Law often manufacture (even now, in the British Court of Justice and before a competent Judge) to suit individual actions, causes or suits.

By Section 122, sub-section 1 and 2 ample opportunity and licence are given for such manufacturing "to affect certain specified persons or classes of persons in the State or in any part or parts thereof."

This is extremely *objectionable.*

The Bill does not take into consideration the human element of the question nor does it make any allowance for or safeguard against the machinations of interested and ill-disposed persons; and as it is recorded by His Excellency that the African has not at present that high character that is desirable, such a weapon as this Bill, if it be passed, entrusted to such people, is like giving a keen razor to an infant.

The whole business seems so paradoxical.

The Gold Coast people are very conservative and have never regarded Africans, hailing from other parts of Africa, even of long residence, as their countrymen; he is always to them a stranger; and have never desired them to participate in the deliberations of their country's inner politics *e.g.*, the Gold Coast Congress, Accra Section in 1922, in framing a scheme for the consideration of His Excellency, when granting the Constitution for the enlarged Legislative Council and the franchise. It was actually urged by responsible Gold Coast leaders that all other natives of Africa, living within the Gold Coast, except those born of Gold Coast women, should be "*Naturalized*" (whatever they may mean) before they be allowed to vote!

The Gold Coast Aborigines Society does not look with favour on admitting other Africans into active participation of the proceedings of that Society, even if resident permanently within the Gold Coast, *e.g.*, E. J. P. Brown, statement in Re-Congress of British West Africa.

These facts show conclusively that Africans of other countries are regarded as strangers and interlopers and are here on sufferance. Does this Bill intend to make every Sierra Leonean, West Indian, Lagosian, Hausa, *defacto* a Gold Coast man against the will and sentiments of its people or is it intended to cause the exodus of every stranger of African descent from the Gold Coast?

Offensive. This Bill is offensive, because our wives, children and ourselves may be called upon to pay penalty for acts which according to English Law and Custom, are absolutely innocent, and also to perform acts, which according to our training, are repugnant, though lawful, *e.g.*, killing sheep, carrying fire and appeasing the fetish of the Stool, etc., answering the oath sworn on strangers. This Bill touches the private hemes of every stranger of African descent living within the Gold Coast and the honour, respect and liberty of our wives and children and the security of our properties are placed in keeping of untutored and irresponsible people, who may be guided more by their individual clerk and inexperienced District Commissioners who to vent their spleen may use this machinery as a conduit pipe of oppression on respectable families from abroad. To this we cannot submit, being loyal subjects of His Majesty the KING of ENGLAND.

The framers of this Bill, we opine, have an ulterior motive and of a far deeper design than only for the goodwill and peace of the Colony,

The Bill savours more of setting a match to a packet of dynamite and expects to survive the explosion in that it calls into being another elemental force hitherto dormant in the Gold Coast Colony, and that is, the intellectual combination of all persons of African descent from abroad domiciled in the Gold Coast and casting them into a solid wedge in self-defence.

R. Crowther-Nicol, Adjai Chambers, Sekondi, Alice Crowther-Nicol, Annie Nicol, C. E. M. Abbensetts, A Bju, S Laud Moladet, Gadamosi Aymei his x mark, Musta- Davies, Louise S E Yorke, Kumasi, Sierra Leone—E J Williams, Lagos his x mark, J Williams, Lagos his x Matthews, T A I Reader, V A I Fitzjohn, J J B Dauphin fa Alhaji Kudom his x mark, J A Glou- S A Cole Sierolina, Laura Fitzjohn, J D Pratt, Eleanor mark. From Nigeria—John Lewis (Kroo), H A Glou- Pratt, Christiana Matthews, Millicent Clarke, Vidal Clay- ster, W Gilton Smith, Y S Davies, W E Coomber, D E P Conford Hall, Moses Cowan his x mark, Rebecca John, Green, D E Shooter, S F Owens, F R W Taylor, J A H Jenkins, H S Williams, Sabina Williams, John Connell Bucknor, J A John, John Coleman his x mark Victor James E Hanciles, S B Davies, Mary Davies. Gambia— Peters his x mark, J A Turner, T J Le Qeore, M J Sta- F A Dares, F Farrah, Sambina Njie, Amadu Njie, Paul phens, T Leslie Cole, S J McFoy, J E Fyne, A F Davies, Sow, Joseph Gomesse, Mrs. Solmese, Dembah Sow, O Mellan, Armette E Archer, Marie Le Fevre, Barrat Smith, F R Marke, Sierra Leone, Atiafa Sani his x mark Sierra Leonean—J W Harding, S F Roberts, Mrs J T Alafu Bussuoh his x mark, A M Bagi, Brimah Giwa Roberts, Geo. Horton, Mabel Campbell, S. Randolph Parunpamu his x mark, Saka Olami his x mark, Sulea- Davies, Lagosians—Igboro, David, Oladosu. Liberia— rontale his x mark, Alufa Busari Amiyu his x mark, Sa- Bell, B V Bell. Sierra Leone—J B Gandewuyon, R Ben ka Lemonu, Isaac E Cole, Sierra Leone, J O Roberts, Carew, T W Newman J W Melawo, L D Carlton Carew, Bathurst, Gambia, St. Apiwon, Lagos, Nigeria, O. Fraser John T Cole, Moore, H T J Arnett, J F McFoy, C O Sierra Leone, E M Howard, C B Hamilton, Daken Davies, O E Marke. Nigeria—J A Williams. ton, Axim, Heucietta Williams, Hannah Harding, J A D From Liberia—J N Hodge. Nigeria—Chief Sani Abdu. Gunes, Nigeria, W T Leppy, K Williams, J B Williams,

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Despatches Relating to the Native Administration Ordinance.

(Concluded from our last issue.)

Enclosure 7 in Gold Coast No. 339 of 19th May, 1927.

ADJAI CHAMBERS, P.O. BOX 54,
SEKONDI, GOLD COAST COLONY,
April 11th, 1927.

Gold Coast Leader

We the undersigned, representing Crown Colony born British subjects from other parts of Africa, West Indies and American subjects residing and domiciled within the Gold Coast Colony for and on behalf of ourselves, our wives and children, do hereby desire to enter a SOLEMN PROTEST against the definition of the word "NATIVE" in the NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL of 1927 as unconstitutional, objectionable and offensive, and support the Protest from other Provinces of the Gold Coast Colony.

"*Definition of "Native."*— 'Native' means a person of African descent who is a native of West Africa or a person of African descent ordinarily residing within the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast or the British Sphere of Togoland and includes Mulattoes, but it does not include persons ordinarily passing as Europeans."

(*a*) The word "Native" as defined is so loose and vague that it includes all persons indigenous to Africa who happen to step on Gold Coast soil irrespective of colour, or nationality by adoption or birth, except those who can "pass as Europeans." What these words mean is enigmatical. A European is a European or not; who can pass as a European is not defined.

Declaration of Native Customary Law.

By section 122, sub-section 1 reads as follows:—

"If at any time a State Council shall make a written statement recording what in its opinion is a Native Customary Law relating to any subject either as applying throughout the State or in any specified part or parts of the State or as affecting certain specified persons or classes of persons in the State or in any part or parts thereof."

"Sub-section 2. The Court...shall thereupon "accept as a true and accurate statement of such native customary law with respect to the subject of which such statement relates etc."

The definition "Native" aims at temporarily divesting, every African British born subject, from any Crown Colony in the word, who happens to reside within the Gold Coast Colony, of his direct allegiance to His Majesty the KING OF ENGLAND; and also of his respective national or individual tribal instincts; and attempts to sandwich between a mongrel allegiance a chimerical sovereignty; a shifting Constitution; and a Customary and Tribal Law (unknown to him) emerging from barbarity and struggling to shape by Legislation.

We are not aware of the fact that the British Government has (as in India) yet recognized the Sovereignty of the Gold Coast Chiefs (though this country is only a Protectorate), nor are we yet aware that the British Government functions only as a Suzerainty over the Chiefs of this Colony.

We do know that the Gold Coast Chiefs are as much fellow British subjects as we all are, under one KING, GEORGE V. of ENGLAND; and yet, this Bill aims at placing, without our consent, one set of British Subjects, born in a Crown Colony, under allegiance to another set of British Subjects protected by Treaty rights only. We respectfully submit that this is unconstitutional. The definition in short, implies that because a man lives in a stable he should be turned into a horse.

How can a West Indian, Sierra Leonean or any coloured American be assigned to a tribal Chief and made amenable to his Tribal and Customary Laws, and thus be divested of his own individual, tribal or national instincts? Such an admixture would be chaotic and not for the benefit of a State or Colony.

From time immemorial nothing has been done by any British born subject from other parts of the world who have resided in the Gold Coast inimical to the influence or respect of the Chiefs or their Tribal Customs, to warrant the introduction of such a prostitution of the definition of the word "Native."

In Nigeria, where there are a number of Gold Coast, Sierra Leone people and West Indians, they are all exempted from the application of the local Tribal Laws and Customs, and are not subject to the Native Jurisdiction of the Native or Provincial Courts.

Objectionable.

The Gold Coast language, Customary and Tribal Laws are quite foreign to other British born subjects of African descent or any other African settling in the Gold Coast, and to many of our wives and children utterly unknown. This definition exposes them to a Tribal and Customary Law often manufacture (even now, in the British Court of Justice and before a competent Judge) to suit individual actions, causes or suits.

By Section 122, sub-section 1 and 2 ample opportunity and licence are given for such manufacturing "to affect certain specified persons or classes of persons in the State or in any part or parts thereof."

This is extremely *objectionable.*

The Bill does not take into consideration the human element of the question nor does it make any allowance for or safeguard against the machinations of interested and ill-disposed persons; and as it is recorded by His Excellency that the African has not at present that high character that is desirable, such a weapon as this Bill, if it be passed, entrusted to such people, is like giving a keen razor to an infant.

The whole business seems so paradoxical.

The Gold Coast people are very conservative and have never regarded Africans, hailing from other parts of Africa, even of long residence, as their countrymen; he is always to them a stranger; and have never desired them to participate in the deliberations of their country's inner politics *e.g.*, the Gold Coast Congress, Accra Section in 1922, in framing a scheme for the consideration of His Excellency, when granting the Constitution for the enlarged Legislative Council and the franchise. It was actually urged by responsible Gold Coast leaders that all other natives of Africa, living within the Gold Coast, except those born of Gold Coast women, should be "*Naturalized*" (whatever they may mean) before they be allowed to vote!

The Gold Coast Aborigines Society does not look with favour on admitting other Africans into active participation of the proceedings of that Society, even if resident permanently within the Gold Coast, *e.g.*, E. J. P. Brown, statement in Re-Congress of British West Africa.

These facts show conclusively that Africans of other countries are regarded as strangers and interlopers and are here on sufferance. Does this Bill intend to make every Sierra Leonean, West Indian, Lagosian, Hausa, *defacto* a Gold Coast man against the will and sentiments of its people or is it intended to cause the exodus of every stranger of African descent from the Gold Coast?

Offensive. This Bill is offensive, because our wives, children and ourselves may be called upon to pay penalty for acts which according to English Law and Custom, are absolutely innocent, and also to perform acts, which according to our training, are repugnant, though lawful, *e.g.*, killing sheep, carrying fire and appeasing the fetish of the Stool, etc., answering the oath sworn on strangers. This Bill touches the private hemes of every stranger of African descent living within the Gold Coast and the honour, respect and liberty of our wives and children and the security of our properties are placed in keeping of untutored and irresponsible people, who may be guided more by their individual clerk and inexperienced District Commissioners who to vent their spleen may use this machinery as a conduit pipe of oppression on respectable families from abroad. To this we cannot submit, being loyal subjects of His Majesty the KING of ENGLAND.

The framers of this Bill, we opine, have an ulterior motive and of a far deeper design than only for the goodwill and peace of the Colony,

The Bill savours more of setting a match to a packet of dynamite and expects to survive the explosion in that it calls into being another elemental force hitherto dormant in the Gold Coast Colony, and that is, the intellectual combination of all persons of African descent from abroad domiciled in the Gold Coast and casting them into a solid wedge in self-defence.

R. Crowther-Nicol, Adjai Chambers, Sekondi, Alice Aymei his x mark, Musa-Crowther-Nicol, Annie Nicol, C. E. M. Abbensetts, A Baju, S Laud Moladet, Gadamosi Aymei his x mark, Musa-Davies, Louise S E Yorke, Kumasi. Sierra Leone—E J Williams, Lagos his x mark, J W Lewis (Kroo), H A Glou-Matthews, T A I Reader, V A I Fitzjohn, J J B Dauphin Alhaji Kudom his x mark, W E Coomber, D E P S A Cole Sireolina, Laura Fitzjohn, J D Pratt, Eleanor mark. From Nigeria—John Lewis, J A Pratt, Christiana Matthews, Millicent Clarke, Vidal Clay, W Gilton Smith, Y S Davies, W E Owens, F R W Taylor, J A tonford Hall, Moses Cowan his x mark, Rebecca John, I Green, D E Shooter, S F Owens, Coleman his x mark Victor H Jenkins, H S Williams, Sabina Williams, John Connell Bucknor, J A John, John Coleman his x mark, T J Le Geore, M J Sho-James E Hancoles, S B Davies, Mary Davies. Gambia—Peters his x mark, J A Turner, T J Le Fyne, J E Fyne, A F Davies, F A Dares, F Farrah, Sambina Njie, Amadu Njie, Paul phens, T Leslie Cole, S J McFoy, J E Archer, Marie Le Fevre, Barret Sow, Joseph Gomeuse, Mrs, Solmese, Dembah Sow, O Mellan, Armette E Archer, Marie Le Fevre, Barret Sierra Leonean—J W Harding, S F Roberts, Mrs J T Smith, F R Marke, Sierra Leone, Atiafa Sani his x mark Roberts, Geo. Horton, Mabel Campbell, S. Randolph Alufu Busanoh his x mark, A M Ragi, Brimah Giwa Davies, Lagosians—Igboro, David, Oladosu. Liberia—Parumpanu his x mark, Saka Olami his x mark, Sulea-Bell, B V Bell. Sierra Leone—J B Gandewuyon, R Benrontale his x mark, Alufa Busari Amityu his x mark, Sa-Carew, T W Newman J W Melawo, L D Carlton Carew, ka Lemoun, Isaac E Cole, Sierra Leone, J O Roberts, John T Cole, Moore, H T J Arnett, J F McFoy, C O Bathurst, Gambia, St. Apiwon, Lagos, Nigeria, O Fraser Daken Davies, O E Marke. Nigeria—J A Williams, Sierra Leone, E M Howard, C B Hamilton, W B Hamilton, W B Hamil-From Liberia—J N Hodge. Nigeria—Chief Sani Adulton, Axim, Heuccetta Williams, Hannah Harding, J A D Gunter, Nigeria, W T Leppy. K Williams, J B Williams,

WHAT THE NATIVE THINKS.

East Africa

XIII.—SAA SITA'S VIEWS OF THE POST-WAR WORLD.

2-2-28.

Specially Recorded for "East Africa" by a Tanganyika Planter.

The earlier sketches in this most interesting series appeared during the year 1927, and a limited number of the issues in question can still be obtained. We hope to publish further instalments in subsequent issues.

THERE was a celebration in Dar es Salaam. Why, I don't exactly know, for there are so many in Tanganyika's capital. A fancy dress dance had taken place on the tennis courts, and as I sauntered slowly across the golf links in the small hours of the morning I was rather startled to find Saa Sita following me.

"Why, what's this? I told you hours ago that you might leave. What is it you want?"

"Nothing, *bwana*. You gave me *ruhusa*[1] yesterday evening. I wanted to see the dance of the Europeans."

"Did you like it?" I asked.

"It was very good, *bwana*. The clothes were very beautiful, and the music was good, but the men who made the music are not strong. Now at our dances one man will beat the drum all night. He does not have to keep stopping for food and drink. Our music is like that of the white man, but not so loud (poor jazz band!), but our dances are better. You have seen our dances. Now the white men are copying our dances. Before the War, the dances of the white men were different, but now they are like ours. If you wish, *bwana*, I will bring my wife's mother, who is very skilled at dancing, and she can show the *memsahibs* how it is done!"

"Don't they do it correctly, Saa Sita?"

"No, they do not wobble enough, their backs are too stiff, and you should commence at the top, and go right down. Like this . . . ."

"Stop it, Saa Sita. I don't want you to show me how the Charleston or some other Native dance should be done. Did you post those letters I gave you for Tanga?"

"No, *bwana*. An old man is going to walk there to-morrow, so I gave them to him. He will get there before the post."

"I quite believe you."

* * * *

"*Bwana*," said Saa Sita, rising from the deck of the steamer on which we were travelling, "I have had big trouble with the *babu* at the Customs House. I bought these trousers in Mombasa, and at Dar es Salaam the *babu* made me pay tax. Why is this? Is not the Government at Mombasa the same as at Dar es Salaam?"

"No, Saa Sita."

"But, *bwana*, they are all English, and they tell me that the King Georgi is the *bwana* of all the land. And they have a holiday on his birthday, both in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, so they must be the same, although the English Government do not give us *bakshish* like the Germans did when it was the holiday for the Kaiser. No, I think the *babu* has cheated me. I wish you had been near."

"No, Saa Sita, he has not cheated you. It is the order of the Government. If you bought things in Dar es Salaam and took them to Mombasa, you would have to pay tax."

"*Bwana*, it is a bad affair. Why do they have so many taxes? If I bought goods in Zanzibar, and took them to Mombasa I should have to pay tax, and then if I took them to Dar es Salaam I must pay again, so if I wanted to sell the goods, I should lose a great deal. When goods come from Europe first, do not the merchants pay tax?"

* * * *

"Listen, Saa Sita. When goods come from Europe, everybody has to pay tax."

"But, *bwana*, when you had a piano from Europe you did not pay tax, and a piano is a thing to play with. My trousers were necessary, as if I did not wear clothes I should be locked up."

"I think you had better talk to the big master of the Customs." I laughed, admitting it strange that a piano could come in duty free, while necessities were taxed. "Now, Saa Sita, if I buy goods from this steamer, I shall have to pay tax when I land."

"But will you, *bwana*?"

"Of course I shall."

* * * *

"*Bwana*, it is stupid to pay tax. Put the things in your pockets, and the *askari* at the Customs will not know. Look at the Indians. Many times do they go and buy things from the steamers of the Germans and put them in a small boat; but they do not land at the Customs, or pay tax. When the *memsahibs* go on the steamer to buy sweets and scent, do they pay tax?"

"Certainly they do."

"*Bwana*, if you tell me they do, it must be true, but why did the *memsahib* at Dar es Salaam put the little bottle in her hat when she had a bag?"

"I know nothing of what you say."

"It was the *memsahib* who came in the same boat as you did to Dar es Salaam. She had on a white dress, but when she went back it was blue. She did not pay tax. I know, as I was near. If I told the *babu* that she had a bottle in her hat, what would have happened? Would the *babu* have given me *bakshish*?"

"I'd better try and get you a job with the Customs, Saa Sita, when we have returned from Kismavu." I said laughingly.

£100,000 CARNEGIE GRANT.

Sum Earmarked for Research into Poor White Problem.

Dr. C. T. Loram, of the Native Affairs Commission, states that the following further action has been taken by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in connection with the grant of £100,000 in aid of the scientific and other projects in South and East Africa, the announcement of which was made on January 13.

African World

1. The grant of £2,000 a year for scientific research and of £750 a year for travelling allowances for research students will be paid by the Corporation on the recommendation of the Union Research Grant Board, the chairman of which is Professor R. B. Young, of the University of the Witwatersrand. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary of the Research Grant Board, Box 1,016, Johannesburg.

4-14-28

2. To make the preliminary arrangements for the co-operative research into the poor white question, for which the Carnegie Corporation has made an appropriation of £4,000, an interim committee of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Research Grant Board, with power to add, has been set up. The chairman of the Interim Committee is Senator F. S. Malan, and the honorary secretary Professor R. W. Wilcocks, of the University of Stellenbosch.

3. In connection with the grant of £4,500 for a study of the South African Library situation and action arising therefrom, the Corporation has secured the services of two of the leading librarians of Great Britain and the United States, who will visit South Africa during the latter part of the current year to confer with the South African librarians, and with them to issue a joint report. Communications on this subject may in the meantime be addressed to Mr. Charles Christie, 902, Shoeman Street, Pretoria.

Native Education.

4. On matters dealing with native education and culture, including the special type of training institutions known as Jeanes Schools and the inquiry into Bantu mentality, the Corporation will be advised by the Advisory Board on Bantu Studies and Research, which is attached to the Union Department of Education. The chairman of the Board is Dr. C. T. Loram, P.O. Box 384, Pretoria. Offers of grants of £1,000 a year for four years for Jeanes Schools have already been made to the Governments of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.

5. In connection with the gift of three art collections, each of the value of £1,000, to the University and University College art departments at Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban, the pictures are now being collected and prepared and will be despatched within the next few months. It is the wish and hope of the Corporation that arrangements may be made whereby art departments in other towns may loan these pictures from time to time.

6. The travelling grants to enable persons engaged in educational, technical, and social work to visit Canada or the United States to study systems and methods in operation in those countries will be made on the recommendations of a special Carnegie Visitors' Grants Committee.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

SOME NOTES ON THE PIRATES AND SLAVERS ACTIVE AROUND SIERRA LEONE AND THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA, 1680—1723.

[By Howard Ross.—Copyright.]

Chapter II.

Between the years 1680-1720 there were distinct centres of piracy—the West Indies in the region of Hispaniola where, on Tortuga, flourished a buccaneer republic in which the seamen made their own laws and cultivated the land for yams and sugar-cane. In the Bahamas were also islands infested with pirates. The numerous bays, islands and creeks near South Carolina held the homes of many rovers, while Port Royal in Jamaica was a harbour from which the freebooters openly sailed and as openly returned, trading their booty. Another quite different group of pirates sprang up in the Southern Seas with their headquarters at Madagascar where, as we have seen, men like Plantain and England established themselves.

The West African Coast was never a permanent stronghold, although settlements on shore for careening ships, abducting women and landing sick men were, from time to time, established.

The movements of several pirates from the West Indies to West Coast of Africa in 1685-1690 onward, were more in the nature of a venture due to local pressure than to any concerted effort to transfer settlements from the islands. Some of these voyages from the West Indies to the African Coast were made under appalling conditions. Faulty or grossly ignorant navigation, shortage of and inferior provisions, and, above all, lack of fresh water decimated the ships' companies, leading on several occasions to orgies of liquor followed by the landing of a mere residue of the orignal crew on the first land sighted—wherever it might be.

Nevertheless the cumulative effect of naval pressure in the West Indies and adjacent waters was gradually disintegrating the hitherto real, established coteries of buccaneers who now turned their attention to other, including West African, waters.

Pre-eminent among these visitors were undoubtedly Howel Davis and Bartholomew Roberts, while others, not so well known, helped in no small measure to render commerce and life itself in these regions far from secure.

Let us glance at the conditions prevailing at Sierra Leone and the West Coast of Africa in the times of these men and their invasion. At Sierra Leone itself the Royal African Company, which flourished from 1672 to 1752, possessed in 1720 a strong fort at Bunce Island, Roquelle River.

This fort was well armed and manned, but mostly used for the keeping of slaves ready for embarkation and as a warehouse for outward and homeward merchandise. Here, and on the mainland stretching along to what is now the modern Freetown, was the settlement consisting of the Company's offices with a collection of dwellings inhabited by a motley crowd of Natives, Mulattoes and Europeans. There were here at this time 30 independent European traders—mostly Englishmen—"who in some part of their lives had been privateering, buccaneering or pirating." These men lived in affluence in good houses with wives and servants and were friendly to all piratical craft entering the harbour. This fraternity was obviously a very difficult subject for the Royal African Company.

The circumstances and attitude of these settlers were well known to the Corsair community, accounting, inter alia, for Sierra Leone being their most popular port of call where such men were useful in giving news, supplying provisions, water and slave labour. Thus a recognised trade sprung up, being maintained in curious ways.

It was always the policy of pirate captains to keep in with these shore friends, respecting, when they met them, whatever craft they possessed.

Probably the best known and popular of the settlers at this time was one Crackers, a notorious, but old pirate who after a lurid career on many seas had settled permanently on shore surrounded by a harem. The old man, whose commodious house could be seen from the bay, kept before the porch of his dwelling three cannon and a flagstaff with which he saluted pirate craft as they entered or left the harbour. On arrival and landing, a carousal with Old Crackers was in the normal routine of any captain flying the black flag.

The retired rover was widely known, being frequently mentioned in local contemporary letters of the period. Many stories of his early career are perhaps apochryphal, but as there was, at the time, a price on his head it is probable that he ended his jovial days here and was buried on the banks of the Roquelle river.

The hinterland (now Protectorate) of Sierra Leone was practically unknown, but from there came a sustained supply of ivory, beeswax, gum and oil; while the abundant fresh water, and the amount of citrus fruit obtainable made the settlement itself of importance to all ships of that time, making as they did, long and slow voyages on salt provisions, stale, scanty water, with the usual concomitants of scurvy and other ills

Tribal wars in the interior appeared perennially, being the chief source of slave supply, while the provision of cannon, flint-lock guns, powder, cutlasses and rum constituted the principal portion of European import. Many of the cannon are to be seen to-day strewn around beach towns and riverine villages, while others are found at island strongholds near river mouths.

The harbour was, as it is now, a good, safe anchorage. To those who sailed under the black flag it was particularly convenient as it allowed of a clear look out being kept both to windward and leeward, either for the vigilant but comparatively rare ships of H.M. Navy or the more welcome sails of merchantmen of any nation.

Further down the coast the town and settlement of Cabo de Corso, or Cape Coast Castle, with its large fort and garrison, was the most important English Government centre. Here was the principal rendezvous of H.M. ships who at this port, or rather roadstead, could secure more reliable information as to the actual or expected appearances of piratical craft.

The smaller ports of Elmina, Sekondi, Dixcove and Axim and others less important, each had its fort—mostly Dutch built—with a trade in gold dust, dye woods, ivory and slaves.

But all these settlements were, and still are to a large extent, open roadsteads on which, from June to October, the Atlantic thunders in a long and dangerous surf. Sierra Leone was then, in these regions, the only English harbour with reliable anchorage, ample facilities for shipping, abundant fresh water and good supplies.

But to return to Howel Davis, Roberts and the rest of our principal visitors at this period.

We first hear of Howel Davis as mate of the Cadogan now* sailing from Bristol to the West Coast in 1718. This vessel was captured off Sierra Leone by Captain England. The Commander of the Cadogan, who showed resistance, was murdered. Davis was made prisoner and shortly afterwards, with little demur, turned pirate himself. As was often the case in such circumstances he was given command of his own vessel. But, sailing South, his crew, who had previously shown acquiescence, deceived him, for while at sea, thinking better of embracing such an adventurous profession, they mutinied, making him a prisoner. A course was set for Barbados, where their quondam captain was handed over to the Governor, who imprisoned him for three weeks, then curiously, and for some unexplained reason, released him.

Davis, being stranded and unemployed, with not too good a reputation, went to New Providence Island, where he came upon and joined a powerful gang of buccaneers.

It was at this time that a mission from England with Royal pardons for repentant pirates turned up under control of one Captain Woods Rogers. Most of the pirates here availed themselves of this amnesty as a local expedient and got employed on merchant ships. Collecting a band of these men Davis shipped on a powerful sloop which was no sooner out of sight of land than the crew mutinied, proclaimed their leader captain, who then, over a bowl of punch, proclaimed war "contra mundum."

His real career then began. Ship after ship fell to his prowess until two well found craft being selected and

Transkeian Territories General Council Scholarships

Imbo Zobentsunda

South Africa

Let Well Alone

[To the Editor, Imvo.]

Sir,

In your issue of the 3rd. inst. Mr. R H Mahlangeni writes expressing his displeasure and dissatisfaction at Clause 4 of the conditions of the above Scholarships.

I would be very sorry if the writer or your readers would have a feeling that I air my views on this subject from a mere relish for controversy or desire to belittle the views of a more learned man than myself and were it not for knowing of the tendency of some of my people for following pell-mell with ovine sequacity wherever one leads, and stopping to reason *afterwards*, I would not have thought it worth my while to write; but as it is, I feel it my duty to place another point of view before your readers before the abler pens start endorsing the views from your respected writer's most able [illegible]

As this is one of those very rare instances in which a Native public body inaugurated for the purpose of directing Native Welfare has wisely exercised its prerogative in the allotment of a quota of the funds in its charge. the action of the T T General Council cannot be to highly commended: and all who have the progress of the Bantu at heart must see that such a step deserves encouragement Living as we are in an age when selfishness and arrogance have turned certain unscrupulous Natives into wolves who are tearing at their own people by collecting monies from them by misrepresentation, ostensibly for their good and not only failing to give satisfactory account of them, but failing to convince us that anybody but themselves benefit from their trusteeship, this action is a silver lining in our cloud of misgivings.

The T T. General Council have so great a responsibility in being the administrators or sole trustees of as vast an area as the Transkei. that even had they erred in so trifling a matter as a clause under which they awarded a scholarship, no broad-

minded man realising the numerous calls of their onerous trust would stretch the point.

Bursaries, Scholarships as well as trophies are very touchy subjects to manipulate, it requires much tact to regulate them in such a manner that the subject of the donor be realised without the violation of the philanthropic principle—on which the award is invariably made,

With regard to the subject in hand, it has occasionally been proved that some parents get their children through training school by the skin of the teeth—on the last beast in the kraal and that with the lowest certificate the Department recognises as a professional qualification. It is also by now obvious to many that a case in which an intellectually gifted being has been found to be contemporaneously endowed with the goods of this world, *is the exception that proves the rule.* Thus many young men who might have been the leading intellectual luminaries of their day, have lost themselves in the maelstrom of moral depravity: raging against the bitter fate that did not give them or their guardians ample means to work their way into the vocations for which they feel they were shaped! On the other hand one need only apply to some of our leading training Schools or even to the Interstate College to learn how many nincompoops have squandered years and fortunes to little or no purpose! In the face of this we can realise what a boon it is to the community when the T.T. General Council trys to level up matters by encouraging even those parents who by reason of their limited resources dare not even entertain the notion of sending their children to College, to strive—where they have a child of promise—in the hope that he may yet distinguish himself and justify their investing their last mite on him.

I shall not waste my time and your space in discussing your writer's fallacy literally of carrying coals to Newcastle for I am sure that though he finds it useful in argument he seldom if ever practises it. But to say the least why should a man who can afford inter alia to pay for his education be given further financial assistance, when there are hundreds of his brethren as fit and far more deserving who will go without as a result? I think such an award can only be made under the will of an eccentric miser with a diseased mind. But a body of trustees of public life, property and funds is never nearer its ideal and farther from bolshevism than when it considers the good of the most deserving first, and when it seeks to give a prop to the weakest; and if it has as much divine incline as to act in that manner, we may be confident that it shall receive proper guidance from the principal Trustee of All to discern even through the most intricate maze of machinations who really deserves assistance. That there are so many great and famous men in other nations has depended chiefly on the fact that where talent shone,—even in a slum, it was dug up and fostered.

Let well alone!

J. WATKINS JABAVU,
(Itinerant)

Tati Concessions

Ramaquabane. B.P.

RECENT PROGRESS IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

The annual address of M. J. Carde, the Governor-General of French West Africa to his Conseil de Gouvernement in December shows that the group of Colonies under his charge is sharing in the general progress reported from other parts of the Coast. The ordinary imports and exports rose to 1,483,000,000 francs and 1,344,000,000 francs respectively, but since fluctuations in the franc makes figures of value an unreliable record of progress, M. Carde stated that compared with 1925 the import tonnage was nearly stationary, while that for exports increased by 13 per cent., and in comparison with 1913 import and export tonnage showed increases of 17 per cent. and 206 per cent. respectively. France increased her proportion of the import trade from 47.1 per cent. to 51 per cent., but her share of exports fell from 62.1 per cent. to 57.5 per cent.

West Africa

The removal in France of the duty on West African cocoa and coffee gave a great impetus to agriculture, but unfortunately weather conditions were by no means favourable in 1927, although prompt action by the Administration prevented anything approximating famine. The ground-nut exports, M. Carde estimated, would show a decrease of 75-80,000 tons, with a further decrease of 5,000 tons in oil-palm products, so that in spite of increases in the lesser exports, a general decrease of 10 per cent. was to be expected.

1-28-28.

Steady progress was made with oil-palm improvement. At Pobé, in Dahomey, 38 types of palm had been selected for seed production, and similar work was being accomplished at La Mé, in the Ivory Coast. Experiments were being made with cover crops, and the value of intercropping food and economic plants had beeen proved, while at Dabou and Lahou the people were co-operating in the purchase of oil-presses. At Bambey, 10 varieties of ground-nut had been isolated, and further seed was to be sent to the instructional farms for further production. Cotton experiments were being conducted everywhere, but patience was needed in regard to this product. In French Guinea, 100,000 coffee seedlings had been planted during the year, and large distributions had been made in Dahomey and the Ivory Coast. European methods of agriculture were spreading, and in Guinea there were 3,480 ploughs, with nearly 31,000 acres of ploughed lands. In the Sudan, Haute Volta, and Ivory Coast, progress was hampered by the poverty of the people and the shortage of draught oxen, difficulties which M. Carde hoped to remove by establishing agricultural banks and by increasing the veterinary staff. The general labour question was being improved by providing legal protection against food profiteers and by State aid towards cheaper housing in the principal centres. With regard to the introduction of industrial pursuits, M. Carde said that they must obviously be second to production at present, and if industry was likely to divert labour from production, it would be no real help to harmonious evolution.

A great impetus had been given to Public Works by the admission of French West Africa to benefits from the German reparation deliveries, and 1,070 kilometres of railway line and some rolling-stock had been thus supplied. Railway development was progressing in all the Colonies, and in 1928 it was hoped to open the first section of the Luga-Linguère line, and to continue a number of schemes for port improvement, including one for direct connection between the Ivory Coast Railway and the sea. Inland, there had been a general improvement in road and river transport, and several immense hydro-electrical schemes were under consideration. The building of the medical school has not yet been started, as the cost of the original design was excessive, but 2,100,000 francs were being provided in 1928 for the work.

Prospecting for minerals had been actively undertaken everywhere, but little had been found so far, except magnetite in Guinea, muscovite in the Ivory Coast and rutile (titanium) in Dahomey. A careful examination of the known manganese deposits in the Ivory Coast had shown them to be of no economic value, but this was not to say that more valuable ones might not be found.

The general financial position was sound. There was a surplus of 66,740,962 francs on the general budget for 1926, apart from surpluses on the budgets of each individual Colony, and there would be a good surplus for 1927, although it was then difficult to estimate it with any accuracy. Expenditure for 1928 was estimated at 749,904,000 francs, which included 225,761,000 francs for the general budget of the group, 407,838,000 for local budgets, and 116,305,000 francs for the railways and port of Dakar. If expenditure from surplus balances were included, the total would be 795,778,000 francs. The estimated reserve at the end of 1927 would be 191,549,000 francs, which M. Carde considered would easily allow an ample margin over any programme of special expenditure that might be undertaken.

FRENCH TOGOLAND.

In an address to the Union Coloniale Française on the progress of French Togoland, M. Bonnecarrère said the public health was satisfactory, and beyond a few cases of yellow fever in May and June, and of sleeping sickness, theere was nothing important to report. The scarcity of water in some parts of the South had been overcome by sinking wells, and Lomé itself was now supplied from such a source. Among the principal works were the electric light and power station at Lomé, the construction of steel bridges along the Haute Volta Road, and the development of secondary roads, while in July next the extension of the railway to Sokodé would, it was hoped, be started. Special mineral surveys were being made, but at present agriculture demanded more attention from the Government. A system of produce inspection had given good results, and Togoland cotton had been quoted at Havre 10 points above Middling American, while its kapok nearly approached that of Java in quality. Another source of potential wealth was the shea-tree, the butter of which was sure of a big European demand, while the cocoa from Togoland fetched a good price because it contained more fat than that of the Gold Coast. To encourage production, M. Bonnecarrère proposed to plant 2,500 acres each with coconuts, oil-palms, kapok, and shea-trees, and to co-operate closely with private enterprise.

PETTY TRADERS IN THE CAMEROON.

A somewhat pessimistic report on trade prospects in the French Cameroon for the coming year states that at present the internal trade is far too extensively in the hands of petty traders, chiefly "foreign Natives," who have not the means to withstand even a moderately bad year.

THE GABOON TIMBER TRADE.

In an article on forest exploitation in the Gaboon, the French trade journal "Bois et Scieries" shows that great reforms are necessary if the forest resources of the country are not to be wasted. The present annual output of timber amounts to only 12 tons per worker, and the present system

Native Influx to Towns.

In the House of Assembly on Tuesday, February 14, Mr. Hay asked the Minister of Native Affairs:

(1) Whether any practical steps have been taken since last session to check the influx of Natives to towns as requested by municipal bodies? and (2) Whether magistrates in Native areas are instructed to regulate the issue of passes with a view to ensure restriction and so prevent the overcrowding of locations and town slums?

The Prime Minister replied: (1) a Bill to amend the Native (Urban Areas) Act No. 21 of 1923 is to be introduced during the current session of Parliament. (2) Standing instructions have been issued to magistrates in Native areas to discourage Natives from proceeding to urban centres unless definitely assured of employment.

This exodus of Natives from their reserves to towns, which has been aggravated by the prevailing want consequent on the unprecedented drought, is only the beginning of more, being the outcome of repressive legislation of restricting land to Natives. The Native reserves on the Eastern province have sowed no crops on account of the drought. They have practically lost all their stock and have no other choice but to drift into towns.

Race Problem - 1928
Africa

Review of Native Affairs.

["Cape Times."]

The Reception Hall of the City Hall Cape Town was crowded to its utmost capacity last night to hear Dr. D. D. T. Jabavu review the "Present Position of Native Affairs."

The chair was taken by Mr. J. W. Mushet, and amongst those present were Sir Walter Stanford, Coadjutor Bishop Nash, the Rev. Mr. Meiring, the Rev. J. Ballantyne, and many other prominent citizens.

The Chairman, in introducing Prof. Jabavu, said the fundamental idea in these meetings was that they should, as white and black men, meet together and discuss their differences and problems. It was always edifying to have both sides of the problem.

Tremendous responsibilities were placed upon the legislature of this country, went on Mr. Mushet, seeing that it was composed entirely of the one race and had to legislate for an entirely different body of people.

A Critical Stage.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Jabavu explained that he was not a politician nor an agent of party politicians, but an ordinary citizen interested in the affairs of his country.

To-day we find ourselves, he said, in a crucial stage of African economic and political development. Our rulers have declared their intention to incorporate in the Statute Book new-fangled native policy that is destined, if wrong, to usher the country into an era of mutual distrust, the end of which is terrible to contemplate. This cannot be the objective of the Premier. We feel certain it never was, whatever be the influences that have induced him to do what he has done. On the contrary, we all owe him thanks for his endeavour and courage in compelling the public attention to native affairs in a manner that has forced all intelligent people to think furiously.

But as to whether his policy is based on the wisest philosophy is a totally different matter, and one in which we cannot differ without imputing any sinister motives to the respected author of the native Bills.

Crossroads of Native Policy.

We have, as a problem set before us, to make up our minds what sort of a native policy is calculated to produce the most satisfactory inter-racial relationship for the dim future of South Africa. Is it to be the Northern policy (traditionally associated with the Transvaal and Orange Free State) or that of the Cape?

This country boasts many practical men, who adjure us to be practical at all costs, including the cost of fairplay. They commend us to accept human nature in the Northern Provinces for what it is, and accommodate ourselves to it, or meet it halfway. This kind of philosophy virtually requires us to abandon ideals as impractical, especially the ideals in St. Matthew v., and to content ourselves with bargaining with materialism. It is tantamount to a conspiracy to disregard the vital issues so far as these should be reconciled with the Christian ethic.

Ideals or Compromise.

Compromise is the religious formula of the weak politician; but it is dangerous, if not immoral, to compromise on pure justice and to make terms with injustice in national affairs. (Applause.) And this is just the danger into which the practical man has been humorously defined as the man who continually practises the errors of his ancestors.

On the specious plea of compromise the Cape native is being exhorted to give up his original individual vote in order to bestow a general group-franchise for natives who are Government servants throughout the Union; truly a remarkable pseudo-franchise. To us the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill constitutes the crux of the proposed legislation, because the vote is our Victorian heritage, not a privilege, but an heritage of British generosity legalised in 1854 and entrenched in the Union Act in 1909 as a prescriptive right to indigenous Africans by the Imperial Parliament in a spirit that implied that it was not to be liable to alienation so long as its possessors continued in loyalty to the British Empire.

It epitomises the Cape liberal tradition which, notwithstanding all adverse criticism, granted all non-Europeans the liberty to develop without artifical obstacles, inspired a deep love for British political institutions that recognised no colour discrimination, and engendered loyal attachment to the late Queen of England. The Cape policy has been justified at the bar of history by its effects. It is now the envy of the northern natives, and as such it can hardly be given up by the Cape natives without a desperate struggle which will be followed by irreparable injury to their susceptibilities. Hence our unanimity in rejecting every compromise on this point and our determination to grasp and cling to the similitude of the ideal. We also feel that this is not the occasion for South Africa to yield to the insidious temptation of adopting the path of least resistance, namely, temporising with a policy of positive repression due to a baseless fear. Our desire and hope is that the dominant races in this land will practise active Christian charity in governing the Bantu rather than exploit their domination by taking advantage of the weak during their difficult stage of transition towards Western standards of life. (Applause.)

The Native Bills

Read through the eyes of the Cape native, the Premier's native Bills have been framed so as to establish a rigidly uniform standard of government, and such that it will reduce the superior political rights of the Cape Bantu down to the level of the most backward in the northern reserves. No account is taken of the diversity of intellectual and social development in various areas. The northern native is to gain only at the expense of the Cape native every time. Why the Cape must first be penalised for its historical good fortune before benefit can be conferred on the North is a mystery; unless we postulate that the Transvaal policy is to displace that of the Cape in all future native legislation. What that means we all know: it means denial of political fairplay.

This is utterly at variance with the promises made to the Imperial Parliament by the National Convention delegates in 1909 during the passage of the Union Act. This constitutes a breach of faith

The Union is thus seen to have been a disaster for the blacks because under a Federation, which was then urged but to no purpose by the natives, each State would have preserved its traditional policy and no degrading system of uniformity would have been necessary to retard the progressive Cape Colony.

The Alternatives.

Under the circumstances there seems to be no way out but that of adopting one or both of the following alternatives: (a) The elimination of the clause that serves to interlock these Bills In this case, Parliament would be in a position straight way to deal with the Lands Act, the most urgent of the Bills, for it requires immediate articulation or repeal. This is the Bill that really matters, and we do not appreciate the necessity of its being made to depend upon the distant settlement of the contentious franchise question unless the Bills are to be forced into the mingle of party politics (b) The submission of all the Bills to an inter racial national convention with all the sections involved being directly represented.

The Prime Minister has asked Parliament to deal with these measures in a non-Party spirit. It will be an earnest of his sincerity if he will disentangle the Bills and concentrate all attention on the Land Question Likewise, he will do much to win the confidence of all those directly affected by his proposals if he will summon some national convention or round table conference.

This desideratum is not met by the annual Pretoria Government Native Conference, because (a) neither the Minister for Native Affairs nor any other Cabinet member ever undertakes to discuss matters with the conference on round table lines; (b) the views expressed at this Congress are never submitted to Parliament; (c) the decisions made at Pretoria are subsequently altered and added to at the whim of the Minister; (d) the conference, though promised to the people as an annual event, has not been summoned in 1927, in deference to the caprice or convenience of the Minister.

SUGGESTED CONVENTION.

The suggested Convention has been urged from all quarters ever since the Premier's Smithfield speech of 1925, and this appeal has been reinforced by Sir Abe Bailey, who cannot be characterised as a negrophilist; and by an important native conference that met at Kimberley two weeks ago, which petitioned that "no solution, in order that it may be satisfactory and acceptable to all sections of the population of the Union vitally affected, shall be arrived at until resort is had to methods of discussion whereby an opportunity would be afforded for free exchange of views and frank presentation of the case as it affects the respective sections of the community. The Congress, therefore, respectfully and yet strongly appeals to the Prime Minister seriously to consider, even at this eleventh hour, the expediency and advisability of arranging for a round table conference between representatives of the Government and the Opposition and those of the Bantu and coloured communities, when more careful consideration would be given to this great problem."

EXTERNAL OBJECTORS.

The Prime Minister has recently been taking strong exception to criticism made from outside on his Colour Bar Act the Native Administration Act with its extraordinary restrictions on individual and public freedom, and the present Bill. He regards the treatment of African aborigines as a purely domestic affair. We cannot accept the interpretation of the position because (a) Slavery in the nineteenth century could not be circumscribed as a domestic concern in any country; (b) land and other questions need external revision even elsewhere within the British Empire; (c) South Africa has not yet justified herself in the eyes of the rest of civilisation and at the bar of justice as being above criticism in her treatment of subject races. In our opinion external criticism is wholesome and welcome to the clean conscience. There are certain ultimate and ethical standards of equity in political morality that transcend even kings, rulers and governments; and which cannot be disregarded without disaster to the body politic of a country.

All the more necessary is this criticism from impartial sources when we remember that, under the Union Act and newly acquired Status, South Africa became its own final Court of Appeal and therefore no appeal can possibly be entertained by the Privy Council if addressed thereto by the natives of the Union. By virtue of this omnipotence the political domination of the white race has been guaranted for all time as far as human agency can determine; and nothing but good can accrue from friendly comment and advice by our mother country. (Applause.)

EQUALITY.

Whilst South Africa is thus politically established beyond doubt as a white man's country, the native should not be precluded from equality of opportunity to develop and exercise his ability in all legitimate spheres of life.

The ex-Republican Grondwet laid it down that there shall be no equality for the African in Church or State; and this paradoxical philosophy remains subconciously at the back of all Transvaal mentality. One can dispense with both equality and membership in any given church, but not so with the State. Discussion on this subject is confused by the meaning attached to the word "equality" by various people. Most Europeans in this land when they use this term think only of intermarriage between black men and white women. To the natives, equality means equal wages for equal work. Social equality we neither ask nor need, because it is not anything that need be asked for. What we want is an equal chance with all other citizens to develop economically, and so long as politicians legislate to repress us in industry and land acquisition, our salvation will depend upon political equality. Let us not lose sight of the forest because of the trees.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS.

As a reply to those who ask for our constructive policy as an alternative to the Premier's Native Bills, we submit the following records:

1. Memorandum, "Constructive Proposals for a solution of the Native Land Problem"—by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. (See Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Native Bills, pages 132-148.)
2. "The Cape Native Franchise," by the present speaker,—ibid, pages 239-249.
3. Resolutions of the European Bantu Conference of 1927—ibid, pages 339-349.
4. Government Native Conference Resolutions 1926—See Report of Native Affairs Commission for 1925—6, Annexure IV, pages 60, 67, 68, 76, 77—

not to mention innumerable references and further suggestions in the Native Press throughout the Union.

Sir Walter Stanford, in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Jabavu, said he did not think it was realised how deeply Cape natives felt at being asked to give up the right to express their feelings through the vote. "We know," said Sir Walter, "that it is a right which has been judiciously exercised." (Applause.)

Bishop Nash seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried with acclamation.

TIMES

MAR 3 1928

LYNCHING IN AFRICA NARROWLY AVERTED

Europeans Rush Jail for Native Seized for Defacing Stones in Graveyard Near Zululand.

Copyright, 1928, by The New York Times Company.

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DURBAN, Natal, March 2.—An attempt to lynch a native was made at Graytown, near the Zululand border, yesterday as the result of a remarkable crime—the wholesale desecration of gravestones in the local cemetery.

The relations of the Europeans and some of the natives had been strained in recent months, chiefly because of the anti-European propaganda of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, the big native trade union. A few months ago a native ex-official of the union was convicted of desecrating the graves of police killed during the 1906 rebellion.

Last night noises were heard in the cemetery and an investigation showed that 130 memorials had been defaced. Police dogs followed the trail of a native who proved to be the man responsible for the 1906 outrage.

The occurrence exasperated the township and practically the whole population gathered in the streets. With cries of "Lynch him!" they made two attempts to rush the jail in which the prisoner had been removed. Some of the crowd actually got inside the prison, but the authorities induced them to withdraw.

Then while a Magistrate was appealing to the populace to control themselves the prisoner was secretly removed to Maritzburg.

This caused another ebullition of feeling and a large party of men raided the offices of the native union, brought out the contents and burned them in the street. Another party of men treated similarly the local officers of the union at Krantzkop. The mobile police force was despatched to Graytown.

Xosa Literature.

"The building up of Xosa literature goes steadily on" says the Education Gazette of the 23rd February (p. 24). The latest addition is Ithan laba Tembu, a history of the Tembu tribe, by Mr W D Cingo, Principal of the Emfundisweni Practising School, who has also written a history of his own tribe, the Pondos, and poetical pieces for school use, included in imi Hobe nemi Bongo.

The new book contains a great amount of useful and interesting information regarding the important branches of the tribe, and is made yet more valuable for scholars by lengthy genealogical tables.

It should find a ready sale, especially among students of Native policy, teachers and the people of the tribe to which it refers.

[TO THE EDITOR "IMVO"]

Sir,—I was very sorry to hear that five Native women employed at the Victoria Hospital at Lovedale were convicted for the theft of a considerable quantity of linen and other hospital property. More painful, however, was the vicious letter written in Imvo by the Rev. H L Henchman, Anglican Rector at Alice. Were one to follow the logic of this gentleman the European community would be called upon to pay millions of pounds damages and reparations for the shameful and vandalic acts of many a white hooligan.

It seems to me a little revengeful that the Rev. Henchman should require the peaceful and law abiding Natives about Alice to make reparations for the shameful acts of a few rascals. The spirit in which Rev. Henchman's letter is written has not even a slight tree e of Christianity in it. I hold no brief for rogues of any kind whatever, but when the Church starts to be vindictive then it is time to expose their falseness and lack of the true spirit that Christ intended to prevail on earth.

The first thing Rev. Henchman should do is to put his own house in order and condemn the barbaric acts of his countrymen against the I.C.U. in Natal. Perhaps he does not know that the Church was on several occasions broken into and its sacred property robbed by persons who were not Natives—in this country.

H D TYAMZASHE.

Johannesburg.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

WHAT WILL THE NATIVE BECOME?

THE GREAT RIDDLE OF AFRICA.

(Specially reviewed for the "African World" by CHAS. OULD, M.A.)

African World 3-8-28

Those European peoples who have established colonies in Africa have recognised that they have a responsibility which has been aptly described as the Dual Mandate: they are trustees for mankind of the wealth which these countries produce, and they are also guardians of the uncivilised peoples who inhabit them, with a special responsibility for their welfare, and a special duty to help them to achieve civilisation.

This special duty is not questioned, but there is an endless variety of opinions as to how it can best be carried out. And where the country in question enjoys self-government, the approach to the problem is yet further complicated by the diversity of interests that have a right to be considered. Perhaps the best way to approach it would be to go back to the father of political philosophy, and to accept his saying that "as the State was formed to make life possible, so it exists to make life good."

Duty of the State.

It is then the duty of the state to make the good life possible for all its members, without distinction of race, creed, or colour. And if we proceed to define the good life as the life in which the individual is enabled to make the best and fullest use of the qualities which he possesses, we reach a position from which it is possible to arrive at some conclusions as to the policies which ruling powers should adopt towards their African subjects: conclusions whch may perhaps be more rational than the criticisms of blind devotees of the ballot-box.

Obviously, if we are to deal with the African native in this way, we must consider not only what he is, but what he has it in him to become. What the native will become is the great riddle of Africa. Any attempt to answer it would in the nature of things be no more than a guess, but it rests with us to decide whether it shall be a blind guess, or an estimate based on a thorough knowledge of native mind and character. This is the practical value of books like the one before us.

"The Life of a South African Tribe,"* by Henri A. Junod, D.Litt., is the second edition of a work which is a recognised classic on the subject, and needs no introduction to our readers. It is indispensable to anyone who wishes to make a serious study of the South African native. It contains the fullest information on every conceivable aspect of the life of the particular tribe wth which it deals, the Thongas of Lourenço Marques, and much that relates to other tribes. The second edition has been revised and enlarged, and contains much new information, particularly in regard to hunting rites, ancestor worship, and the kinship system. The first volume deals with the social life of the people: the second with their mental life, and the book (which is lavishly illustrated) provides a complete picture of the whole existence of a Bantu people, as M. Junod saw it during a residence of many years among them. He has gone to infinite trouble to record every possible detail, from the genealogy of the chiefs to the tune of the snatch of song sung by the boys going to work in Johannesburg, and we can think of nothing that he has omitted.

Communal Life.

The communal life of the Thongas, as we have it described in the volume on Social Life, does not seem to differ greatly from that of other South African tribes, but their political system, or lack of it, belongs to an earlier stage of development. In the early years of the nineteenth century, there was in South Africa a general movement towards the amalgamation of scattered clans and their consolidation into great kingdoms. Such were the kingdom of the Zulus under Tchaka, that of the Basuto under Moshesh, and even to some extent that of the Xosas in the days when Makanna led them against the white men. This movement passed the Thongas by, and they are still a collection of separate clans owning no central loyalty: a state of things which does not make for progress.

The second volume, which deals with Mental Life, opens up a field of study which is of particular importance in the task of discovering the natural lines on which native society is to evolve. We talk much of permitting, or encouraging, the native to develop along his own lines, but we have no right to suppose that this is merely a process of nature, and that our own responsibility is limited to the maintenance of order and good government. If we are to establish a system under which the native is to have scope for the exercise of his qualities, we must first be sure that we fully understand what his special qualities are, and for this a thorough scientific study of the native mind is absolutely essential. Here, as we have said, lies the special value of a book such as M. Junod has given us. It has a scientific value also, of course, but it would be the gravest error to suppose that such a work is of importance only to anthropologists and students of primitive man.

It is the view of M. Junod himself that similar exhaustive studies should be made of other tribes by people who have the necessary qualifications. When a sufficient number of these have been made, the results could be collated, and we should then have made real progress towards a thorough understanding of the Bantu. Fully as we agree with this view, we cannot help feeling that M. Junod is both too modest in supposing that what he has done is not a very considerable achievement and too optimistic in believing that there are many people who would be able to do the same.

Bantu Character.

What, then, is the character of these Bantu, whose future lies so largely in our hands? In the first place, we must clearly recognise that they are separated from us by an immense gulf, by a difference not merely in the colour of their skins, but in the structure of their minds. The first great difference is that the European is an individual, the Bantu a member of a group. There is no such distinction between personal life and communal life as there is with us; the Bantu has, strictly speaking, no private life at all, his most intimate actions are subject to the dictates of the group.

Consequently there is very little sense of individual responsibility; but, on the other hand, there is a strong sense of communal responsibility, which, however, evil when carried to excess, is not in itself a bad thing. This total lack of individualism requires that the social system at which we are to aim for the Bantu must not be a mere copy of our own, which is strongly individualist, but that it must allow an important place to the collectivist principle.

Another great difference is in his conception of morality. This does not mean merely that his rules of conduct differ from ours, often so greatly that they become revolting to us. It means that his whole conception of the nature of morality differs from our own in that it is entirely divorced from religion, and that it is neither personal nor absolute. The idea that "because right is right, to follow right were wisdom in the scorn of consequence" is one that could never occur to him. Yet he is not without some glimmerings of a true ethical sense, which it is part of our task to develop and educate. Similarly, his religion differs from ours in having no connection with morality, as well as in more obvious ways. But these difficulties are slowly being overcome by the spread of Christianity. It is the task of missionaries who are charged with this work to consider also whether there may not be, in the old order which they must destroy, some elements worthy of perpetuation. Special problems naturally arise in relation to customs like the circumcision rites, and it is interesting to learn of one missionary's experiment in periodically establishing Christian circumcision schools, where the young men undergo a sublimated form of the initiation ceremonies. Even the mass of taboos and rites which add so many unnecessary complications to native life may conceivably be capable of some form of sublimation. The one thing which will have to be gradually yet thoroughly stamped out is the frightful curse of witchcraft.

Agriculture.

It is to agriculture that the native society of the future will chiefly devote itself, for the native is naturally an agriculturist. He is not a particularly good one, it is true; and here we cannot help feeling that a system of agricultural education would well repay the money spent on it. For the Bantu there can be no question that the good life is a life spent mainly on the land. As to other forms of education, it is obvious that there should be a special curriculum for Native schools, and M. Junod has some valuable suggestions to make on the subject.

Moreover, this landed society, which is essentially hierarchical in structure and holds the chiefs in special veneration, cannot pursue its natural evolution except under a system allowing the chief a place of high importance.

Many Native customs are, of course, fated to die out of themselves. Polygamy must inevitably decay, not only through the effect of Christian teaching, but through economic causes. The "lobola" system, on the virtues and vices of which M. Junod has a very interesting chapter, will probably follow it. Already the position of women is being alleviated by the introduction of the plough, which requires the labour of men and thus relieves the women of their most arduous task. This is an instance of a decided benefit which the Native has received from his contact with the white man.

Finally, if there are difficult elements in the study of Native development, there are elements of encouragement also. There is in the Bantu mind a strong sense of justice, as M. Junod has rightly observed. There is likewise a sense of loyalty that is worthy of praise. There is considerable artistic ability, a universally recognised gift for music, a real imaginative power. If the arithmetical sense is weak, the artistic sense is particularly strong.

If due regard is had to these qualities; if the idea of communal responsibility can be maintained, for instance, by some such institution as the Transkeian system of councils; and if a system of education can be evolved which will encourage the development of the special gifts of the Bantu people, then these—the latest comers to the society of civilised peoples—may in time make to the welfare of mankind a contribution which shall justify all our labours.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Gold Coast.

At the beginning of this month Sir Ransford Slater opened the first session of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast Colony since he took over the Government. As he pointed out, the seven months during which he has held office have not given him sufficient time to pick up all the threads of the administration of a rapidly changing Colony like the Gold Coast. The Colony is not strange ground to him, as he has already held office therein as Colonial Secretary. Much has happened since he changed that office for the Governorship of another Colony. He has therefore devoted his time mainly to study and travel, and to regaining contact with the Chiefs and people, and making the acquaintance of his official colleagues. It is too early to expect him to strike out new policies; his announced intention is to consolidate the progress made under his predecessor, and to acquire further information on local problems before dealing with them. The progress of the Colony continues unchecked, its finances and trade being as buoyant as ever. Revenue is still increasing more rapidly than expenditure; the estimated revenue for the year, £3,644,478, is again a record, and the estimated surplus of £792,911 is greater by £110,332 than any actual excess since 1921-22. During that period the revenue has increased, on the average, by £220,691 a year, while expenditure has increased by an average of only £132,611 a year. But as the Colonal Secretary has pointed out in his memorandum on the draft estimates. This will not go on indefinitely, and the brilliant present must not blind the Government to the necessity for caution. The advance of the recent years has been too rapid to allow of the consolidation which Sir Ransford now contemplates. There are various factors which indicate the possibility of a slackening of the rate of expansion. On the one hand, the cocoa industry, on which the prosperity of the country is so greatly dependent, and which supplied 88 per cent. of the exports, showed a decrease of nearly 10 per cent. in weight as compared with 1926, although, owing to the high prices early in the season, the value was 25 per cent. higher, and in the opinion of many well-qualified judges production has reached its peak. On the other hand, it is certain that recurrent expenditure must increase automatically by the cumulative effect of the new scales of salaries and pensions introduced in 1920, and the bringing of establishments up to their full strength, which they have never yet attained. Prudence, therefore, calls for measures to anticipate a period of stagnant if not actually diminishing revenue and increasing expenditure.

Trade and Agriculture.

In the British West African colonies these two are closely related, the amount of trade being dependent on the purchasing power of the farmers as measured by the returns they receive for the produce of their farms. In Gold Coast Agriculture cocoa is first and the rest nowhere, the weight of the export of the next most important crop—palm kernels—being only 3½ per cent., and the value only 9 per cent. of the export of cocoa. The colony retains its position as the premier cocoa producer, and is estimated to possess 180,000,000 cocoa trees, an average of over 100 trees per head of the population of the colony and Ashanti. Of the cocoa exported 30 per cent. went to the United States, 24 per cent. to the United Kingdom, 22 per cent. to Germany, and 19 per cent. to Holland. The quantity of the staple crop having apparently nearly reached its limit, attention must be directed to improvement of its quality, so as to raise it from its present low position in the market and to bring it to a level with the cocoa from other countries. A committee appointed in 1927 put forward propositions for the reorganisation of the Agricultural Department to enable it to render more effective assistance to the farmers, and also made some specific proposals for the improvement of Gold Coast cocoa which, it considers, should be carried out by the co-operation of the Government, the chiefs, merchants, and farmers. They suggest the formation of small co-operative societies, under the advice and control of the Agricultural Department, which shall erect small model fermentaries, the cocoa from which shall be examined and certified by the Department and sold "to buyers or manufacturers willing to pay higher prices for better quality." If this can be achieved it will remove the greatest obstacle to improvement, which has hitherto been presented by the unwillingness of buyers to encourage careful preparation by giving a higher price to the farmer who took the trouble to bring his beans to market in good condition. For the present it is proposed to concentrate on investigation at the ports, up-country control and certification, and examination at the ports, for which the concurrence of the merchants is necessary. Several chiefs in the Eastern Province, including the Honourable Konor Maté Kolé, paramount chief of Eastern Krobo, have drawn up bye-laws for the institution of buying centres and the infliction of penalties for buying or selling bad cocoa. The agricultural officers have been directed to instruct farmers in the better preparation of their cocoa to meet inspection at the ports. By these combined measures it is hoped to put Gold Coast cocoa into a higher position in the markets.

The Provinces.

Of the three Provinces into which the Colony is divided the Eastern is the most important. "Its population (751,362 in 1921) is nearly double that of the whole of Ashanti (406,191) and 250,000 more than the combined population of the Central and Western Provinces of the Colony. Its area is half that of Ashanti and nearly equal to the total area of the two other Colony Provinces. Moreover, it produces about half of the cocoa exported from the Gold Coast." The Central Province's output will increase rapidly with the development of the area to the north of the central railway, whose produce will find its outlet over this line when it isopened. With growing wealth there is a demand for better environment and conditions of life. "The people of the Gold Coast are willing—nay, eager—to build healthy dwellings in conformity with sanitary laws," and more applications for village overseers are received from the Chiefs and people than can be complied with. Among other indications of readiness to adopt improved modern methods is the extensive and still expanding motor traffic, which is already so serious a competitor of the railway that a reduction of rates is necessary to enable the railway to hold its own. The urge to progress has reached the Northern Territory folk, whom the desire for money is causing to migrate to the South in increasing numbers to earn the wages obtainable on the cocoa farms. Everywhere the outlook is bright, and even if there be a check in the phenomenal progress of the last thirty years the industry and intelligence of the people and their desire for progress are a guarantee that there will be no retrogression.

W. F. H.

BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS)

Formerly

THE COLONIAL BANK

with which are amalgamated

THE NATIONAL BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD.,

and

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN BANK, LTD.

Head Office: **54, Lombard St., E.C.3.**

Branches in LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER and HAMBURG, throughout BRITISH WEST AFRICA, etc.

Agency in New York.

The African World

The Sudan.

A REFUGE FOR SLAVES.

Refugees from Abyssinia—Work for Men, and Husbands for Girls.

How British officials in the Sudan extend protection to runaway Abyssinian slaves, and provide work for the men and husbands for the unmarried women, is revealed in correspondence, published on Wednesday, between the British Foreign Office and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society.

Sir Austen Chamberlain states that during the last ten years 173 slaves, apart from unrecorded cases, have escaped from Abyssinia to Gedaref, a district headquarters lying about seventy-five miles from the frontier. They were sent to an Abyssinian ex-slave community which has been formed at Gharb el Gash, near Kassala. Work has been found without difficulty for the men, and husbands for the unmarried women. The community is reported to be flourishing, and a number of children have been born there into freedom. In no case has any escaped slave been sent back to Abyssinia.

Refugees from Abyssinia also sometimes appear in the Roseires and Kurmuk districts of the Fung Province. As a rule these come in parties of two or three or singly, but recently larger groups numbering one hundred or one hundred and fifty crossed into the Fung Province from Abyssinia. They are allowed to settle in colonies, and are allocated land for buildings and cultivation, most of them going to selected localities in the Roseires district. Many who have entered the Sudan in a state of destitution have received loans, repayable after the harvest, and had the past year's taxes remitted. These ex-slaves are free to return to Abyssinia if thy wish to do so. Claims are frequently received from former owners for their return as slaves, and these claims are usually accompanied by charges of some kind of crime. The refugees are, however, never compelled to return unless a criminal offence has been fully proved against them. A recent case is quoted in which the British authorities arrested a man who had been responsible for abducting an Abyssinian subject from the Sudan and selling him. An Abyssinian official to whose notice the case was brought declared that slave-dealing was regarded as a very serious matter by his Government and that the accused if found guilty would doubtless be severely dealt with. The abducted man was released, and the accused was handed over for trial by the local Abyssinian chieftain.

Slave-owners' Appeals.

The Foreign Office has sent to the society translations of appeals to its resident officers by native owners for the return of their slaves. These are couched in picturesque language, specimens being as under :—

> May God show you the justice. The protector of the poor and their properties is the Government. The question is that all slaves of the Qabtia territory have run away towards Gedaref. Accordingly, we, your poor men, have been oppressed because it is difficult for us to carry on without slaves. On account of this I am sending my son to you in order that you may help him in the aforesaid matter. I offer my thanks to you ten times ten.

A second letter opens with the familiar note of greeting to the District Commissioner : "How are you? I am well, praise be to God." In yet another letter there is an unconsciously humorous plaint, apparently signed by two men, about the escape of a woman "who is our wife" :—

> After greetings and prayers for the mercy of Allah and his blessings, and after inquiry about you and your affairs, I hope that you are well. Further, I inform you that six days ago slaves fled from us to the number of eight head, amongst them a woman who is our wife. We sent people after them as far as the frontier, but they crossed into your territory, and the people returned without them. They are accompanied by a thief called Fiki Ibrahim Senusi. . . . I request you to go after them and bring them to the District Office, as I have written to the District Commissioner, Gedaref, about them and about our wife.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

OUR EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

II—SECONDARY EDUCATION.

It may not be known to the man in the street, but it is a sad fact that our Secondary Schools are not as proficient as they should be or even as they appear to be. Commenting on the recent Cambridge Examination results our contemporary the *Aurora* in last week's issue rightly concludes: "No practical and thoughtful African would be satisfied with such a result." Our own study of the facts has made us pause more than once in the estimate of the value placed on the Cambridge Examination results in assessing the efficiency and utility of our Secondary Schools. We fear the results are more spectacular than calculated to enhance our best interests; and *numerically* considered, nothing but a "measuring of ourselves by ourselves" can make any one regard them otherwise than mediocre. What are the facts? That four of our Secondary schools with a total roll number of about 600 pupils scored *for a whole year only seven passes* in the school certificate! Compare this with an English secondary school of less than 300 pupils which in a year obtained some fifty passes in the school certificate examination including several Honours places and three Higher certificates.

But the paucity of the results causes us less dissatisfaction than the fact that to produce this result the mass of the pupils are sacrificed to a curriculum which in the face of it is almost wholly unsuited to their future needs. The curriculum which dominates most of our secondary schools is the old classical one demanded, e.g, for a degree at Fourah Bay. These schools send on an average about three pupils to the College each year; the rest of those who leave school annually betake themselves to careers in life where a knowledge of modern subjects will prove more beneficial than that of Latin and Greek. Again, what are the facts? We were examining the curriculum of a class in the Senior department of one of our secondary schools. Out of thirty-seven periods in the week, including those devoted to games, fourteen were devoted to Latin and Greek, only five to English, seven to Mathematics and *one* each to Shorthand, Book-keeping, Hygiene and Singing! No provision was made for teaching Science, Drawing, French or Manual work!!

Our dissatisfaction increases when it is remembered that a good many pupils are sent to a secondary school here just for the honour of being connected with one. The parents oft times have not the means to keep the pupils long enough at school to reach the literary stage in the classics. Besides, most pupils have not the necessary foundation in English from which an intelligent study of the Classics may proceed.

It should also be remembered that not all boys have the aptitude for the study of the Classics. Why then this Procrustean method of compelling all to fit the one and the same intellectual bed, be he a genius or a moron! And why this undue bias for the classics? We can account for it by nothing save *Tradition*. A study of the history of education in Europe reveals the same bias once given by Englishmen to Latin and Greek—when labouring under the notions of the now defunct "Faculty Psychology." But Englishmen have learnt to be wiser. Why should we not do the same?

A modification then in the curriculum of our Secondary school seems urgently called for. We would suggest that a bifurcation of studies take place about two-thirds of the way from the lowest class to the top—a *classical* and a *modern* side. Only pupils who show aptitude for the study and whose parents are prepared to make them continue long enough at school to profit by the study should be allowed to pursue the Classical studies. As alternative to the Classics, we think that English, Mathematics, Commercial subjects as Bookkeeping, Short-hand, etc., should occupy the first place in the case of pupils whose school career would necessarily be short and who lack capacity for the study of the classics. The other subjects may be taken equally by both sets.

Our contemporary above mentioned also referred to the necessity for Science teaching in our secondary schools. To this there can be no difference of opinion. A proper teaching of Science, we believe, can give that training in precision which it has been the habit of claiming for the classics only. But we cannot see how our Secondary schools can undertake this task at present. We have it on the authority of our Director of Education that the schools do not possess teachers capable to teach Science nor have they the apparatus. We are not sure whether even Fourah Bay College is now able to do so. This is a problem we expect the Director of Education will take in hand at no distant date. One way out of the present difficulty as it appears to us, is to delegate the teaching of Science in the Colony to the Prince of Wales School, and make provision for teaching the subject up to the stage required for the Higher Certificate which we understand is equivalent to, or is accepted in lieu of, the intermediate B Sc. Examination in some English universities. We would strongly recommend this as in our opinion the Prince of Wales School as a secondary school has as yet made its contribution only by teaching this subject.

When it is remembered that the destiny of a people depends upon its schools, or as Everett puts it "Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army," it will be conceded that no more responsible task can be given to a man than to have entrusted to him the framing of the policy and curricula of the schools of a people. For this reason we pray that wisdom and courage may be granted our present Director of Education so that he may make here such a contribution that succeeding generations will arise to call him blessed.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

African World 5-5-28

Object-Lessons.

An excellent educational idea has been put into practice by the Railway and Agricultural Departments of Nigeria. A party of thirty farmers from Owerri Province have been taken on a tour through the Colony under the care of Mr. S. M. Gilbert, Superintendent of Agriculture. At Kano, where they stayed four days, they were shown the new ox-drawn ploughs, and given instruction in the preparation of hides and skins by an agent of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, and information about the kola trade by a prominent Syrian merchant. At Zaria and Illorin they inspected the manuring experiments, at Ibadan they were shown the preparation of cocoa, and they visited the kola farms at Agege. They thus received a series of object-lessons in intensive culture, the adoption of which by them is becoming urgent owing to the pressure of population. Owerri Province contains nearly one-fourth of the total population of Southern Nigeria, includes some of the richest oil forests, a fine system of water communication through its numerous creeks, and the outlet of the Eastern Railway at Port Harcourt. The increase of the population, already 268 to the square mile, will lead in the comparatively near future to congestion and a land famine, as a large region near the coast is swampy and unfit for habitation. The parts suitable for farming are already more densely populated than any countries in Europe except England and Wales and Belgium. The only measure that will provide for the inevitable increase of population due to peace and prosperity is the replacement of extensive intensive cultivation and the adoption of improved methods of treating the fruits of the oil-palms. The trip of the farmers should be a first step towards the necessary reforms of practice by showing the farmers what their countrymen in other districts are doing, by arousing their interest, by awakening desire to adopt improvements, and demonstrating the possibility of their adoption by themselves. The example of the ox-ploughs at Kano, and of the manured plots at Zaria, will be useful if the same method of introducing and improving them in co-operation with the local farmers is followed in Owerri. There is no better method of breaking through the farmers' natural conservatism. Verbal statements of the advantages of new methods do not impress them. They have heard so many theorists lecturing them on the inefficiency of their methods and seen so many of the theories fail to produce the predicted results that they have become sceptical. Experiments carried out by Europeans in Botanical Gardens they put aside as "White Man's Fashion," unsuited to the black man. What they see being done by their own countrymen, and what their own people tell them they have proved and found good, impresses them. When they are so impressed they are intelligent enough to secure for themselves the advantages which the new methods bring. The more farmers that are given similar educational opportunities the more rapidly will West African produce increase in quantity and improve in quality.

Motors v. Railways.

Time was, not so long ago, when railways were universally accepted as the best means of opening up Africa, but their supremacy is being challenged, with ever-growing insistence, by the motor-car. Motor-cars have conquered the hitherto unconquerable Desert of Sahara, and have prepared the way for the Saharan Railway, which they may in time supersede. They have also penetrated the impenetrable jungles in all directions—from the Cape to Cairo, from Cairo to the Cape, from East to West, and from West to East. Only last week we reviewed in our West African Monthly Supplement Mr. Frank Gray's account of his famous challenge trip from Lagos to Massowa in two Jowett cars. That trip was hailed as a great feat, and so, indeed, it was. Mr. Gray having blazed the way, "a run across Africa" seems likely to become a common incident of a Nigerian holiday. On February 23 Mr. C. M. Barlow, of the Nigerian Administrative Service, left Kano in an ordinary Morris-Cowley two-seater. Travelling thence to Fort Lamy, then through French Equatorial Africa to Bangassu, and through the Belgian Congo to Rejaf, he reached Nairobi on March 23, having performed the journey of 3,450 miles at an average speed of 100 miles per day. Mr. Barlow does not appear to consider the journey a formidable one, and is of opinion that a larger and higher-powered car should do the journey in half his time. That a light car carrying passengers can dispense with carefully prepared roads has been demonstrated, and the caterpillar system seems likely to enable the heavier goods-carrying motor vehicles to do the same. When satisfactory heavy motors making their own track have been evolved, will their greater flexibility lead to the supersession of railways, with their heavy preliminary cost and fixed tracks, just as motor-buses are making tramcars obsolescent? It is possible that before that question is settled the aeroplane will be well on the way to supersede both railways and motors.

THE BELGIAN CONGO

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

BRUSSELS, April 24.

The Belgo-Portuguese Agreement.

The Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime," of the 20th inst., reports that the Belgian Government has just deposited at the offices of the General Secretary of the League of Nations at Geneva the four agreements arrived at between Portugal and Belgium at Saint Paul de Loanda in July last.

The Bull West Africa Line to be Sold.

The Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime" announces that the United States Shipping Board will, on May 15 next, open the tenders sent for the purchase of ten steamers of the Bull West Africa Line. Intending purchasers have to pledge themselves to maintain nineteen sailings a year between the U.S.A. and the West Coast of Africa for five years.

Mishap to a French Steamer.

According to a telegram from Havre on the 20th inst. to the Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime," the steamer "Amiral Villaret de Joyeuse," belonging to the Chargeurs Réunis, which had grounded (according to a previous cable in the Lower Congo), has been refloated, after 180 tons of cement had been thrown into the sea, and has arrived at Matadi. The "Amiral Villaret de Joyeuse" will return to France partially loaded only.

The Benguella Railway.

According to the Paris "Information" of the 22nd inst., the Benguella Railway should reach the new Congo border before the end of this year.

The Native Census.

Our Colonial Office informs me that according to a census taken on December 31, 1926, the native population of the Congo probably amounts to 10,000,000 inhabitants.

The people recorded by the census, however, number only 7,955,450, and their number by provinces is as follows:—

Congo-Kasai Province, 2,351,140; Oriental Province, 3,042,556; Katanga, 1,053,872; Aequatorial Province, 1,507,882.

If to these 10,000,000 native inhabitants of the Congo we add the 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 inhabitants of Urundi and the 2,000,000 of Ruanda, it will be seen that we rule in Central Africa some 14,500,000 to 15,000,000 natives.

White Population of the Congo.

Our Colonial Office informs me that on January 1, 1927, the white population of our African realm numbered 18,169 in the Congo itself, 164 in Ruanda, and 192 in Urundi, making 18,525 whites in all. Amongst these there were 11,898 Belgians in the Congo, eighty-nine in Ruanda, and 138 in Urundi.

In the Congo itself foreigners were as follows: 1,368 Portuguese, 981 Italians, 844 English (more 401 South Africans and fifteen Canadians), 523 French, 476 Greeks, 443 Americans (U.S.A.), 317 Dutch, 229 Swiss, 138 Swedes, 137 Luxemburgese, 128 Russians, thirty-four Danish, thirty-four Poles, thirty-one Norwegians, twenty-three Germans, twenty Spanish, and eighteen Rumanians.

In Ruanda-Urundi there were forty-eight French, twenty-one Dutch, sixteen Germans, thirteen Swiss, and ten Greeks.

Here is the white population of the chief cities of the Congo on January 1, 1927:—Elisabethville-Lubumbashi, 2,892; Léopoldville-Kinshasa, 1,851; Likasi-Panda-Kambove, 1,736.

At Kin.

Mr. de Mey, chief editor of the Kinshasa "Information Coloniale," who arrived here by the last boat, told me a few days ago that Kinshasa is at present developing on a great scale, and that every day the construction of new houses or buildings was started.

Motor Vehicles in Upper Luapula.

According to the Elisabethville "Essor du Congo" of March 18, there were, on December 31, 1927, in the Upper Luapula District (Elisabethville) one motor vehicle for every 2.88 whites. As a contrast, according to the New York "American Metal Market" of the 13th inst., there was, last year, in the U.S.A., one motor vehicle for every 5.13 persons.

Most Promising Gold Discoveries in the North-Eastern Congo.

Six weeks ago I reported that important discoveries of alluvial gold had been made by the Kilo-Moto Company in the Kibali River (the Upper Uélé), and that if 9,300 kilogrammes gold had already been located there, it was estimated that 20,000 kilogrammes was the total amount of gold to be got therefrom.

This morning I heard at the Société Minière de Surongo (a branch of the Inter-tropical Comfina) that most promising gold discoveries (reef discoveries) had been made by the Minière de Surongo in the Uélé country, below the Kibali and outside the Kilo-Moto concession, which is the eastern neighbour of the Surongo. Though the Société Minière de Surongo had already reserved five large zones for gold (alluvial and reef) I am not allowed to disclose the exact spot of these discoveries. I can only say that the examination of many samples of reef has disclosed magnificent grades, far superior to those of the Nizi Reef (Kilo-Moto Gold Mines Company) which, from 1920 to 1926 yielded 8.41 grammes gold per ton crushed, yielding in the latter year only 4.34 grammes gold per ton.

Mr. A. Bolle, the founder of the Surongo, told me that even if the outlook was quite gratifying it would probably be two years before positive knowledge of the working of these discoveries as to their being profitable. Meantime, they will be carefully developed.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

WEST AFRICAN AGRICULTURE.

AFRICAN FARMER "THE MOST IMPORTANT MAN IN THE COUNTRY."

The Elder Dempster film was shown to the members of the West African Students' Union at the Student Movement House, Russell Square, London, last Friday evening, and after the film had been displayed Mr. R. B. Paul gave a short address.

In the course of his address Mr. Paul said: During the last year or so we have seen two great projects in West Africa brought within measurable distance of completion. I refer to Apapa and Achimota, and within recent weeks Takoradi Harbour has been formally opened. Again in Nigeria, the construction of a bridge over the Benue has been commenced. I have no apprehension as to what the African thinks of Achimota. It is first and last an investment made, patently, for the benefit of the African people, and as such I believe that this great undertaking has the blessing of every African who has the interests of his country at heart.

I sometimes wonder why it is that any schemes which appear primarily to aim at increasing the commercial utility of the West African Colonies may be said to be suspect in the eyes of some, and deliberately do I say that whilst such a view-point continues to be maintained it is impossible for Africans and Europeans to get together in that spirit of co-operation which will, in due course, produce that ordered progress which is so necessary and desirable for the well-being of West Africa.

I would like you African gentlemen to realise that your country is an ordinary economic unit the same as the most highly industrialised country in the world, and if West Africa is to progress, in the very widest sense of that word, you must in your day and generation enter into commercial relationships with those who are prepared to do business with you. There are vast numbers of people in different countries throughout the world who are merely anxious to sell their goods to your countrymen, and in turn to buy what they have to offer. These people have no interest in your country beyond the ordinary interests associated with trade, and certainly they have no wish to usurp the African's undisputed right to the land of his birth. To this extent I would like those Africans who believe otherwise to understand that there is a danger of their chasing a shadow when they suspect that those who go to their country are, at the same time, desirous of annexing their land. On the contrary, the only anxiety of the great majority of the people who trade in West Africa is to earn a fair return on the money employed in their commercial operations, and I have no reason to believe that the return on capital looked for by those trading with West Africa is one whit more than the return on the capital employed in any commercial undertaking in any part of the world.

I have heard it said that it is the wish of the European in West Africa that the African people should continue to be farmers. In the abstract I agree with this, and I would add that for some uncommonly misguided reason it is suggested that this is demonstrative of the Europeans' desire to check the progress of the African people. I must confess that I have never been able to follow this line of thought, for it has always appeared to me that there is an inference that a nation of farmers and producers of raw produce must necessarily be a backward nation. In point of fact, the agricultural worker in West Africa is the most important man in the country, and I am certain that all that European enterprise desires is to see him maintain his importance and, in due time, fill successfully the position of counterpart to those landowners and farmers in Canada and Australia.

I am unable to comprehend how a nation deriving its wealth from agricultural work cannot be equally as progressive as an industrial country, and I think that the point which some leaders of thought in West Africa have yet to settle is what it is they ultimately hope to make the basis of their country's progress. If I may offer an opinion, the basis should be that of supplying raw produce to those countries more favourably situated for manufacture, and we will indeed have gone a long way towards stabilising progress in West Africa when it is realised that West Africa is first and foremost a producer of raw materials, when the country commences to organise itself to fulfil its proper functions, and when the African understands that there is nothing undignified in a nation composed of progressive, enlightened agriculturists who, in their work, summon to their aid the most reliable data and the most modern implements that science produces. Then indeed will the African commence to move more rapidly towards his destiny.

EARLY MARRIAGE AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

The Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya in his annual report of the working of the Native Affairs Department displays no little anxiety at the tendency of junior officers to enter the bonds of matrimony, and of the adverse effect on native administration generally. Young married officers, it is pointed out, are frequently prevented by domestic affairs from acquiring a really intimate knowledge of the tribes among whom they are working, their mobility is often impaired, and it not seldom happens that it is found impracticable to post them to districts where their presence is urgently required. It must therefore be realised that in many ways great difficulty is being experienced in maintaining that close touch with native affairs which now, more than ever, is so vitally imperative for progressive and sympathetic administration. The Commissioner also points out, apropos of social evolution, that signs are not lacking, especially among the agricultural tribes, that the younger generation, and even some of the older people, are beginning to find tribal life and its obligations irksome. This, however, is a natural evolution among people who are in close contact with modern civilisation, which is governed by laws based on individual liberty.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

The Dutch Reformed Church.

FROM the report of "Mochochonono" two European ministers and one Native pastor of the Paris Evangelical ission Society were sent as delegates to the Dutch Reformed Church Synod, which was in session at Senekal. Among other things it is reported that the Dutch Reformed Church has a movement on foot to establish themselves in Basutoland on the mountain regions of our territory, where they propose to start work by building six mission stations. They are coming to work in conjunction with the P.E.M.S church. The issue will be discussed in the next conference of the P.E.M.S due to be held in Morija about the 20th April. The delegate that gave report, is said to have referred to the work of the Dutch Reformed Church among Natives of South Africa with winged words. He places this body on the foremost front of all the South African Churces South of the equator, in championing the Native course. Eulogy of this kind is enough to make the personel of that sacred body to blash with shame, as rightly put, is to make a laughing stock of them. They have not yet achieved repentance as great as that. Of course the paintings must have been very artistic to leave our Native pastor so wrongfully impressed. There is no doubt the Dutch Reformed Church is the largest church in South Africa. But it is only a matter of tact that it has recently been given the lead in councils dealing with Native question. It is a state church of the governing party, so all other denominations must look to it for better and stronger influence on the government. It is further alleged that this church has its eyes fixed on the mountain regions of the territory, so are all the Boers in the Free State. Basutoland is the spot to which all eyes of white people have turned in the Free State.

It is given as a testimony of work a nong the Natives that it has already ordained about twenty Native ministers within a short period. They can, if they choose to, ordain three times that number within a week. What is required of these Native pastors is only to be docile, and to be able to preach and keep records. They are not ministers in the true sense of the word. They are agents for the societies in matters that concern their kinsmen. The intention of the Dutch Church was made known three or four years ago in Basutoland, and since then our Native pastors have been invited on different occasions to attend the Synods of that body. That was another way of preparing them for the time they would be required to bring their flocks into the fold of the Dutch Reformed Church. Money may be forwarded to build churches in Basutoland without sending in missionaries in the territory, but the churches built will be the property of the Dutch Reformed Church to which they will be entitled The fact of owning property in Basutoland gives them the right of say in the affairs of the P.E.M.S churches in Basutoland, and being the richest church may absorb the local body altogether. Again to say that the Dutch Church will not send its ministers of the gospel in Basutoland is not a sufficient guarantee, because ministers are not branded. He may come from farmost corner of the world to join the mission in Basutoland.

It would be a great boon to the P.E.M.S, and to us, its adherents if the Dutch Reformed Church, instead of building churches on the malutis. it would advance money to educate students from our denomination at Fort Hare The standard of education of our present Basuto pastors is now far below the average standard of the church adherents. Their culture in the midst of their kinsmen, is at the most disdainful. The lack of spiritual life in their parishes is due to this drawback in the pastors themselves. They are behind times. So the money utilised in training them would be the money spent in the best way, and for that we would be more than grateful to the Dutch Reformed Church. We are looking to a day when missionaries in Basutoland will hand over the churches to the Basuto ministers, as the Church of Scotland and the Baptist Church have done in the Union of South Africa. But as yet there are no Native ministers in Basutoland who would undertake that work. Because our Native ministers are by far below the standard of the Union Native ministers.

NATIVE AFRICAN SECRET SOCIETIES.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—Some of your readers may be able to help me in my present research work regarding the Native African Secret Societies that used to function in Sierra Leone, some doing so still. I should be grateful of any information known to your readers, either sent direct to my home address or forwarded to me through you.

The following are the Societies I require information about: Agbais, Ampora, Andomba, Ankoi, Ankumunko, Banban, Bays Gbunde, Boibente, Bundu, Dubaia, Jamboi, Joosai, Kangar, Kemah, Kinki, Kofoo, Kono, Krfong, Kure, Mannekeh or Ra'benle, Poro, Ramens, Raruba, Sande, Segere, Sembe, Tilang, Tongo Players, Wundeh and Yassi.

There may be others, not mentioned in the above list, and if so, should be grateful for information concerning them.

This information might take the following form.

The meaning of the word used as a title.

The tribes the societies operate amongst.

The sort of organisation they have (or had), whether based or religion, on what passed as such; whether political; whether social; the names and duties of the officials: the method of making members, whether at puberty, whether as adults, whether male or female or both; and if having headquarters in the villages or in the bush.

The masks, costumes, etc., of the officials.

The signs and passwords; whether the signs are tattoed or painted.

The secret speech of the society, whether used in the passwords or in the society songs.

The dances of the celebrations.

The reasons assigned for the continued existence of the societies, as for instance, the claim that members are immune to a particular disease or immune in a general way to disease.

The teaching of the society, teaching laws of health, tribal legends, etc.

May I state that this is not a new interest to me. I have already amassed quite a considerable volume of information on the subject. But I shrink from publishing what I have until it has been confirmed by those who have nearer facilities of information than mine are at present. And when it is published there will be no effort to ridicule or belittle what I may not fully understand, or what my training may cause to be out of sympathy with, all will be written in a serious effort to make the picture as faithful as possible to the orignal, and to preserve whatever good there may have been in the customs and organisation of these ancient societies.

Thanking you for inserting this.—I remain,

Yours faithfully,

F. W. BUTT-THOMPSON,
Captain.

Laverstock,
Ventnor,
Isle of Wight, England,
7th February, 1928.

Weekly News 4-14-28

Which Way Does The Wind Blow?

This morning (Tuesday), we received terrifying news that Headman Motsoasele went amok yesterday afternoon and shot three oxen, being the property of 'Ma-Thabo, Monnakgomo respectively and farther whipped an old man who was in charge of the span of Monnakgomo. These oxen were ploughing on a land which Motsoasele is disputing with his junior brother Moabi, which he had given orders that it should not be ploughed.

What shoud we say, the breach of law is committed. Headman Motsoasele has taken law in his own hands. He got off his right course and became lawless. He is now going to be in the hands of the law himself. But which way does the wind blow? what has, the action of Motsaosele in store for us? Does it indicate the beginning of new era or does it simply show how witful Motsaosele is? Or does it show dispair in the power of the law to restore order, or it has been merely accidental breach of law? Or is it the case of a man who probed all channels in vain to get protection of the law and now was throwing himself up in disgust for death or life? We have no right answer to give to all these questions.

Motsoasele's Monday's lawlessness is the result of a trouble that has been recurring over one thing and through one and same cause for a period of ten years for which he has spent most of that time in courts about it. We have known two occasions when he had spent almost half a year away from his home at the Paramount Chief's Court, trusting that he would one day find himself in safe circumstances After so much waiting and pleading for intercession of the authorities, and patting and fawning at every courtier, he at last got a sort of relief in a judgment that was given in his favour about five years ago. The judgment gave him sole right of authority and jurisdiction over the land which he disputed with his junior brother, and the latter was ordered to submit himself under his brother or go. Before he got this judgment he had paid not less than ten head of cattle for the show of impatience over the delays of those in authority, and for trying to restrain the wantonness of his brother on the spot they disputed and in the village they lived. To assure him of the safety of his position, the Paramount Chief asked the local Assistant Commissioner to see that his brother gave him no further trouble.

How far the said judgment with him? Since that judgment was passed years ago Motsoasele had never been at ease for even one month at his home. He has been seen going to and fro between Likhoele and Mafeteng, and Mateteng and Matsieng. His brorher became a worst pest to him after that He wrecked houses he was trying to build in his village, ploughed lands he had forbidden him not to. Worst still, intentionally or unintentionally, the Court of the Paramount Chief, last year between the month of September and November, played a dirty trick with him. He was kept there, while his brother was left to remain at home, and he was ploughing any land he was pleased to plough. All the reports about this wantonness of a man who should have been at court, answering to the charges brought against him by his brorher did not seem to go an inch bit into the ears of the court. His position was tantamount to that of an open prisoner, He was let off after ploughing was over. Moabi has been going scotfree in all cases of contempt of court, provocations and lawlessness he was responsible for.

Motsoasele has certainly turned out to be a miserable "schepsel" on the throne that he nominally holds. For a bluff of that kind under the pretext of law and justice one can easily commit suicide. The judgment which should have been a protection to Motsoasele has, consequently. held him out as a target or his brother's scapegoat.

We, ourselves, with the experience we have of our people, and with the advantage we have of coming in contact daily with our people, are surely impressed that this is the beginning of the worst period in the history of the Basuto courts of justice. These courts are on the door frames of their transition, and they are therefore bound to experience the worst time of their existence. Only outside influence would save them from disruption. The country is already full of sparks of this perilous time of die or live The hope in the power of law is becoming extinct among the people.

OUR EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

III.—CO-EDUCATION.

It is now well over fourteen years since the introduction of the Cambridge Certificate Examination into this Colony. That not a *single candidate* from our Girls' Schools has been able all this time to obtain the School Certificate has been to us a perplexing problem which has impaled us on the horns of a dilemma. It is admitted on all hands that our girls are in no way inferior *intellectually* to our boys. Indeed when equal opportunity is given they sometimes manifest superior mental ability. The recent Teachers' Examination is one proof of this. Our dilemma then is this—Either the Teachers in our Girls' Schools are *unwilling* to give their pupils the necessaay preparation for this examination, or they are *incapable* to do so.

It is well known that thirty-three years ago when the Durham Proficiency Examination was in vogue the Ladies from the ANNIE WALSH Memorial School scored several successes in it, and on one occasion the ANNIE WALSH Memorial School candidate passed when those from the Grammar School failed! What has happened to account for the present change? It seems necessary therefore that something should be done to prevent any further loss to our community of the advantage that may accrue to it from the development of the great abilities of its women folk, and that the present unsatisfactory situation may be relieved.

One way of doing this, in our opinion, is by means of co-education of boys and girls in a Secondary Day School presumably under Government control. This method of solving the difficulty is one which is extensively employed in England and in America. We are aware of the fact that local sentiment may likely be roused but we ought not to allow ourselves to remain the slaves to mere custom when an unprejudiced reflection may show us the way to better things. We should be willing to be guided by the enlightened experience of others. In this way only can progress be achieved.

It should be remembered that Education is for life, and no better preparation for life can be had than making the school a replica of the home which is the unit of Society: and only so too can our education escape the criticism which has been levelled against that of ROUSSEAU'S *Emile* who was brought up away from the Society for which he was intended to be trained. Boys and girls are brought up together at home why not at school?

The only serious objection to co-education, we can have, is the tendency to flirtation. But this can not be altogether prevented even where the sexes are educated apart. No arrangement can be made to effectually keep the sexes in water-tight compartments from each other, and even if this were possible, it would be against nature, On the other hand, by proper organisation, e.g., the providing of separate entrances and exits, play grounds, cloak rooms, etc., this difficulty can be reduced to a mere vanishing point.

The advantages to be derived from co-education are so great that some considerations ought now to be given to a proposal for its adoption if therein lies the solution of the problem for giving equal opportunity to our girls for receiving the higher education they need. For one thing it is economical and this is no small point in its favour. Then again in co-education it has been found that each sex does help to correct the defect of the other. The presence of the girls will temper the rough manners of the boys, and the boys in their turn will help the girls to overcome their cosy shyness by their manly conduct.

Not only will co-education improve their mutual conduct, but inspiration to greater mental activity may be gained thereby. Many of us can remember as boys the stimulus to work we received through the ambition of some brilliant class-mate of the opposite sex who was determined to outstrip us in class.

The gain to the girls will be even greater. The recent amalgamation of the Boys' and the Girls' departments of the Cathedral School into one for co-education has shown that invariably in every class the girls were inferior to the boys. This would never have been the case if they had been all along taught together. The girls require the stimulus the boys can give them and *vice versa*.

One more objection which may be anticipated, viz the difficulty about the curriculum, which, it may be said, should not be identical for boys and girls. But there are only a few subjects the two can not take together and these can be taught in parallel classes during the afternoons e.g., while the boys are being taught wood-work gardening etc. the girls can be engaged at sewing, cooking, and laundry. Nothing but the mere Cerberus of a sentiment can stand in our way as a barrier to adopt Co-education if we are really anxious not to allow the education of our girls to remain in the back-ground condition it has now been for almost a third of a century.

A correspondent in the *Aurora* writes: "There is a sort of artificiality in the teaching imparted in our Secondary Schools for girls that we begin to wonder to what profit will it tend. The large amount of money spent on the education of our girls has not shown any premium in their healthy development." May we plead then than eurhythmy be taught our girls? The ungainly manner in which some bear themselves, especially their

Freetown, Sierra Leone

Star

Barrister

Mafeteng

Weekly News

4-21-28

any observer of the need for physical education of this kind. We are on the eve of a great development in our country's history. Shall we be content to have matters remain in the condition they are with our women folk? Let us never rise above the level of its womanhood. Let reason therefore prevail and not sentiment.

Which Way Does The Wind Blow?

This morning (Tuesday), we received terrifying news that Headman Motsoasele went amok yesterday afternoon and shot three oxen, being the property of 'Ma-Thabo, Monnakgomo respectively and further whipped an old man who was in charge of the span of Monnakgomo. These oxen were ploughing on a land which Motsoasele is disputing with his junior brother Moabi, which he had given orders that it should not be ploughed.

What should we say, the breach of law is committed. Headman Motsoasele has taken law in his own hands. He got on his right course and became lawless. He is now going to be in the hands of the law himself. But which way does the wind blow? what has, the action of Motsaosele in store for us? Does it indicate the beginning of new era or does it simply show how witful Motsaosele is? Or does it show dispair in the power of the law to restore order, or it has been merely accidental breach of law? Or is it the case of a man who probed all channels in vain to get protection of the law and now was throwing himself up in disgust for death or life? We have no right answer to give to all these questions.

Motsoasele's Monday's lawlessness is the result of a trouble that has been recurring over one thing and through one and same cause for a period of ten years for which he has spent most of that time in courts about it. We have known two occasions when he had spent almost half a year away from his home at the Paramount Chief's Court, trusting that he would one day find himself in safe circumstances After so much waiting and pleading for intercession of the authorities, and patting and fawning at every courtier, he at last got a sort of relief in a judgment that was given in his favour about five years ago. The judgment gave him sole right of authority and jurisdiction over the land which he disputed with his junior brother, and the latter was ordered to submit himself under his brother or go. Before he got this judgment he had paid not less than ten head of cattle for the show of impatience over the delays of those in authority, and for trying to restrain the wantonness of his brother on the spot they disputed and in the village they lived. To assure him of the safety of his position, the Paramount Chief asked the local Assistant Commissioner to see that his brother gave him no further trouble.

How far did the said judgment with him? Since that judgment was passed years ago Motsoasele had never been at ease for even one month at his home. He has been seen going to and fro between Likhoele and Mafeteng, and Matseng. His brorher became a worst pest to him after that He wrecked houses he was trying to build in his village, ploughed lands he had forbidden him not to. Worst still, intentionally or unintentionally, the Court of the Paramount Chief, last year between the month of September and November, played a dirty trick with him. He was kept there, while his brother was left to remain at home, and he was ploughing any land he was pleased to plough. All the reports about this wantonness of a man who should have been at court, answering to the charges brought against him by his brorher did not seem to go an inch bit into the ears of the court. His position was tantamount to that of an open prisoner. He was let off after ploughing was over. Moabi has been going scotfree in all cases of contempt of court, provocations and lawlessness he was responsible for. Motsoasele has certainly turned out to be a miserable "schepsel" on the throne that he nominally holds. For a bluff of that kind under the pretext of law and justice one can easily commit suicide. The judgment which should have been a protection to Motsoasele has, consequently. held him out as a target for his brother's scapegoat.

We, ourselves, with the experience we have of our people, and with the advantage we have of coming in contact daily with our people, are surely impressed that this is the beginning of the worst period in the history of the Basuto courts of justice. These courts are on the door frames of their transition, and they are therefore bound to experience the worst time of their existence. Only outside influence would save them from disruption. The country is already full of sparks of this perilous time of die or live The hope in the power of law is becoming extinct among the people.

OUR EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

III.—CO-EDUCATION.

It is now well over fourteen years since the introduction of the Cambridge Certificate Examination into this Colony. That not a *single candidate* from our Girls' Schools has been able all this time to obtain the School Certificate has been to us a perplexing problem which has impaled us on the horns of a dilemma. It is admitted on all bands that our girls are in no way inferior *intellectually* to our boys. Indeed when equal opportunity is given they sometimes manifest superior mental ability. The recent Teachers' Examination is one proof of this. Our dilemma then is this—Either the Teachers in our Girls' Schools are *unwilling* to give their pupils the necessaay preparation for this examination, or they are *incapable* to do so.

It is well known that thirty-three years ago when the Durham Proficiency Examination was in vogue the Ladies from the ANNIE WALSH Memorial School scored several successes in it, and on one occasion the ANNIE WALSH Memorial School candidate passed when those from the Grammar School failed! What has happened to account for the present change? It seems necessary therefore that something should be done to prevent any further loss to our community of the advantage that may accrue to it from the development of the great abilities of its women folk, and that the present unsatisfactory situation may be relieved.

One way of doing this, in our opinion, is by means of co-education of boys and girls in a Secondary Day School presumably under Government control. This method of solving the difficulty is one which is extensively employed in England and in America. We are aware of the fact that local sentiment may likely be roused but we ought not to allow ourselves to remain the slaves to mere custom when an unprejudiced reflection may show us the way to better things. We should be willing to be guided by the enlightened experience of other. In this way only can progress be achieved.

It should be remembered that Education is for life, and no better preparation for life can be had than making the school a replica of the home which is the unit of Society: and only so too can our education escape the criticism which has been levelled against that of ROUSSEAU'S *Emile* who was brought up away from the Society for which he was intended to be trained. Boys and girls are brought up together at home why not at school?

The only serious objection to co-education, we can have, is the tendency to flirtation. But this can not be altogether prevented even where the sexes are educated apart. No arrangement can be made to effectually keep the sexes in water-tight compartments from each other, and even if this were possible, it would be against nature, On the other hand, by proper organisation, e.g., the providing of separate entrances and exits, play grounds, cloak rooms, etc., this difficulty can be reduced to a mere vanishing point.

The advantages to be derived from co-education are so great that some considerations ought now to be given to a proposal for its adoption if therein lies the solution of the problem for giving equal opportunity to our girls for receiving the higher education they need. For one thing it is economical and this is no small point in its favour. Then again in co-education it has been found that each sex does help to correct the defect of the other. The presence of the girls will temper the rough manners of the boys, and the boys in their turn will help the girls to overcome their cosy shyness by their manly conduct.

Not only will co-education improve their mutual conduct, but inspiration to greater mental activity may be gained thereby. Many of us can remember as boys the stimulus to work we received through the ambition of some brilliant class-mate of the opposite sex who was determined to outstrip us in class.

The gain to the girls will be even greater. The recent amalgamation of the Boys' and the Girls' departments of the Cathedral School into one for co-education has shown that invariably in every class the girls were inferior to the boys. This would never have been the case if they had been all along taught together. The girls require the stimulus the boys can give them and *vice versa*.

One more objection which may be anticipated, viz the difficulty about the curriculum, which, it may be said, should not be identical for boys and girls. But there are only a few subjects the two can not take together and these can be taught in parallel classes during the afternoons e.g., while the boys are being taught wood-work gardening etc. the girls can be engaged at sewing, cooking, and laundry. Nothing but the mere Cerberus of a sentiment can stand in our way as a barrier to adopt Co-education if we are really anxious not to allow the education of our girls to remain in the back-ground condition it has now been for almost a third of a century.

A correspondent in the *Aurora* writes: "There is a sort of artificiality in the teaching imparted in our Secondary Schools for girls that we begin to wonder to what profit will it tend. The large amount of money spent on the education of our girls has not shown any premium in their healthy development." We are on the eve of a great development May we plead then than eurhythmy be in our country's history. Shall we taught our girls? The ungainly manner in which they are content to have matters remain in the condition of our women folk? Let us remember that a country can never rise above the level of its womanhood. Let which some bear themselves, especially their reason therefore prevail and not sentiment.

Race Problem 1928

Africa

COURT OF APPEAL FOR SIERRA LEONE, GOLD COAST, AND GAMBIA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—It is cheering that the outburst over the Assessors Ordinance did not interfere with the granting of the Appeal Court which our Chief Justice, Sir Gilbert Purcell, has long advocated. The information that the Secretary of State has approved of an Independent Court of Appeal for the above three Colonies has been welcomed by the Bar and the thinking community of Sierra Leone.

Sir Gilbert Purcell, the members of the Bar and those who recently through the press supported the movement for this court, should be congratulated on the fact that through their efforts an independent Court of Appeal is to be set up. This court will be the necessary safeguard and not the repeal of the Assessors Ordinance, which repeal the Government, as indicated in the last Legislative Council debates, has not seen its way to agree to. In the debates the Hon. Songo Davies counselled patience "as the question of the West African Court of Appeal was being actively taken up between this and the other British West African Governments and the Secretary of State." The Attorney-General said that "everything possible has been done by this Government both during Sir Ransford Slater's Governorship and since Sir Joseph Byrne's assumption of office, to make such a court of appeal an accomplished fact"; and he indicated that there is a possibility that in the near future we may have a Court of Appeal for British West Africa, or for a part of British West Africa, by which presumably any local Court of Appel would at once be superseded. And his Excellency the Governor, Sir Joseph Byrne (the President), at the Legislative Council summed up as follows :—"As regards the first issue I can only say that those who are attacking the Government are 'flogging a willing horse,' if I may use the metaphor. For a considerable time past efforts have been made by this Government to set up a comprehensive Court of Appeal and at the present moment we are straining every nerve to accomplish this desirable object. A solution must and will come soon and we will not relax our efforts until this Court has been established."

That within so short a time after the publication of the debates the announcement of the establishment of such a court is made ought to be an indication that the Government is "out" to see that justice is done.

Yours, etc.,

Freetown, April 11. G. D. HOTOBAH DURING.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In your able journal of March 24, page 394, Mr. During had these words :—

"The Government, having had some inkling of Spain's guilt and of the jury's determination to let him go free, had no alternative but to pass the Ordinance, in the interests of justice."

Knowing the facts, and, being one of the parties attacked in the above statement, I challenge Mr. During to give data for his letter.

Mr. During was a child in teens when the occurrence arose, and was not in a position, directly or indirectly, to know the intentions of the Government or the minds of the jury in this matter. It is undisputed that Spain was not *persona grata* with the Freetown public, being considered cold and proud by the very men from whom the jurors were elected, a fact proved by the disagreement of the two sets of jurors panelled to try him. Be it understood that, whatever may have been the opinion of the Government in regard to Spain's guilt, which opinion Mr. During is not competent to discuss, at no time during those trials did the Government bring home his guilt absolutely. In fact, it was commonly said that Spain had been guilty of irregularity, but that some other person or persons had taken advantage of the confidence placed in them by Spain and utilised public deposits. That this was so was at least suggested immediately after the conviction of Spain (by assessors who may or may not have been inimical to him). The archives of the Freetown Court would prove that the second person tried under the Assessors Ordinance was Spain's confidential clerk in the Savings Bank Department, who had been chief Crown witness against him. It was indicated that he was responsible for more than was disclosed in his trial. This being so, I submit that the attack on the jurors who tried Spain's case by Mr. During is proof that Mr. During clings at straws in support of his curious campaign.—Yours faithfully,

Accra. April. FRED W. DOVE.

Government of Natives in Africa

By LORD OLIVIER

II. JUSTICE

IN a previous article* I spoke of the coercive taxation and registration of natives, who are punishable if they move about their own country without their identity paper or pass. Our future in Africa greatly depends on the judgment which such dealings by the white man with Africans, in the assumed interests of European civilization, produce in the African mind.

The native understands them better than he may sometimes appear to do, but he is obedient to law. He does not freely express to his masters what he thinks about them; but it is not difficult for sympathetic investigators to find out. He believes these things are done by the white man in the white man's interests and without regard to his own.

Africans do not desire that Europeans should act as trustees for their civilization. Rather they desire association and opportunity. They have accepted and, in some cases, asked for the protection and government of the British Crown. It would be a mistake to suppose that, even if they are savages and not, as increasing numbers now are, educated and civilized men, and if white men have machine-guns and can at present subdue them, it does not matter what they ask or desire. It is essential to realize what they do ask and desire and how they can be dealt with without inducing unhappy results. The African respects and believes in law and government. These are for him institutions of social necessity, and their authority is embodied in his chief or king, from whom he expects government, but demands justice.

It is not wise to tell an African you are exercising "trusteeship" (a conception he quite understands) "in his interests," when, for example, you are taking away land that belongs by his tribal law to some of his families, and giving it to white planters. He will only smile appreciatively at your artistry in palaver, smile still more if it appears that you suppose he believes you, and despise you if it dawns upon him that you really believe it yourself.

It is wiser simply to tell him that the English King wants the land for his white men, and says he must go elsewhere; and if you deal equitably with him in the exchange he will bear you no grudge. But if you deal unjustly you strain and destroy his loyalty and his belief in the King's justice, which is your only real hold on him, for he will not respect you merely because you are a public official. He is "impudent" because he believes unsophisticatedly in his own obvious rights, and is not in the least impressed by your interested assessment of them. He gives in to force, for violence has been his environment, and it is better to live than to die. He obeys law; but protests against its unjust usurpation. Slavery he understands—who better?—and forced labor—but he does not believe, with Plato's Sophist, that "the interest of the stronger" is justice. "Contact" is good for and acceptable to him; but only on his own terms. (It is also in some respects very bad for him.) It is attractive to him to work for the white man when the latter pays him good money, which he wants in order to buy cows, or a wife, or desirable products of "white civilization" such as a bicycle or a gramophone.

But sensible pressure upon him to work for white men or to go on working after he has earned as much as he wants does not civilize him, but alienates him from civilization and disposition to industry. For two generations after emancipation in the West Indies this method of civilization was tried, with the result that except in small islands where there was complete white land monopoly and the Negro was helpless, Negro labor became the despair of the planters, and they had to import what the Negroes always called "slave-coolies." No Jamaica Negro would ever enter into a labor contract; no African regards such a contract as morally binding, any more than he does the masters and servants laws; he regards it as a form of slavery. The appreciation and observance of free contracts is an essential for civilized economic development, but it will not be taught by compulsion plainly exercised in the immediate pecuniary interests of an employer. The Negro values white civilization for what he can get from it, and if, as it can, it helps him to make his own work efficient in his own interests, he learns to value its modes of industry and becomes an improved and more efficient laborer when he wants to work at wages. The parrot-preaching that the native "ought" to "work" is one-third sound sense, one-third interested cant, and one-third sheer superstition—that labor is good in itself—which no African will ever believe, and would not even if he did not see that the white man himself illustrates, by his practice, Mr. W. B. Yeats's dictum that "idleness is the reward of toil." What is wrong with the native's industry is not that he is idle—for he is not—but that he is inefficient and amateurish.

"Trusteeship," sincerely conceived, may be helpful; but it is dangerously indefinite, and liable, as we see, to disastrously superficial interpretations. We shall do quite well enough in our African empire if we stand aloof from injustice and forbid, on any pretext whatever, interested oppression of black men in the interests of white men, or of "white civilization," as our pride and belief in the essentials of that civilization constrained us to do before we took part in the "scramble for Africa."

WHAT WE THINK.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH SOUTH AFRICA?

What is wrong with South Africa? This is what Mr. Eugene van Wyk, who has done excellent publicity work for the Union in America, asked the members of the local Rotary Club last month at Johannesburg, and proceeded to answer his own question in the light of the experience of other countries, principally of the United States. He thought—and most of us will agree with him—South Africa's greatest need was a political holiday. While politicians were working out to what decimal point they could calculate their higher status of neutrality the best soil was being washed down to the ocean by rains and droughts, and the locusts were ravaging the land. South Africa was afflicted with droughts of statesmen and floods of politicians. Her second great need was a more intensive publicity campaign abroad. The State of Florida spent more money on publicity in America alone than this country did, and the same thing could be said of small countries like Belgium and Holland. Another of South Africa's great needs was for a larger white population, not for immigrants who would accentuate the poor white problem, but for skilled workers from Britain, Holland, and Scandinavia. They were putting a Chinese wall round South Africa, and the lesson should be learned before it was too late. Will Mr. Wyk's warning—coming, as it does, from a typical son of the land—be heeded in quarters concerned?

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

COTTON PROSPECTS IN KENYA

British Cotton-Growing Association's Conclusions.

It has been realised for some time that Kenya is scarcely likely to become a cotton producer of any importance. There are two districts only where cotton may be said to be cultivated—the Coast, which has little or no population, and the Kavirondo district on Lake Victoria. The rest of the country can be dismissed as unsuitable, or [illegible] in producing other agricultural products.

In these brief sentences the British Empire Cotton-Growing Association, at its annual meeting was held at the Royal Exchange, Manchester, on Wednesday, sums up Kenya Colony's prospects as a cotton country.

The Northern district of Kavirondo, bordering Uganda, is, states the report, the only section where cotton has any reasonable chance of success, and out of a total of 2,547,023 lb. of seed cotton purchased in 1926, approximately 2,445,000 lb. were purchased in North and Central Kavirondo. Greater efforts are being made for the 1927-28 season, and there are two Agricultural and two Assistant District Commissioners working between the Samia and Malikisi areas. The natives are not very keen on cotton cultivation but everything is being done to encourage them to cultivate their plots and to plant a good acreage under cotton. Seed was taken from Malikisi in large quantities, and as the Association also have their own representative in the district better results are hoped for in the near future. Nearly all conditions for the successful cultivation of cotton are present—climate, rainfall, and soil are similar to Uganda.

Intercourse with natives of the latter Protectorate has created an interest amongst the Kavirondo, and, provided agricultural supervision is maintained, the possibilities of cotton becoming a permanent industry are reasonably good. The new Turbo-Mbulamuti Railway will open out what was up to recently an isolated district, the only outlets for which were to the Uganda port of Mjanji, some sixty miles distant, or Kisumu, 100 miles. The people are somewhat primitive but with the incentive and example of neighbouring Uganda they will no doubt quickly perceive the advantage of an industry and a commodity which can be readily sold.

"CARBERRY AERODROME."

Lady Heath's Interesting Suggestion for a Memorial.

Lady Heath addressed the following letter to the "East African Standard":—

During my all too short stay in Kenya I was deeply and sorrowfully impressed with gloom cast over the whole community of the colony by the sad death of gallant little Mrs. Carberry. All classes and kinds of people were one in their regret and sympathy. Her courageous flight from Mombasa a few weeks ago was just an indication of her sincere affection and devotion to the cause of civil aviation, and I am sure that those who had the privilege of knowing her and, if I may say so, loving her and admiring her would be only too glad of a suggestion whereby their feelings could find tangible form.

It is for this reason that I venture to enlarge upon a suggestion contained in your columns last week in which your Mombasa correspondent spoke of the desirability and necessity of an aerodrome for Mombasa, the port of Kenya, and the start of Mrs. Carberry's pioneer flight.

In view of the necessity of national civil aviation the Government will, of course, play a large part in the organisation of any such aerodrome, but if it was known that it was being made to form a memorial to Mrs. Carberry, and was to be known as the "Carberry field" or "Carberry Aerodrome," I feel sure that an instantaneous and large response would be made to any appeal made to support the movement in your paper. I cannot think of any more lasting or more fitting way of perpetuating the memory of one who has given her gracious young life for the cause she loved.

Native Bills And Native Leaders.

(By E S Makalima.)

Kindly allow me space in the columns of your paper to write a brief letter in reply to my friend's letter (Rev Mr Calata) which appeared in the "Imvo" of yesterday's date.

I shall try my best to be very brief, Sir, and to the point, leaving out several points raised by Mr Calata.

It is obvious, Sir, that the reverend gentleman read my reproduced letter on the above subject with smoked or or oblique spectacles, otherwise he would have understood the purport and gist of my letter and not to obscure the real issue in a mist of a multitude of words unless, of course, he did this for ulterior motives.

In the first place, he disagrees with me in the meaning of the word "Native" whereas I only corrected use of the small "n" instead of the capital "N." Does the reverend gentleman argue, then, that the word Native, as applied to us, is not a Proper Noun? Secondly I should like to know from him whether the so-called Native Problem is not a difficult and thorny question which has been shelved and shunned as a viper by former governments? Is General Hertzorg not the first Prime Minister to come out and openly face this fearful bull. I am afraid the the reverend gentleman has greatly missed the point as even Prof. Jabavu, for whom he has chosen to take cudgels has frequently declared the courage of the Prime Minister in this question although he does not agree with him. Thirdly, may I refresh Mr Calata's memory that the Bantu Union was the only Native organization which appointed a committee to criticise the Bills as constructively as possible all other organizations "completely condemning and totally rejecting them." They even declined the invitation to send their committees to discuss the Bills with the Bantu Union committee. Again, Sir, to refresh Mr Calata's memory, when the committee read out its report of criticisms at Middle Drift it was received and adopted "nem. con" the only question put being whether the criticisms were already in the government's hands. The answer being in the affirmative the meeting then took up to examine the criticisms clause by clause with a view to adding, amending etc. etc.

The reverend gentleman, to be fair, is correct to say there was a stave during the taking of the different clauses of the Representation Bill when his colleague Dr Rubusana, for whom also he has chosen to take the cudgels got his wonted opportunity of swaying the meeting to his mode of thinking i.e. "complete condemnation and total rejection of "All the Bills." There the matter dropped, the meeting going on with the ordinary work. But, Mr Calata will be refreshed in memory, that after many hours of the general work the whole meeting demanded the discussion of the Land Bill. It was of no avail that the chairman pointed out that "All the Bills had been condemned and rejected" that "condemnation and rejection" was set aside by the whole meeting and we had to start "de novo." Will Mr Calata please deny this. I have gone at length, Sir, for fear it may appear that I am hiding the truth of what transpired at Middle Drift;—and what is generally reported in the "Imvo" about Middle Drift meeting is partially correct. Remember, Sir, what I often say "half truths are more dangerous than falsehoods."

Fourthly, it would have been more becoming for the reverend gentleman to have told your readers that the object and business of the Non-European Conference viz. co-operation and organization of non-Europeans was disposed of in a few hours' time and the major part of the days spent at Kimberley was devoted to Hertzog and his obnoxious Bills, and only "complete condemnation and total rejection" reigned as usual, not any criticisms being constructively offered with the only resolution requiring "Natives to be represented by Natives in Parliament." Hence my question to our leaders Drs Abdurahman and Rubusana and Prof Jabavu, who have thought it better to ignore my question which appeared in the "Cape Times" of the 7th February last. It is now almost three months since the letter appeared and our most prominent, influential and highly learned and titled leaders have not seen it fit and gentlemanly to put their flocks in the right course. Ye gods, save us from this sort of leaders!!! I say so again. Now that Rev. Mr Calata has vouchsafed to reply to my letter I expect him to answer this: How can it be effected to send a Native M.L.A. to Parliament with a mixed roll of European and Native voters; is it likely that there would be Europeans who would vote for a Native contesting a seat with a European, and "vice versa?" If Mr Calata cannot assure us in this point then let him openely declare himself vanquished

Fifthly, the reverend gentleman speaks about "selling our birthright for a mess of pottage" which, I presume, he means the "vote" as is proclaimed everywhere by our most illustrious and intelligent leaders. Will he deny the fact that the main and fundamental use of the vote is to enable one to send a representative to Parliament to look after his interests? I admit there are privileges obtained by voters but I do not believe they convey the full and correct meaning of the vote. Who are our representatives in Parliament, my friend Mr Calata? If you can point out or name only one true representative then you will take the cake as even Editor Jabavu also your protege, has frequently said "the Natives are not represented in Parliament and their interests go by default:" vide "Imvo" of the 10th January, 1928; please tell the country truthfully if what we have is the true "vote."

Kindly excuse my lengthy letter; if politics were a religious institution I would be free thinker.

[The malicious aspersions made in the above letter in reference to the Editor "Imvo" have been blue-pencilled as they are neither true nor justified. A suggestion has been made in these columns that if Europeans cannot vote for black M.L.A's and vice versa then the constitution may be altered (as is being suggested now by Gen. Hertzog) so that non-European voters may vote for and be represented by non-European members direct in the Assembly with full privileges. This is what we meant by saying "Natives are not represented in parliament and their interests go by default" If blacks are represented by European members, Europeans will not go to the polls and vice versa the stigma

Race Problem 19

Africa.

BRITISH COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION.

LORD DERBY'S REVIEW.—WEST AFRICA'S COTTON PRODUCTION AND PROSPECTS.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "WEST AFRICA."]

The 23rd annual general meeting of the British Cotton Growing Association was held in Manchester on Wednesday, with the President (The Earl of Derby, K.G.) in the chair.

West Africa

Moving the adoption of the report and accounts, the chairman said it was a great pleasure to him to be able once again to congratulate the Association upon a successful year, and considering all the circumstances the result was one of which they could be justly proud.

Briefly reviewing the principal items in the income and expenditure account, the chairman pointed out that the surplus on head office account was £20,552, which compared with £10,010 for the previous year. Further amount reserved on account of bad debts was £15,000 compared with £5,000, and provision for income tax £15,000. The balance on the working of the branches was £23,791 after charging £36,485 for depreciation.

In the balance sheet sundry debtors, after reserving for bad and doubtful debts stood at £158,168, and stocks of cotton and stores were £262,854. The cash at bankers and at branches was £450,609. Investments stood at £41,622, and buildings and machinery, after writing off depreciation, at £166,207. In regard to liabilities, there was no change in the paid-up capital. Sundry creditors stood at £148,718. Finally, the net profit for the year was £33,824, and the total excess of income over expenditure was increased from £387,739 to £421,563

5-19-28

Lord Derby made reference to the deaths of Mr. J. C. Parker and Mr. J. W. Simpson, who had both devoted many years of service to furthering the interests of the Association. Their loss was much deplored, as was that of Mr. James M. Thomas, chairman of the Finance Committee, whose death had occurred within the last few days.

Continuing, the chairman referred to Sir William Himbury's visit of inspection to the principal cotton-growing areas of South Africa, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, which he made in the company of Mr. Astley-Bell. First-hand knowledge of the conditions on the spot had been obtained, and anyone who read the report of the tour would be repaid for their trouble. Another matter of more than passing interest was the visit to Lancashire of King Faisal of Iraq, and he (Lord Derby) hoped that as a result of same a larger portion of King Faisal's country would be put under cotton cultivation. (Hear, hear.)

Turing to a resumé of the work in the various countries, the chairman said the past year was notable for one thing—there was not a single part of the world in which the climatic conditions were good for cotton growing.

In India the 1927 season proved an unfavourable one for cotton on the B.C.G.A. (Punjab), Ltd., farm at Khanewal, and the yields were much lower than in the previous season. In the West Indies, owing to the difficulty in disposing of the crop, the Sea Island variety, representations had been made that the acreage should be curtailed for the time being, and the question of substituting some other variety of cotton in lieu of the Sea Island was receiving consideration both from the Association and the Empire Corporation on this side, and the authorities in the West Indies.

As regards Africa, dealing with the West Coast first, Lord Derby said that in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, notwithstanding the comparatively low values which ruled for cotton during the time the crop was being marketed, the crop was better than was anticipated, and slightly exceeded that of the previous year, being 10,024 bales, as compared with 9,387 bales for 1926. The future of the cotton growing industry in the Southern Provinces was largely dependent on the replacement of the existing cotton by an improved type known as Ishan, and there was reason to believe that if the experiments which had been carried on by the Agricultural Department were successful, they would lead to the planting of a greatly increased area of cotton in two of the principal districts. With the object of assisting the Agricultural Department in their efforts to promote the cultivation of Ishan, the Association guaranteed to pay a substantial premium over and above the price of the native cotton.

In the Northern Provinces, for the first time since the establishment of the improved long-stapled type, a setback had to be recorded. 15,379 bales were produced as compared with 37,079 in 1926. The weather conditions were most unfavourable during the growing season, and the officials of the Department of Agriculture stated that the area planted in the "older districts" was less than the area planted in the previous season, and it was doubtful if the increases in the newer areas compensated for the decrease in the older areas. The decrease in acreage planted was to some extent the result of the fall in prices in the season 1925/6, but the decrease in production was mainly due to a lower yield per acre.

The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation was continuing its experiments with cotton and rotation crops on the seed farm at Daudwa.

In the Uganda Protectorate, on the other side of Africa, a crop of 131,728 bales was produced, as compared with 180,859 bales for the previous year. Cotton formed 90 per cent. in value of the exports of Uganda, and the danger of the country's dependence on a single crop has often been commented upon, and had not been overlooked by those responsible for the country's welfare. The difficulty was to find an additional product which was suitable to the country and at the same time one of sufficient economic value to be exported. The export tax payable for the season was assessed at two cents or ½d. per lb. lint. The total duty collected amounted to £41,487, which compared with £199,897 for the previous year, when the tax was at the rate of six cents. The loss in revenue, said the chairman, must be a severe blow to the Uganda Administration, but the authorities had wisely looked ahead and something had been put away for any possible setback. The financial situation of the country was sound.

Concluding, the chairman said the Association had been prepared for a slight setback in the amount produced, and although the actual results in terms of bales produced were a little disappointing, there was no justification whatever for pessimism. It had always been recognised that one or two unfavourable seasons climatically, coupled with low buying prices, would be the acid test for Empire cotton growing, particularly in the districts which had only been developed in recent years. It was therefore gratifying to record that the industry had withstood the combined effects of poor crops and relatively low values so well.

In a passing reference to the research work conducted by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, the chairman pointed out that, contrary to the impression which some people held, the British Cotton Growing Association did not receive any portion of the cotton levy, which all went to the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Lord Derby was re-elected president, and to the list of vice-presidents was added ex-officio, on the suggestion of a shareholder, the President of the Manchester Cotton Association.

The annual report referred to the visits of Sir William H. Himbury, the managing director, and Mr. H. Astley Bell, the chairman of the East Africa Committee to South Africa and stated that the general impressions of the tour were that South Africa was a wonderful country, where farmers could cultivate almost any kind of crop. In some places cotton could be produced in small quantities under better conditions than even in the U.S.A. "But the production of cotton is largely a question of price and owing to various causes the industry is not likely in the immediate future to attain large proportions."

There were 117,740 bales of East African cotton sold out of a total of 878,440 bales, during the season ending July 31, 1927. The net profit for the year was £33,824.

Dealing with the work in detail the report mentioned that, for the first time since the establishment of exotic long-stapled cotton in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria the industry had suffered a set-back, the total purchases for export in bales of 400 lbs. each in 1927 being 15,379, as compared with 37,079 in 1926, and 27,088 in 1925. The weather conditions were most unfavourable during the growing season. There were, however, some features which were not entirely discouraging. The crops on the farms of the Department of Agriculture showed that the yield from well-manured plots, sown at the proper date, had been very little less than in normal years and it was gratifying to find that quite a number of ordinary Native farmers, especially in Southern Katsina, had some fields that were very good even in such an unfortunate year.

The total amount of seed distributed for planting during 1927, for the 1927/28 season, was 2,332 tons, which was 914 tons less than the quantity given out in 1926. 486 tons was distributed in the Zaria Emirate, 681 tons in the Katsina Division, 351 tons in the Sokoto Province, and 540 tons in Kano Province, the balance being distributed in the Abuja and other districts of the Niger, Munchi and Kabba Provinces

In the Southern Provinces the yield per acre had been undoubtedly high. In order to encourage economy in the use of indigenous Ishan cotton seed it was intended to sell it for planting instead of giving it away like the ordinary seed and the Association had guaranteed to pay a premium of one penny per pound of seed cotton over and above the price for second-grade native cotton and the guarantee had been of great assistance in the rapid multiplication achieved during the season.

A ginnery had been established by the Government at Tamale, on the Gold Coast, but the Department of Agriculture reported that the results of the first year's effort were very disappointing. The Department were continuing their efforts to develop the industry and subsequent work promised better results.

The Association meeting had been preceded by the annual meeting of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, at which Lord Derby said the prospects and projects in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and in Nigeria were good in spite of bad climatic conditions in the latter in the season 1926-7. In South Africa things were in a more promising condition than they ever were before. The needs and possibilities of the general situation were such that no area, at all events in Africa, with any kind of cotton-growing possibilities, could be left unexplored. Good as were the possibilities in Nigeria and the Sudan they could not expect to obtain from them alone the cotton needed within a reasonable period.

THE AFRICAN'S HUMAN RIGHTS.

SLAVERY AND FORCED LABOUR DANGERS.

West Africa 5-19-28

Forced labour in Africa and other parts of the Empire formed the main part of the discussion on Tuesday at the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. Lord Lugard, Lord Olivier, and Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Office in Geneva, took part in the discussion. Dealing with the enormous growth of trade in Africa since 1914, Mr. Butler drew attention to the fact that most of the production had been done by Native labour, and the problem was how the workers could be adapted to modern conditions, and their health, education and general welfare reconciled to the new conditions of prosperity. It used to be supposed, he said, that the Native was constitutionally idle and that some form of compulsion was necessary to make him work. The application of that led to disastrous results in French Equatorial Africa, where the population of 4,000,000 was reduced to 1,000,000 in a number of years. The future development of Madagascar was imperilled by the high death rate through forced labour. The International Labour Office in Geneva had set up a commission, entirely composed of men of long Colonial experience and the commission had drawn up a report and had passed an unanimous resolution that all forced labour should cease at the earliest possible moment.

Lord Olivier said that it was becoming a fixed idea in the minds of statesmen and Colonial Governors that it was the sacred duty of European nations to develop the African territories with the utmost possible speed. The places were there and must be developed immediately. Even Colonial Governors in British Colonies were admonishing the Natives that it was their duty to aid civilisation by working their utmost in this cause. There was, in fact, no such duty. The over-rapid development was undertaken solely in the interest of the profits of the European interests concerned. He hoped that the International Labour Office would succeed in putting an international brake on this rush of Imperial development, and so prevent the waste of resources of the world and protect Native life and welfare from the evils of exploitation. Capitalistic development should run concurrently with the development of the people.

Lord Lugard agreed, and said that undue rapidity was pernicious. The idea was widely spread that the resources of the African countries should be quickly developed to assist the industries and to cheapen the products for the congested populations of Europe. The Government had given a lead by opening up new lines of railways, and in several of the African territories the Colonial Governments had pushed on developments at too great a pace. Governments also used forced labour, labour which was absolutely forbidden in all British territories, for private enterprises. Forced labour could be used on urgent public works, and that was a very elastic term. A good deal of the responsibility, he believed, should be given to Native Chiefs. If administrations gave these leaders of the people a certain amount of money, they would find the labour and pay for it.

Lord Lugard suggested that the report drawn up by the Commission on forced labour should be given a wide circulation. If they wanted to enlist public opinion they could only do it by publicity.

Mr. Charles Roberts, presiding, gave some interesting details about slavery. He said that Liberia, originally intended to be the refuge of liberated slaves, was now one of the chief centres of slavery.

NATIVE TRIBUNALS IN THE GAMBIA.

An interesting discussion arose in the Legislative Council of the Gambia over the right of appeal from a Native Tribunal to the Supreme Court. The new Protectorate Amendment Ordinance provides what the Government regards as sufficient safeguards in the right of revision of decisions by the Travelling Commissioner, and by the monthly revision of all criminal cases by the Judge of the Supreme Court, but Mr. S. J. Forster pointed out that in many instances the new Ordinance would vest the power of trial and appeal in one Commissioner, while the monthly revision system by the Judge allowed men to serve short sentences before their cases came up for revision. In any case, he felt it would be a retrograde step for the right of appeal to be taken away after it had been exercised for 15 years, especially since, to the best of his recollection, every appeal had been allowed. Another source of weakness was the absence of notes of evidence from the records of the Native Tribunals, but when the Legal Adviser claimed that this made appeals of little use, Mr. Forster pointed out that at least an appeal led to a re-hearing, which in a recent case meant that several persons were saved from some months' imprisonment that they had not deserved. Mr. Forster was unsuccessful in saving this right of appeal, and the Bill passed second reading.

The Nigerian Coalfield.

The geological description of the Nigerian Coalfield started in "Bulletin No. 6" of the Geological Survey of Nigeria is continued in "Bulletin No. 12" (Crown Agents, 12s.), which deals with the southern continuation of the area over a square of which the eastern corners are approximately Enugu and Ameki Railway Stations, the area thus also joining that described in "Bulletin No. 8" (Geology of the Eastern Railway). Besides incorporating the relevant parts of this last publication, the "Bulletin" adds to it a description by Dr. L. F. Spathe of ammonites found at the Ishiago Brickfield, and fixing the age of the lower shales as Upper Albanian, and not Turonian, as was formerly conjectured. The authors of the "Bulletin" are Messrs. R. C. Wilson and A. D. N. Bain. The six plates and the coloured geological map of the area form in themselves an informative summary of the "Bulletin," although one might wish that, even though the aim of the book be to record geological facts, some appendix had been included showing the probability or otherwise of the coal, lignite, and pottery clays in the area proving of economic importance.

The "Empire Cotton Growing Review."

The April "Empire Cotton Growing Review" (P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.1—1s. quarterly) includes among its less technical papers some descriptive "Notes on clothing, cloth, and cotton in the Lower Niger," by the Rev. S. R. Smith, who mentions many seldom-remembered facts, as, for instance, that in the sixteenth century Benin exported cotton cloths to Europe, while as long ago as 1859 there were two to 300 gins, mostly owned by Africans, in Abeokuta. Archdeacon Smith is distinctly optimistic in his outlook upon Eastern palm-oil competition, and says :—

There is likely to be great agricultural development in the oil-palm belt of the Lower Niger when the scientifically produced palm-oil from the Dutch East Indies becomes a serious competitor in a trade which has been practically a monopoly of West Africa for centuries. Attention will then be directed to the cultivation of the oil-palm as well as to the methods of extracting the oil, and probably there will be a general recognition of the value of raising crops such as cotton and ground-nuts for export as supplementary sources of income. There will be a great demand for labour, and if tactful and sympathetic methods are adopted, there should be no great difficulty in attracting from the North Eastern part of the Ibo country all the labour required for the cultivation of such export crops in the fertile areas of the Niger valley.

An article by Dr. J. G. Myers on the "Biological Control of Cotton Pests" describes the progress so far made in this direction, and besides incidentally mentioning that such methods had been used in China in the twelfth century, his article serves as an introduction to that next following—Mr. F. D. Golding's "Control of Cotton Stainers in Southern Nigeria." Much has been written of this problem in the "Nigerian Agricultural Bulletin," but the exact results of the attempt to establish a "close season" against the insect by rooting up all plant hosts in an area of nine square miles do not seem to have been published before. Mr. Golding is of opinion that the present method, that of producing a strain of cotton maturing at a time when stainers are comparatively scarce, is the most practical, although he remains hopeful that a "stainer-immune" variety may be discovered.

Cis-Kei Local Councils.

At the last meeting of the Middledrift Local Council an impasse occured in the discussion on the employment of a Secretary to the Council. All the Native councillors, including the Government nominees were unanimous in demanding that the appointment to the Secretaryship should be open to Natives. The Chairman of the Council intimated that he had instructions from the Chief Native Commissioner to the effect that the post had to be worked by one of the staff in the magistrate's office. To this the councillors strongly objected, as they were under the impression that the Búnga was under their entire management, and that its officials were to consist of Natives. They held that the post should be advertised, and a competent Native secretary appointed. What the outcome will be is awaited with keen interest.

This position certainly applies to all local councils in the Cis-Kei. If the government intended to endow Native Councils with a certain measure of self-control in the administration of their affairs, why is there so much interference with that liberty already granted? It is quite possible that one or two secretaries may not have been suitable for the posts; but this hardly justifies the extreme action of eliminating Natives from such a post. We can guarantee to find fully efficient clerks who would be capable of doing the work if the post is widely advertised, and if it carries with it an adequate salary. A salary of £10 per month for such a responsible position would never appeal to the proper aspirant. If the Councils really want efficient Native clerks they must be prepared to pay from £15 to £25 per month; and government would not be justified in objecting to such expenditure when efficiency is sought. The offer of a meagre salary is certain to attract mediocre talent, and the government might well expect the failure in such appointments. We cannot conceive that the object is to install European clerks (whether paid or not) to keep out Natives, and therefore we strongly recommend that Natives be given the proper chances which the Act originally intended to give. Cis-Kei Natives are becoming diffident regarding the success of Councils in the Cis-Kei, and this was engendered by regulations passed subsequent to the Act of 1920, when government assumed to itself the authority to rescind resolutions passed by Councils. This in effect exactly corresponded with the magisterial conclave in the Transkeian General Council which has such arbitrary powers, which even unto this day is the nasty blot in that important Council. Supporters of the council system in the Cis-Kei have been rightly disappointed at the introduction of this clause, and consider this a breach of faith.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

The Dutch Reformed Church.

"SERUMULA" LET'S THE CAT GO OUT.

DUTCHMAN'S TYPICAL VILE.

PARAMOUNT CHIEF SINGLED OUT.

THE nervous tension which was created by the report of the Rev Edward Motsamai, of Maseru, who had been delegated with two other European ministers of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society to the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church whose report gave the impression that the latter body was going to establish itself on the malutis by building six church buildings under the fold of the Paris Mission was partially easied by the announcement which appeared in the "Leselinyana" signed by two ministers and one Native pastor. Although the announcement fell short of refuting the source of the talk which appeared in the Basutoland press it had in the way checked the rising tide against the mother church of Basutoland In our last issue we had given a warning that there was this serious omission made which tampered the truthfulness and the sincerity of the refutation of the three signatories of the Church of Basutoland Joint Conference. Furthermore we had expected that whatever was not furnished in the refutation was going to be accomplished by our Pastors when they returned from the Joint Conference to their parishes. But most unfortunately our expectations ended in a disappointment, for the kind of a report we received tantamount to an insult to a congregation that claims representation in the Councils of the Church of Basutoland. Instead of getting a report from their Pastor, the Leselinyana's report was read to them, and a paragraph cut of "Serumula." Surely the congregations can't be fooled always.

Now this "Serumula" a small Dutch missionary newspaper published for the Basuto section of that church in the O F.S., in its April issue, poohpoohs without any reservation the refutation of the Basutoland Church Joint Conference It speaks in two voices. In the other voice it gives a lie direct to what the Basutoland press has said in the matter, while its Dutch version gives out the undertaking agreed upon in the following terms:—

"2. Die Vergadering besluit om 'n jaarlikse kollekte te hou met die Oktober Nagmaal vir die onderhoud van een of meer Evangeliste in die Malutis, Basoetoeland," which translated in English simply means, "The Conference agreed to raise an annual collection on October Nagmaal for the up keep of one or more Evangelists on the mountains of Basutoland"

This resolution or report of the secretary, the Rev Geo. Willemse, is more definite and clearer than that of the Rev Motsamai's. We are represented in Serumula, as saying, "the Dutch Reformed Church has arranged to come in Basutoland. Now a question is asked, where do they get that, from who? I say to them, that matter is a lie from hell from Satan." Yet the same people have let the cat out in their Dutch report signed by their secretary. From the pen of the same Moruti who write so vilely about us, in paragraph three of his letter he quoths: "what we have arranged, which is not private, we asked our congregations to assist by collecting money to help the French Church to build new branches on the Malutis for the sake of the many people who have removed there recently, among whom there are ours" The Rev Motsamai alleged that this body has arranged to build six stations on the malutis. Can anyone then go anywhere to look for the hell which is given as the source of our information? The reader must find for himself where this hell is, and who that Satan may be The Dutch people have always viled us Natives, that is typical of a Dutchman The only next place that they know exist for a Native is "hell" The Dutch Reformed Church has arranged to provision or upkeep Evangelists in Basutoland. They have their own flocks to care for among the flock of the Paris Mission, money from the former body must come to Basutoland, earmarked for the upkeep of Evangelists Whose evangelists? It is impertinenc to say things and then deny them, even when they are printed in black and white

There is no man who has done the Dutch Reformed Church disservice than the writer of the letter under consideration He questions the right of chiefs to have a say in the church questions, particularly that of the Paramount Chief whom he singled out because he was a Roman Catholic man. The Dutch Reformed would be well-advised to keep away from the affairs of Basutoland, not to come and prejudice our Church with the new notions they have The Paramount Chief of Basutoland is the Supreme head of every church in Basutoland. Every church's discipline is safeguarded in him. He is the Chief shareholder in the property of all that go in the name of a church in Basutoland. He directly and in some cases indirectly grant sites. quarry stones, ride them and supplys all the labour for every church building in Basutoland. Nevertheless he does not interfer in the internal life of the church, and this is only a matter of policy The fact of being a Roman Catholic does not entitle the P.E.M.S or eny other church to over-ride him in his right of a veto over all matters that affect his people religiously or irreligiously.

Tamara Local Council Funds.

To the Editor "Cape Mercury"—

On Monday 31st. May the six Councillors of the Tamara Local Council met their electors at the Wesleyan Native Schoolroom in town ship for the purpose of giving an account of their stewardship for the year that expired in April last The 72 electors from whom the Councillors were chosen were represented by a gathering of over a hundred men The Councillors gave a full account as far as they knew, of the progress the Council to k in hand. Among other matters, Councillor Haya, corroborated by Councillor Mji informed the electors that an amount of £125 was voted as a loan to one of the highest paid European employees of the Council; this loan to be repaid in instalments of £5 per month. As this was announced a murmur of disapproval filled the hall and it was

evident that strong exception was taken to this illegal vote.

It is on this loan that, with your permission Mr Editor, I wish to discuss briefly. It is well known that the funds of the Local Council were earmarked by law to be expended among Natives in further developing Agriculture, Afforestation, Fencing Road-making Dam-making and such works as will materially assist in the improvement of Native conditions The government reserved to itself the right finally approve of all expenditure, and I presume this was with the object of safe guarding any indiscreet expenditure of funds liable to be made by a Council in its infancy. Again the Chairman of the Local Council is the statutory "adviser" to the Council. Can it be said that a loan to a European employee of £125 comes under the legitimate purpose of development of Natives? Is it justifiable that the Council was advised to grant the loan in any circumstances? I certainly think the electors were right in murmuring their feelings of dissent: but I hope they will not leave the matter at that stage.

A M JABAVU.

(Portions of our correspondent's letter have been deleted. On inquiring into the matter we were enabled to make the following extract from the minutes of the Council dated October 25, 1927 :—

"An application was received from the Works Manager asking the Council to advance him £125 for the purchase of a motor car for his work, the amount to be repaid by monthly deductions from his salary. Cr. Haya proposed that the application be granted, terms of repayment to be left in hands of the Chairman, seconded by Cr. Madosi.—Carried"

We are further informed that an agreement was drawn up whereby the car is the property of the Council until it is paid for. The car is insured and the policy duly ceded to the Council. Repayments are effected by a deduction of £5 per month from the salary of the Works Manager. The car is necessary for the carrying out of the Works Manager's duties.—Ed C M).

[The above letter appeared in the "Cape Mercury" of the 8th June 1928 with portions of it deleted as the Editor of the "Mercury" admits in his footnote above. We happen to have a copy of the original letter sent to our contemporary, and have pleasure in adding the deleted portion in the public interest. It occurs as the last paragraph of the original letter omitted and reads :—

"Major Herbst and one of the Native Commissioners I am informed are dare here on the 11th June to meet the Local Council members, and a decision should be obtained from them as regards what I term a gross irregularity in the disbursement of Council funds

Councillor Haya further said for the meeting that road-making operations in the Tamara location had been partially stopped, and labourers put off as a result of funds petering out Here we have work that was provided for in the estimates being suspended because of money spent on unauthorised directions. Under what head did this loan come? If it came under 'Miscellaneous," then it is imperative that the government (by government I mean the Native Affairs Commission at Pretoria or the Secretary for Native Affairs scrutinise the "Miscellaneous" items and go into the whys and wherefores of every item"

[We may add to this footnote that as our contemporary's Editor has taken it upon himself to clear up the matter on behalf of the officials concerned he may be in a position to explain why the £125 was advanced for the purchase of a motor car for the carrying out of the Works Manager's duties when the Council previously voted that this Manager receive a salary of £25 plus £5 extra for travelling expenses This official therefore derives from the Bunga his £5 travelling expenses monthly and a loan of £125 for yet other travelling expenses in the form of a motor car The security as to the return of the loan is not the point at issue. The precedent is ill advised and puts the Bunga in the precarious position that they cannot dispense with the official however calamitous a mistake he may make in the discharge of his duties until he has served at least 25 months—the period he has to repay the loan The question still remains—who advised these Councillors to vote this loan? EDITOR [MVO]

Magistrates' Executive Powers

A correspondent of the "Cape Mercury" in its issue of the 18th November last made strong condemnatory remarks at the action of the Tamara Local Council in granting its Chairman full executive powers in the control and management of the officials of the Council This correspondent observed "this means that the entire control of all public works (which works claim the heaviest expenditure from the Council's treasury), is vested in the Chairman alone, and the Bunga will savour of a one-man show" The truth of these remarks has been clearly proved in the action brought by Jabez Mngqibisa against the Transkeian Territories General Council in the Supreme Court at Grahamstown on the 4th inst, the Acting Judge President presiding It will be seen from the account reproduced below that the Transkeian Bunga is not a legislative body; but merely consultative to the Chief Magistrate. He is the ruler of all the Transkeian Territories, and the Councillors will know it from to-day that their Chairman recognises their decisions and allows them to be carried into effect only at his pleasure. 6-12-28

This decision of the Supreme Court brings out the true position that Native administration in the Territories is not democratic in the true sense but autocratic. Natives have been given the shadow of self government, but the substance is not there. The report of the Supreme Court proceedings reads :—

Monday, June 4.

(Before the Acting Judge President)

Transkeian Territories General-Council v. Jabez Mngqibisa.

This was an action to have a road crossing defendant's farm declared one to the free use of which the public are entitled and for an interdict restraining defendant from obstructing the road The road is in mountainous country between Cala and Cofimvaba.

It was objected that the Council had passed no resolution authorising the action, but his lordship found that the Council is a merely consultative body and that the chief magistrate who signed the power to sue has complete executive powers. It was further pleaded that there was no satisfactory proof of "vetus," or memorial use of the road, but after reviewing the evidence the Court upheld the plaintiff's claim Mr. Gardner, K.C., and Mr. E F van der Riet, D.F C., for plaintiff, Mr. Reynolds, K.C., and Mr. Blore for defendant.

Non European Conference.

At the close of the Non-European Conference held in Kimberley in June 1927 it was intimated that the next congress would meet at Durban in June 1928. We notice that up to now the conveners have not moved in calling the different non-European organisations together for the Durban meeting. We hear from an authoritative source that the hitch lay in the delay of the Hertzog Native Bills which have long been expected to be produced by the parliamentary Select Committee in amended form. The bills, as will be remembered, formed the basis of discussion at the last year's conference, discussions which were taken and advanced a certain stage. It will therefore be imperative for the Conference to meet after the Premier has put the bills before the country, to provide for the agenda. We observe that in some quarters a note of dissatisfaction has been sounded because of the political aspect the Non-European conference assumed. Those who hold this opinion do not however suggest or point out the platform on which the different Coloured, Indian and Bantu organisations should have met other than political. We fail to see the object of this disapproval, as the Non-Europeans could not be expected to discuss common action in religion and social intermixture. Educational affairs stand on different bases for the various nationalities constituting this conference, and it is only in the political world where their destiny seems enveloped in one nutshell. Suggestions have been made in certain quarters of the calling together of all Bantu organisations in preparation for a possible round table conference with the government (if this is granted), to consider the Native Bills. Our hopes for the success of this venture are very faint. The All-African Convention formed some years ago, ceased to exist [illegible] same Bantu organisations, and although a provisional start has been made with the Non-European Conference it is evident that some leaders of Bantu thought do not appreciate the support this congress deserves. In our experience our leaders suffer from the disease of inability to yield to any leadership that does not comprise themselves, and this is what shatters all attempts at collaboration.

Native Parsons in Politics.

[By Songcangeashe.]

Just as it is difficult to get the Christian spirit (the spirit of charity) to rule in our politics, as it is to convert hardened sinners, so it is to convert some of our Native Ministers to get off the main line of our politics. I will attempt in my next to show how unwilling clergy can be shunted off with benefit to themselves and to their people whom they seem to serve, and this can be done without malice, or a wish to degrade a body of men who are respected for their work's sake. Doubtless the erring brethern believe in the scriptural injunction that "no man can serve two masters," but there is always the temptation for men to display themselves. I hope our reverend brethern will not be in a hurry (answer before I am done) as a result of our natural vanity. As I am pressed for time permit me to take a rapid review of some of our average Congress proceedings, and the same may be said of our press which reveals the limitations of those, otherwise useful and educative public organs when their doors are thrown open to the indiscriminate use of the vulgar and illiterate crowd whom we usually describe as the "Umzi." Talk to me about the "Umzi" especially in the towns. Ha-ha-ha, Ho ho! (siqarala) who among us has not felt the rupture of public eloquence which like "old vatted" curses through our veins while swaying audiences and arousing google eyed enthusiasts and crazy devotees in pit and gallery to our "frantic eloquence" which is usually directed against the authorities, for it is true that men will not cease to associate the Government with the ills and miseries to which flesh is heir, and in this connection the black man can bring a true bill against present and past governments for many injustices and oppressions imposed by legislation. I say it is common cause that men delight to spread themselves and like the peacock to dance (ukutshila) in the glory of its shimmering splendour, or to recall Disraeli's famous sneer at Gladstone to get "drunk with the exhuberance of their own verbosity." Halala, Halala Hoh! Abuvanganto!! Bendi shilo kakade madoda i Afrika iyatuya!! Heke—Heke He, He, and so on and so forth and in the enthusiasm of the movement these frenzied zealots would catch the King by the beard if they could and demand why he sold our franchise to the Boers when most likely none of them have a vote and do not know the difference between the franchise which we have and a free vote which we never had. But that's the way the world wags and when the Captains and the Kings depart in a cloud of dust some poor scarecrows who are mostly impecunious scribes are left to battle through the night with the construction of shreiking "Resolutions" which are passed on to the Government perhaps to be pigeon-holed by some junior "Jack-in-the-Box" who with a yawn says to his mate "Ginger" of the ruddy head—"Blast those educated niggers they want every thing under the sun and they are not going to get it you bet!" Come along Ginger lets go to tiffin and have a mild soupe. Exit the juniors and the curtain rings down. But should the Minister deign to reply it amounts to this in brief but politer language. "Look here you confounded agitators do you know who I am? I know well who you are and have heard of all your goings on. Some person could it be a parson, perish the thought, had already given the show away and if you are wise you will at once get away home if you have such luxury at your disposal and in future dry up, dig potatoes out leave politics alone, if not I have something in the cupboard here which will put a period to your shouting and disturbing the peace of an ignorent public whom you are only out to fleece. Whereupon one of the disgruntled deputation asks of another outside the sacred precincts I say Isaac what had he in the cupboard? The Sedition Bill of course you Simpleton says the Rev. Judas who knew all about it beforehand. Here endeth the first Chapter but if we are to put our house in order it will not be the last.

CAPE AFRICAN TEACHERS.

The deliberations of the above conference at Kimberley resulted in the passing of the following resolutions:

(1) That the policy of the Education Department of advising or urging teachers after an inquiry to reliquish their present posts, causes much inconvenience to teachers so concerned, as they are usually left unprovided for, and that in such cases the Department should provide the requisite schools.

(2) That more facilities be provided for the training of Bantu nurses at places such as Lovedale, Umtata, and Butterworth.

(3) That this association humbly requests the Education Department to appoint a commission at an early date to go into the question of revising the Sechuana text books used in our schools, and that the personnel of such committee consist of persons (including Natives) efficient in the idioms of that language.

(4) That while this conference recognises the fact that the time is not ripe yet for the general introduction of compulsory education in native schools, yet it feels that in urban areas a modified form of compulsory attendance for all children between seven and fourteen, excepting those prevented by reason of ill-health or are in regular occupation, be instituted.

(5) That this association requests the Department to refund the teachers with over five years' service, who contributed to the pension fund, their money plus interest when they leave the service.

(6) That whenever changes in the curriculum of native schools are contemplated, this association requests the Department to invite representatives of this association for inclusion in the personnel of the committee.

(7) That this association views with alarm the reducing of a teachers' salary on transferring him from one district to another.

(8) That this association requests the Department to staff Bantu schools adequately, and that the numbers stipulated by the Education Ordinance be strictly adhered to.

(9) That in a case of a complaint against a teacher the inquiring committee be presided over by an officer of the Department.

Aliwal North was appointed the venue of the next meeting. The officers for the ensuing year are:—

President, Professor D D T Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.) Fort Hare.

Vice-President, Mr. F H M Zwide, Bethelsdorp, Port Elizabeth.

General Secretary, Mr. B B Mdledle, Lovedale.

Recording Secretary, Mr. P D Max Mashicila, Fort Beaufort.

Treasurer, Dr. James Henderson,

The executive council: Messrs. G Njikelani, (Healdtown), M L Kabane, B.A. (Lovedale), D Lukashe (Adelaide) S E Mqayi (Berlin), H M Masizo, A.T.C.L. [Kimberley], and C Xabanisa [East London].—"Daily Dispatch."

The Native Franchise.

A Tsolo correspondent of ours sends us the following interesting excerpt:—"The following from Sir George Cambell's White and Black" in America may be interesting to you and your readers: "Disfranchisement cannot now be a remedy. I venture to agree with those thoughtful Northern statesmen who say that whatever temporary inconveniences may attend the policy deliberately adopted, it must be adhered to, for they say, under our political system the only security that any class shall be fairly treated is that they should have votes. They instance the case of Chinese in California who in their view, are unfairly treated because they have no votes. A man they say who has a vote even if he carries no weight now, is sure to be courted by some party sooner or later. The whites must have division among themselves and then they will be civil to the blacks. I think the experience of our own colonies is entirely in favour of this view. Unrepresented blacks and other unrepesented classes are always liable to be treated unfairly under labour laws, vagrant laws and revenue laws. I am told that in the interval between the war and the adoption of the black vote clause of the Constitution, some of the Southern Legislatures showed a disposition to adopt similar laws, and though they now are honestly free from such ideas, such proposals would probably spring up again if the blacks were not represented."

MR BALLINGER AND HIS WORK.

The 18th. day of July 1928 was a red letter day in the annals of black trades unionism in South Africa, for for it marked the arrival in Johannesburg of Mr. W. G. Ballinger who has been deputed by the I.L.P. of Great Britain to advise the huge I.C.U. organisation in methods calculated to ensure efficient control and guarantee success in its aims and objects. We have the greatest pleasure in welcoming this harbinger of industrial peace on behalf of the aboriginal races. We say pleasure, because we see no reason for being pessimistic if our labour friends overseas saw fit to delegate a man of tried ability to come over to South Africa and help to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between the employers of labour and the Bantu proletariat. Neither do we see any reason for being suspicious that Mr. Ballinger's presence will further promote the faulty propaganda of some native leaders of the I.C.U. movement indulged in in the past. Rather do we feel that it may mean a change in I.C.U. tactics for better understanding between the promoters of this movement and the principal employers of labour, the government and the Chamber of Mines included. Professor Brookes Messrs Howard Pim and J. Rheinallt Jones are notabilities whose names may not figure in a cause that is

destined to give rise to native unrest. Their activities in the Joint Council of Johannesburg are a guarantee that they could not err in the way of gladly welcoming a doubtful intruder. The I.C.U. are to be congratulated in obtaining the services and utilising the wide experience of a brilliant young man in the person of Mr Ballinger, and we hope that with an honesty of purpose and an iron will to overcome obstacles so peculiar to Scotsmen, he will be successful in overcoming all the bluff, camouflage and insincerity to be found among those who have axes to grind and who benefit by the gulf of misunderstanding between the black worker and his European employer remaining unbridged, to ensure their continued wanton exploitation of the black races. If Mr. Ballinger knows nothing of the conditions in South Africa, he has come to know them, and it is not befitting of anyone to pass scurrilous strictures before the gentleman has had a chance of giving a helping hand to his black labour comrades. We find no fault with the utterances he made at his reception meeting at Ferreirastown, neither can the facts he mentioned be disputed or said to be unwise. He has the opportunity of being advised by trusted men like Mr. Howard Pim and others. Mr. Ballinger realises the difficult work cut out for him, and judging by the usefulness of his injuctions in the last National Council meeting of the I.C U. of which he is a member, we can assure him that he will receive the strongest support and collaboration from the Cape membership of the I.C.U. who are left quite unmoved by the recent dissensions in the I.C.U. ranks in parts of Natal and the Free State. The Cape is the birthplace of the I.C.U. and as such means to uphold the honour and solidarity of the movement at all costs by virtue of the strong and unshakable convictions they conceived when the ball was set rolling.

A Welcome Convers on.

The Prime Minister, General Hertzog addressing a great gathering of Natives at Nongoma, Zululand on Sunday 5th. August is reported by reuter as follows:—"The Premier had a word to say to the native who had had the advantage of a good education. It had been the custom for certain educated people to think that they were too good for their own people He was glad to see that that was changing, for the educated native who ran away from his own people deserved the greatest contempt. The educated native was the only man who could effectively influence the development of his own people, because he could, if he had the will to do it, gain the confidence of his people to a greater extent than the European could. That was why he was so anxious that in the native territories the intelligent native should be in a position to lead and teach his people. He hoped that the day was coming when the native would more and more take upon himself the government of his own territory."

The foregoing views of the Premier are hailed by the natives with deep satisfaction as against the views General Hertzog expressed to a native gathering at Butterworth on the 31st. August 1925 when he toured the native territories in the Eastern Province. Of the educated native on that day he made the following observations:—"I have found that everywhere I have gone in Pondoland, amongst the Tembus, and here amongst the Fingos there is one class, the tribal native with his chief. You will find him a very civil man who still feels that obedience to his chief and respect to the white man is natural. I found also another class, the "intellectuals." Now this class I know very well. In Capetown, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and those places, and I think they are going to become a very important section of the population of South Africa. That class I am afraid is not going to do much good to the native tribes in the territories, and I am afraid that it is going to be a source of considerable friction, both as between the tribal native and the white man and over against the white man in South Africa. Now it seems to me that if the white man has one big question to solve it is how these native intellectuals can be brought directly into contact with their own people."

We may credit the Premier with having gained the genuine knowledge of the native and his conditions of life since he toured the Eastern Province in 1925, hence his well-reasoned utterance at Nongoma quoted above, and we are truly thankful that at last he has seen the fallacy of his 1925 conceptions

Correspondence.

Native Parsons in Politics.

By Fairplay

Sir — In your issue of July 21, 1928 appeared a letter under the above heading by Songcangcashe, who, I believe, is one of those anti-Native whites who write for Natives (or who pretend to be Natives writing against Natives. Nevertheless he is wasting his breath in trying to misrepresent the African National Congress as the I.C.U. has been misrepresented. The Government have already intimated their intention not to heed reports from the mob or from newspapers because they have the police or officials to report on the misconduct of Native meetings. The foregoing refers to that part of your correspondent's speech which mentions "our average Congress meetings" and "our frantic eloquence which is usually directed against the authorities." He is not aware of the amount of damage his words are doing or in his own words he is "drunk with the exuberance of his verbosity"

What the Natives call "umzi," or Native people in general, are not vulgar. They are orderly people. They must be consulted by their leaders as Europeans are consulted by their representatives. When a Native has been initiated to manhood by rites which distinguish "umfaan" from a boy he directly assumes a dignified behaviour Unnatural to Natives are those puerile ejaculations which Songcangcashe uses, namley: Hala'a, Halala, Hoh! Akuvunganto! Bendi-tshilo kak de madoda i Afrika iyabuya! Heke. Heke, He, cannot be identified with even the worse of Native meetings In fact your correspondent has forgotten the wise saying about "The Proof of the Pudding." He should attend a Native meeting before he judges Songcangcashe admits that Natives in general are illiterate and yet he will not allow ministers of religion to lead them. The President of the African National Congress is a very polite and well educated minister of religion. Again the well known Native minister of religion who was member of Parliament was not the first minister of religion to enter politics Songcangcashe himself does not know the rules of the rail road otherwise he would not try to stop the carriages attatched to a moving engine. Native ministers are following the lead of European ministers in entering politics If he is a dull student of the Bible as his quotation about "two masters" shows, the ministers are not dull in politics. Politics in Christendom follow the lead of christian religion.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Mafeteng Show

Thabana Morena Industrial School Progress.

Saturday 2nd instant will long be rem mbered by many Basuto people as a successful day, and it is hoped it will encourage many to realise that education in stock heading, farming and industrial is essential thing in future.

Immediately after 9 o'clock [illegible] and horses were [illegible] mares' Padd[illegible] present w[illegible] cultural Offic[illegible] Surgeon), [illegible] Assistant [illegible] R v. Germond [illegible] and many other promin[illegible] in Basutoland including [illegible] and Mr Reid, (S[illegible]) The Camp Fa[illegible] to open the S[illegible] unfortunately it was not s[illegible]

There w[illegible] 2,000 people present, and w[illegible] busy going up and down. W[illegible] on the horse section, it seemed as if they were all to b[illegible] there. The Judge Mr V[illegible]rney had a busy morning, as th[illegible] were many horses. Though th[illegible]y were in a poor condition but good animals did won their prizes.

The Cattle section was not as one had expected to see, they were in somewhat a poor condition, and it is hoped that the next Show will see better class of this section.

Grain section was very much good, and if the efforts of the Officer of Agricultur[illegible] will be met by the Basuto as there is every hope, next year this section, it is believed will take a ke[illegible] competition. Sheep and Goats also was better than it could b[illegible] expect[illegible]d. There was only one entry on the wool section.

The Vegetable sections only show good potatoes, peas, and dried beans. The Poultry section section was also a poor one.

The Native Industries would have been said to have taken a step foward, but there was not much competition, and this should be encouraged some how.

Needle Work showed a very keen competition. The work from private individuals and from Thabana-Morena School and that from Em[illegible]use Mission was very exceptional, and it is encouraging to see that girls who have left school, some being married have still got the heart of knitting and sewing. The work from these two schools and the ex-scholars is a pride in the eyes of many people who were present. Most of the crochet work was bough[illegible] immediately after the Show, and one may think that the Thabana-Morena and Emous Sch. will work hard to compete with the work done at home. But the fact remains and it shall ever [illegible] there, that these two schools will never be beaten, if the compe[illegible] is not very keen from t[illegible] individuals. If at th[illegible] our local Committee w[illegible] one class of w[illegible] by these tw[illegible] private individuals, w[illegible] prize awarded, th[illegible] one can say which way the wind blows. Our thanks are due to our Camp F[illegible]er, the Committee and [illegible] for such work, and we hope to see good competition next Show.

The following are the prize winners of the various classes.

HORSES

1—1st Setsema, 2nd 'Motse, 3rd Tsekelo, 4 h Esau 'Musa, 5th Silas.

2.—1st Koali, 2nd Malototsi, 3rd not known, 4th Matsoba, 5th Lukase Molahlehi.

3—1st Motse 2nd N. Koela.

4—1st Lumisa, 2nd Daemane, 3rd Mrs M. Lebako, 4th Samuele Letsika.

5.—1st Mororo, 2nd 'Matse, 3rd Masitlele, 4th Pitso, 5th Letsema.

6.—1st Ts'ekelo, 2nd M Phasumane, 3rd Teele, 4th Seabata, 5th Ntaoli.

CATTLE.

8—1st Mokoea, 2nd Jim [illegible], 3rd Mokoe, 4th Paki.

9—1st Elia Makhate, 2nd Seleso,

10—1st Joseph Ramatsabane, 2nd Sethobane, 3rd Phooko, 4th Makhoe.

11—1st Silas, 2nd Rasello, 3rd Mokorosi.

12—1st Silas Makhothe, 2nd Leemisa, 3rd Rasello, 4th not known.

GRAIN.

13—1st Malakia, 2nd not known, 3rd Maloisane, 4th Florina

14.—1st Setoane, 2nd 'Mamako, 3rd Mrs M Lebako, 4th Seipubi.

15.—1st Rasello, 2nd Mots'oari, 3rd John Ts'ehlo, 4th Malakea.

16.—1st Thoms Bohloko, 2nd Florina, 3rd A Moletsane.

17—1st Moshe, 2nd Mokone, 3rd B. Marite, 4th Mokorosi, 5th Phillip Mokhahle.

18—1st not known, 2nd Moatisane, 3rd Daemane, 4th A. Moletsane, 5th M. Lebako.

19—1st J Lepati, 2nd not known, 3rd M. Shale, 4th Florina.

20.—1st Lefa, 2nd Matsoha, 3rd Mosi.,

SHEEP AND GOATS.

21.—1st Pone, 2nd Letsema, 3rd Mohapi, 4th Oriel, 5th Moletsane, 6th Sello.

22.—1st Ralihloho, 2nd Silas, 3rd Nephthali, 4th Poone, 5th Setba.

23.—1st Silas, 2nd Mokone, 3rd Malakea, 4th Ralihloho, 5th Lefa.

24.—1st John Ts'ehlo, 2nd Abram Moletsane, 3rd Pesa, 4th Pesa, 5th Pesa, 6th Khoeli

25—1st Ntsu N ahleli, 2nd Sethaha 3rd John Ts'ehlo, 4th Khoela, 5th Pesa.

WOOL.

26.—1st Setha Makhothe.

27.—1st no entry

VEGETABLES.

28—1st E Makena, 2nd Adam, 3rd Jacob Komane, 4th Moatisane, 5th Daemane.

29.—1st Monaheng, 2nd Phabia Matong, 3rd Khoase.

30.—1st R. Ben, 2nd Seipubi, 3rd Marite, 4th Monaheng, 5th do.

31.—1st Samaria School, 2nd not known, 3rd Marite.

32—st not known, 2nd Seipubi, 3rd Emouse School, 4th Phillip, Mokhahle.

33—st not known, 2nd Daniel 3rd Pule Khechane, 4th Ben, 5th Samaria School, 6th Ben.

FOWLS.

34.—st Moatisane, 2nd not known, 3rd Gracie, 4th Moatisane.

35.—st Jacob Komane, 2nd Molefi, 3rd Baruke.

36.—st Mrs Mohapeloa, 2nd not known, 3rd Seipei.

37.—st Mokone, 2nd Anna.

38.—st Moatisane, 2nd Mrs Mohapeloa, 3rd E. Nkolanyane.

NATIVE INDUSTRY

39—st Victorina Sojane, 2nd not known, 3rd Amelia Lekeka, 4th Ema.

40—st R. Ben, 2nd Eznes Bereng, 3rd H. Pitsa, 4th Lea Lekhabane.

41—st 'Ma-Beti, 2nd Zavea, 3rd K. Pneta, 4th Maria Mokhosi, 5th Melita, 6th Madelina.

42.—st Moselesele, 2nd Ts'ilo, 3rd Tomorise, 4th Daemane, 5th Letsema, 6th Moselesele.

43.—st Maile, 2nd T. Thamae, 3rd Samuel Letseka, 4th Mokhele.

44—st Sylla, 2nd Salome Dichaba, 3rd Elizabeth Marite, 4th Rosalia, 5th Thabita Lekatsa, 6th Emouse Mission, 7th Luisa Seetsi.

45.—st Paulina, 2nd Sara Ramotsoatsi, 3rd Luisa Seetsi, 4th Bantsi, 5th Andrease, 6th Julia, 7th Bessie.

NEDDLE WORK.

46—st not known, 2nd Rosetta 3rd Belina.

47—st M. Mathakhoe, 2nd Mrs. Monapeloa, 3rd Makhomari.

48.—st Henocete Semela 2nd Abia Ts'emane, 3rd Asaele.

49—st A. Matlosa, 2nd not known, 3rd not known.

50.—st C. Mapetla, 2nd Makhomari 3rd C. Mapetla.

51—st Evelyn Malibeng, 2nd M. Mathakhoe, 3rd Evelyn Malibeng.

52—st Samaria School, 2nd Samaria School, 3rd Bela.

53—st not known, 2nd Thabana Morena, 3rd Emouse Mission.

54.—st M. Letuka 2nd Samaria School, 3rd E. Theba.

55—st Thabana Morena School, 2nd Mrs Mohapeloa, 3rd do.

56.—st Hugelina, 2nd Emouse Mission 3rd Alina Mokhele.

59.—st Maria Seutloali, 2nd Nkaloseng Khechane, 3rd Mrs Mohapeloa,

60.—st Corina, 2nd Mrs Makhotsi, 3rd Clandia Marite.

BREAD.

57.—st Selloane, 2nd George Bellete, 3rd not known.

58.—st Anthana, 2nd Selloane, 3rd not known.

Race Problem – 1928

Africa.

Mafeteng Show

Thabana Morena Industrial School Progress.

Saturday 2nd instant will long be rem mber-d by many Basuto people as a successful day, and it is hoped will encourage many to realise that education in stock heading, farming and industrial is essential thing in Basutoland.

Immediately after 9 'clock [illegible] and horses were [illegible] mares' Padd[illegible] present w[illegible] tural Offic[illegible] Surgeon), [illegible] Assistant [illegible] R v. Germond [illegible] and many other promin[illegible] including [illegible] and Mr Reid, (Sc[illegible] The Camp Fa[illegible] to open the S[illegible] was not s[illegible]

There w[illegible] 2,000 people present, and w[illegible] busy going up and down W[illegible] on the horse section, it seemed as if they were all to b there The Judge Mr V[illegible] had a busy morning, as t[illegible] were many horses. Though th y were in a poor condition but good animals did won their prizes.

The Cattle section was not as one had expected to see, they were in somewhat a poor condition, and it is hoped that the next Show will see better class of this section.

Grain section was very much good, and if the efforts of the Officer of Agricultur will be met by the Basuto as there is every hope, next year this [illegible] it is believed will take a keen competition. Sheep and Goats also was better than it could b expected. There was only one entry on the wool section.

The Vegetable sections only show good potatoes, peas, and dried beans. The Poultry section section was also a poor one.

The Native Industries would have been said to have taken a step foward, but there was not much competition, and this should be encouraged some how.

Needle Work showed a very keen competition. The work from private individuals and from Thabana-Morena School and that from Em use Mission was very exceptional, and it is encouraging to see that girls who have left school, some being married have still got the heart of knitting and sewing. The work from these two schools and the ex-scholars is a pride in the eyes of many people who were present. Most of the crochet work was bough: immediately after the Show, and one may think that the Thabana-Morena and Emous Sch. will work hard to compete with the work done at home. But the fact remains and it shall ever be there, that these two schools will never be beaten, if the competition is not very keen from t[illegible] individuals. If at the [illegible] Show, our local Committee w[illegible] one class of w[illegible] by these two schools [illegible] private individuals, w[illegible] prize awarded, then one can say which way the wind blows. Our thanks are due to our C[illegible] for such work, and we hope to see good competition next Show.

The following are the prize winners of the various classes.

HORSES

1 —1st Setsema, 2nd 'Motse, 3rd Tsekelo, 4 h Esau 'Musa, 5th Silas.

2.—1st Koali, 2nd Malototsi, 3rd not known, 4th Matsoba, 5th Lukase Molahlehi.

3 —1st Motse 2nd N. Koela.

4 —1st Lumisa, 2nd Daemane, 3rd Mrs M. Lebako, 4th Samuele Letsika.

5.—1st Mororo, 2nd 'Matse, 3rd Masitlele, 4th Pitso, 5th Letsema.

6.—1st Ts'ekelo, 2nd M Phasumane, 3rd Teele, 4th Seabata, 5th Ntaoli.

CATTLE.

8 —1st Mokoea, 2nd [illegible]

0 —1st Elia Makhate, 2nd Sekso, 3rd Mokoe, 4th Paki.

10 —1st Joseph Ramatsabane, 2nd Sethobane, 3rd Phooko, 4th Makhoe.

11 —1st Silas, 2nd Rasello, 3rd Mokorosi.

12—1st Silas Makhothe, 2nd Leemisa, 3rd Rasello, 4th not known.

GRAIN.

13 —1st Malakia, 2nd not known, 3rd Maloisane, 4th Florina

14.—1st Setoane, 2nd 'Mamako, 3rd Mrs M Lebako, 4th Seipubi.

15.—1st Rasello, 2nd Mots'oari, 3rd John Ts'ehlo, 4th Malakea.

16.—1st Thoms Bohloko, 2nd Florina, 3rd A Moletsane.

17 —1st Moshe, 2nd Mokone, 3rd B. Marite, 4th Mokorosi, 5th Phillip Mokhahle.

18 —1st not known, 2nd Moatisane, 3rd Daemane, 4th A. Moletsane, 5th M. Lebako.

19 —1st J Lepati, 2nd not known, 3rd M. Shale, 4th Florina.

20.—1st Lefa, 2nd Matsoha, 3rd Mosi.,

SHEEP AND GOATS.

21.—1st Pone, 2nd Letsema, 3rd Mohapi, 4th Oriel, 5th Moletsane, 6th Sello.

22.—1st Ralihloho, 2nd Silas, 3rd Nephthali, 4th Poone, 5th Setba.

23.—1st Silas, 2nd Mokone, 3rd Malakea, 4th Ralihloho, 5th Lefa.

24.—1st John Ts'ehlo, 2nd Abram Moletsane, 3rd Pesa, 4th Pesa, 5th P sa, 6th Khoeli

25 —1st Ntsu N ahleli, 2nd Sethaha 3rd John Ts'ehlo, 4th Khoela, 5th Pesa.

WOOL.

26.—1st Setha Makhothe.

27.—1st no entry

VEGETABLES.

28—1st E Makena, 2nd Adam, 3rd Jacob Komane, 4th Moatisane, 5th Daemane.

29.—1st Monaheng, 2nd Phabia Matong, 3rd Khoase.

30.—1st R. Ben, 2nd Seipubi, 3rd Marite, 4th Monaheng, 5th do.

31.—1st Samaria School, 2nd not known, 3rd Marite.

32—st not known, 2nd Seipubi, 3rd Emouse School, 4th Phillip, Mokhahle.

33 —st not known, 2nd Daniel 3rd Pule Khechane, 4th Ben, 5th Samaria School, 6th Ben.

FOWLS.

34.—st Moatisane, 2nd not known, 3rd Gracie, 4th Moatisane.

35.—st Jacob Komane, 2nd Molefi, 3rd Baruke.

36.—st Mrs Mohapeloa, 2nd not known, 3rd Seipei.

37.—st Mokone, 2nd Anna.

38.—st Moatisane, 2nd Mrs Mohapeloa, 3rd E. Nkolanyane.

NATIVE INDUSTRY

39 —st Victorina Sojane, 2nd not known, 3rd Amelia Lekeka, 4th Ema.

40 —st R. Ben, 2nd Eznes Bereng, 3rd H. Pitsa, 4th Lea Lekhabane.

41 —st 'Ma-Beti, 2nd Zakea, 3rd K. Pneta, 4th Maria Mokhosi, 5th Melita, 6th Madelina.

42.—st Moselesele, 2nd Ts'ilo, 3rd Tomorise, 4th Daemane, 5th Letsema, 6th Moselesele.

43.—st Maile, 2nd T. Thamae, 3rd Samuel Letseka, 4th Mokhele.

44 —st Sylla, 2nd Salome Dichaba, 3rd Elizabeth Marite, 4th Rosalia, 5th Thabita Lekatsa, 6th Emouse Mission, 7th Luisa Seetsi.

45.—st Paulina, 2nd Sara Ramotsoatsi, 3rd Luisa Seetsi, 4th Bantsi, 5th Andrease, 6th Julia, 7th Bessie.

NEDDLE WORK.

46 —st not known, 2nd Rosetta 3rd Belina.

47 —st M. Mathakhoe, 2nd Mrs. Monapeloa, 3rd Makhomari.

48.—st Henocete Semela 2nd Abia Ts'emane, 3rd Asaele.

49 —st A. Matlosa, 2nd not known, 3rd not known.

50.—st C. Mapetla, 2nd Makhomari 3rd C. Mapetla.

51 —st Evelyn Malibeng, 2nd M. Mathakhoe, 3rd Evelyn Malibeng.

52—st Samaria School, 2nd Samaria School, 3rd Bela.

53 —st not known, 2nd Thabana Morena, 3rd Emouse Mission.

54.—st M. Letuka 2nd Samaria School, 3rd E. Theba.

55 —st Thabana Morena School, 2nd Mrs Mohapeloa, 3rd do.

56.—st Hugelina, 2nd Emouse Mission 3rd Alina Mokhele.

59.—st Maria Seutloali, 2nd Nkaloseng Khechane, 3rd Mrs Mohapeloa.

60.—st Corina, 2nd Mrs Makhotla, 3rd Clandia Marite.

BREAD

57.—st Selloane, 2nd George Bellete, 3rd not known.

58.—st Anthana, 2nd Selloane, 3rd not known.

Native Agricultural Show.

At Herschel.

[Contributed]

On Friday, the 18th of May 1928, Sterkspruit presented a scene of unusual interest. Some four thousand Natives, coming from all parts of the district and representative of every section of the community, assembled at Sterkspruit, to attend the Native Agricultural Show for the district. This was the first event of its kind since 1912, though the show, on the former occasion, was held in the village of Herschel.

A pleasing feature of the affair was keen interest taken by the Europeans in a purely Native concern. The traders of the district, in order to demonstrate their interest in local Native Affairs, closed for the day. Mr. J Botha, M.P.C, (who officially opened the show) and Mr. Norton, Chief Native Commissioner, (Cape) from King William's Town, were among the Europeans present. Mr. Sephton, our local M.L.A was unfortunately unable to attend owing to stress of Parliamentary duties, but materially assisted with a donation of £20.

Great enthusiasm and interest were evinced by the Natives generally, and, though the number of entries, (totalling 1305 were far greater than had been anticipated, the quality of the exhibits was indubitably high. Very few exhibits of a markedly inferior standard were presented. In view of the poverty prevalent in some parts of the district, this can be regarded as particularly encouraging. In all 215 prizes, giving a sum total of £7[illegible]0 were distributed.

The fact that 380 horses, 220 cattle, where 135 small stock, (all of fairly high merit) were exhibited. goes far to substantiate the statement that the show was a tremendous success,

In the handicrafts section, where 367 entries were received, remarkable competence was shown in needlework and knitting, while the Native ware, such as pottery and beadwork, showed surprising talent. In passing, it should be noted that the grain, especially the wheat and mealies, was of a particularly high standard.

Most people, I think, were agreeably surprised in the quality of the poultry. Of 90 entries in this section some very fine specimens were exhibited, and the supposedly orthodox "kaffir fowls" were wholly out of the picture.

The show was pronounced by those competent to judge as a distinct success which augurs very well for the future progress and development of the district. The whole day was marked by a spirit of harmony and co-operation among all classes of the people, and was voted by all to have been [illegible] a [illegible] day. The weather was particularly kind.

Star of Basutoland.

ESTABLISHED FEB 16, 1904

FRIDAY JUNE 8th, 1928

Agricultural Show.

TIME and space do not allow us to go into the merits of this annual event. But as we wish that some kind of programme must be considered, in order to revolutionise this Show in Basutoland we propose to deal with this subject at length in our next issue. So far these shows have not produced the results which they were expected of them To say the competition in Basutoland among the exhibitors is keen it is wrong.

In husbandry there are no individual exhibitors who have own themselves the reputation of being breeders of good stock, or who are on a permanent path to improvement of their breed

The same story may be told of agriculture. The shows we have are good test and by them the Agricultural department may fathom the depth of its work among the Basuto. So long as we have no individual prize winners who are distinguishing in this line we have no reason to believe that our people have left their primitive methods of plougning the soil and weeding their crops.

As we said, we propose to deal with this matter in our next issue what we have said now is enough.

Dr Barnard's Home.

In the absence of the President, H.R.H the Duke of York, Mr. William McCall, Chaiman of the Council, presided over the "Annual General Business Meeting" of Dr Barnardo's Homes National Incorporated Association to-day.

The Report showed that up to the 31st December last 105,156 children had entered the Homes, 17,975 children and young people were dealt with during the year.

The new admissions in 1927 totalled 2,025, 1,648 being permanet admissions and 377 temporary. Nearly 80% of the children came from Province and a little over 20% from the Metropolis. On an average 5 children come in daily. The children were admitted from almost every country in the Kingdom through the various Ever-Open doors which are open for the reception of destitute children at any hour of the day or night. The average number of children in residence throughout the year was 7,716. Included in this large family were 1,003 babies and toddlers under 5; 422 crippled, invalid, blind, dear and dumb, phisically afflicted of sickly children. 1,087 boys and girls were under industrial and technical instruction in workshops and workrooms 2,189 young people were placed out during the year. 29,661 had been migrated to Canada and Australia and the Overseas Dominions up to the end 1927.

The Home consist of 179 separate cottages, households and Branches all over the Kingdom, in addition to hundreds of boarding-out centres in rural districts

The Charter of the Homes is "No Destitute child ever refused admission There is no red tape; no waiting list; no voting system. The need of the child is the only consideration. The Homes rescue the Nation's children, nurture, care for and train them, and give them back to the country as useful citizens, healthy patriotic and strong. In other words they are turning C.3 children into A.1 citizens.

The Home Secretary, presiding over a mass meeting of the Homes last year, speaking as one officially responsible for the inmates of the Industrial Schools and reformatories of the land, said "I am her to-day to say, and to say to the people of England at large, that there is no better way of decreasing my family and of keeping boys and girls out of like Dr Barnardo's Homes. As Home Secretary, I thank God for Dr Barnardo's Homes".

The incomes for a year from all sources, amounted to £521,514 and the expenditure to £521,499.

Native Parsons In Politics.

(By Songcangcashe)

Your leader of the 1st May on "Parliament and at Votes" calls for action in view of evils threatening the Bantu as an integral part of the Union of South Africa. You also give prominence to articles by Revs. B. J Tello and J A Calata in your columns the former directed to the general public (ukomokazi) an appeal which I consider premature and unfortunate and as likely to injure the cause of union as to facilitate it. A general appeal to the public upon questions of such intricacy and subtlety underlying the policies and principles involved at this grave crisis is perhaps to miss the mark and render confusion worse confounded. The questions deserve the most serious attention of the best minds, but here again is a question whether these reverend gentlemen in entering the political arena have not 'missed the mark of their high calling.' This is what I am most interested in just now, leaving it to your hospitality to afford me another opportunity of criticising their attitude and opinions in a later article The real "Umzi" is a fellowship of consecrated men and women inspired by one purpose and one policy and united by Christian charity to the service of their fellows in church and state, and the highest of this calling is not to be found in politics, although politics are an aid. What "Imvo's" policy is and whether some may think it has a leaning to Smuts does not affect the question that religion is not politics. There is revolt against measures of oppression, repression, and injustice in Hertzog's Native Bills which is general and Mr Calata is disgusted at what he considers the fulsome flattery of General Hertzog by the Secretary of the Bantu Union both views do not necessarily mean that either "Imvo" or the Bantu Union are committed to any party That is a matter which will develop itself in time. At present neither our respected president Mr Pelem or his Executive have committed themselves or the country to any party, but the country itself viz: Nationalists, S.A.P. and the Bantu are sparring for an opening as it were like pugilists in the ring in view of coming events which cast their shadows before. Now politics are not religion and while ministers as citizens have a right of expression on the ethics of any given policy their proper sphere is "to minister as unto God in holy things," and to exercise their special calling in the direction of patience and peace in the name of the Prince of Peace, their true Master and Overlord. The difficulties and perils, and the contentions involved in militant politics arise from the efforts of individuals factions, races, and organisations to push their particular propagandas "over the top." However men may dissemble their love their politics are governed by some selfish motive by whatever name they may call it, and as a rule unregenerate man strives by every means legitimate or otherwise, and most often by subtle, tortuous and unscrupulous means and methods unaffected by the claims of righteousness justice and truth toord it over his fellowmen. Therefore to ascribe policies of oppression to Hertzog or Smuts is to narrow the issue for as individuals they are the expression of the convictions of a class, a faction, or a race and the situation would not be altered if either of those statesmen were outside of the Union of South Africa. It is men's hearts that are at fault and to think that spiritual changes can be effected by ministers leaving their pulpits for the hurly burly of political battles is to get their heads clayed in, their characters damaged and the cause they represent brought into derision But to try to convert our ministers to this veiw is just as difficult as to convert burdened sinners to accept the gospel of salvation.

Race Problem – 1928

Africa.

CIVIL SERVICE AFFAIRS.

[By a Special Correspondent.]

The "Nigerian Journal," the quarterly official publication of the Association of European Civil Servants of Nigeria, for March is up to standard. There appears an article of four pages taken from "Nature," entitled "The Technical Expert in the Civil Service." This article will be of great interest to the Nigerian Civil Service, but to make it truly valuable it needs an appreciation from the West African point of view from the technical and non-technical officers.

West Africa

The editor's notes cover a wide range. The Association's Council has decided to represent to Government the views of the Association on the Nigerian income tax and a letter is being drafted for this purpose. The editor comments with reason on the unsatisfactory manner in which motor taxation has been dealt with in respect of officers who keep motor vehicles for official purposes. Before this year such officers were granted free licences, now they have to pay, and claim repayment from the Treasury. As the editor says, "The old system of free licences worked well and was at least simple: the new arrangement is complicated and causes unnecessary work to all concerned, especially the financial departments, without obvious advantages." No wonder that people are able to criticise Government methods.

In the December "Journal" attention was drawn to the lack of facilities afforded passengers at Iddo. The matter is again dealt with in this number, and the railway authorities have authorised the editor to state that considerable improvements are being made for the convenience of passengers arriving from over-seas, both as regards accommodation and baggage, and have stated that the Nigerian Railway is striving to meet the public demand for convenience and is keenly alive to the necessity for this.

5-19-28

Since October, 1926, the Association has been pegging away for more satisfactory regulations regarding language examinations in the Northern Provinces. In May, 1927, the Government stated that the matter was still under consideration; now, after over 10 months' waiting, the Government has written to say that the whole question of language examinations is under consideration, and that a further communication will be addressed to the Council in due course. It is hard to understand why there should be all this delay, especially as there is every reason for supposing that the regulations are unsatisfactory. Perhaps Government has been so busy dealing with the question of the taxation of officials' motor transport that it has not had time to devote to the language question.

Civil Servants in Fiji.

The last annual report of the Association of European Civil Servants of Fiji deals with the revision of the Civil Service salaries in that Colony. The original contention of the Association that all emoluments should be advanced by 70 per cent. over the 1910 scale has been abandoned. Although it is considered that this figure represents the increase in living over the period, it is thought that there is little prospect of its being seriously entertained by Government, also, if the claim were conceded, it would lead to serious anomalies. A salaries revision committee has reported on the question, and the Government has given the Association the opportunity of commenting on the report, which is described as unsatisfactory, inasmuch as "The revision which has actually been approved, however, is, in effect, no revision of salaries, but a scheme to get rid of the temporary expedient of the war bonus." The Fiji Council has represented to Government that "in the large groups of East and West African Colonies the Governments have found themselves bound in justice to concede a general and generous revision of salaries, apart from any question of war bonus." The Council also protests that "the Secretary of State is making more appointments from outside the Colony every year, and the inevitable influence of these appointments on the aspirations of the Service is bound to be felt." It also asks for the inauguration of an assisted medical benefit society and the reduction of hospital fees. The elected members of the Legislative Council recommended the rejection of the request, but the Association has asked for further consideration, as, since the widows and orphans scheme has been in force in the Colony, contributions from members have amounted to £20,711, while the benefits to dependents of those officers who died in service have amounted to only £4,305. It is the contention of the Association that this proves that they are not asking for something for nothing.

The Cost of Living.

A contributed article in the Nigerian "Journal" by "Bud" on the cost of living in Nigeria states that "pecuniary difficulties would be removed if Government, after giving a man his salary, would allow him to keep it," and he sets out to make his case. "Bud" says that it is a lamentable and discouraging fact that the tendency of Government to nibble at salaries appears to-day to have crystallised itself into a definite line of policy, and he invites the attention of the Association to the fact that, since the revision of salaries on the basis of the scheme recommended by the salaries revision committee, travelling allowances have been cut down, transport allowances for junior officials have been reduced, the commencing salaries have been made lower and new taxes introduced. He submits a list of "deductions" made from the salary of an officer on £400 to £600, and this is the weakest part of his argument, despite the explanatory notes he has added. The case may be, and is, a good one, but it is no use dealing with salaries except by a full and direct comparison between the salary of an officer and his necessary expenditure. In the case of allowances granted by Government to meet an officer's out-of-pocket expenditure, each allowance must be considered separately. The idea expressed, however, constitutes a real grievance and illustrates what appears to be a plan of Government to take away with one hand what it has given with the other, a plan which makes for aggravation, uncertainty and suspicion.

The Technical Expert in the Civil Service.

This matter has already received attention in these columns, and the article from "Nature" reproduced in the "Journal" will command attention and should provoke comment. The disabilities of the technical officer in the Home Service as described in the article are in great measure absent in West Africa, where the eligibility of a technical man with the necessary personal qualifications for high command are recognised and carried into effect. Despite this, there is in West Africa, as everywhere, a feeling on the part of the technical officer that his importance in the scheme of things does not receive full recognition, that he is unnecessarily handicapped in his ideas, and that if he were allowed a fuller measure of control it would be better for his department and the country in which he works, and, incidentally, himself. On the other hand, there seems to be a belief on the part of the other people that the technical officer is liable to be one-sided in his ideas, that he is generally unable to see more than his own point of view, that he is too prone to disregard immediate costs and ultimate financial commitments, and that he merely concerns himself with efficiency, and disregards comparative values. These feelings exist, and do not make for harmony, but it must be conceded that conditions in West Africa are still such that a technical officer who is able to win the confidence of his superior officers, and to prove that he is not guilty of the faults mentioned as suspected in his class, is given a free hand within the general pecuniary limits set for everybody by the country's financial resources.

Nine Sixty and Ninety Six.

"Nemo" writes for the "Journal" an article on what he considers an anomaly in the duty allowance of the £960 establishment posts in the Nigerian Departments. These posts are above the "long grade," the maximum salary of which is £920 with an allowance of £72, promotion to them is by selection, and it is generally regarded that an officer who has reached an establishment appointment should be able to qualify for still further promotion. In short, a £960 post may be regarded as an opportunity and apprenticeship for proving ability and fitness for promotion to the appointment of assistant or deputy-head of department, or even head of department. The duties of these £960 appointments are invariably onerous and responsible, in many cases such an officer represents his department in a large division, has charge of the work and staff, is responsible for discipline and expenditure, and has a considerable measure of independence in routine departmental matters. "Nemo" invites attention to the duty allowance attached to these important appointments. In every other case the duty allowance is 20 per cent. of the salary, in this instance the rate is 10 per cent., and it is difficult to understand why. Not only do the men holding these appointments—men who have proved their value—feel that they should be treated in the same manner as other people holding appointments to which duty allowances are attached, but an officer of the long grade acting for and called upon to perform the duties and accept the responsibilities of a £960 man is remunerated for this to the extent of £2 per month. It may occur to some people that if this be advanced as an argument the same may be said about a deputy acting for the head of department. There is, however, a great deal of difference between the two cases. Once a man gets out of the long grade he may be regarded as being on a different footing, and it is not illogical for the £960 man to be considered in with assistant and deputy heads of departments, for practical purposes. The matter may well repay representation to Government, not because it affects a large class (in Nigeria it affects only 60 men), but because it affects a class deserving consideration, and because the present arrangement is anomalous and not in keeping with the general idea of salary and duty allowance.

The City—the home of dashed hopes of many a West African with proposals which the hard-headed men of that golden square mile consider too ambitious for the amount of £ s. d. which the banks estimate he can muster at a pinch! The importer of European goods, for instance, after his inspection of the four or five floors of warehouse in Fore Street, with his head spinning with the sheer revelry of anticipated profits, finds on returning to the counting room that his dream of 90 days' sight bills, documents delivered on acceptance, has been shattered. Neither does the produce exporter experience better luck in Abchurch Lane, with his hypothecation proposal or the proposal that the bank should advance against shipping documents up to full f.o.b. value, or some other proposal of that sort. All these disillusionments usually occur within a few days of arrival, except in cases when hopes are flattered by more or less protracted correspondence, which generally ends as it begins.

The student—the dreamer par excellence—occasionally comes in for his own share of disillusionment, usually, also, within a short time of arrival. When, for instance, one of these Coast lawyers (to-be) lands in England armed with a College of Preceptors' certificate that from the age and look of it might have been pinched from an antiquary's museum, and on which "Latin" does not figure (or does so in a company too low for recognition by the learned Board of Legal Education), and is looking forward to immediate admission into one of the Inns of Court on the strength of it, he seems to be asking for disillusionment. Similarly when the would-be graduate reaches London with nothing better to speed him on the way to the degree exam. than a determination to put forth his last ounce of strength into the preparation for the Matric, he, too, is in for disillusionment.

Of course the only justification there is for specially labelling as disillusionment these particular disagreeable experiences of both trader and student is that these events affect their programmes ever so much—either knocking the bottom out of them altogether, or putting them for a long time out of gear. Otherwise it might reasonably be objected that the whole chapter of the experiences of the West African in London—right up to the time when he succeeds in acquiring something like a sense of proportion—could without exaggeration have that term for its heading. This is no reflection on London itself (barring, perhaps, the fact that it is an arguable point how far City men are justified

in presuming upon the existence of some moral kink in the brain of every Negro). Rather does the fault lie in the visitor himself, who is apt to think far too much in terms of poetry of a country whose proud reputation in the world has been gained largely in the realm of the prosaic. He usually conceives of an ideal London—and an ideal England—which is at least 50 per cent. above par even in its least efficient departments. To wit, the Civil Servant out on leave for the benefit of his "eyes" (which he often contrives to get described as "health"), and who, when he has occasion to call at the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies—perhaps for his pay vouchers—feels vaguely displeased and disappointed at the lack of effusiveness and warmth in the welcome he receives.

LIBRA.

[A previous article appeared on November 5, 1927.]

"THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK."

The second number of the new Liberian educational monthly edited by Mr. J. L. Sibley (Monrovia—6d.) shows that progress is being made with the teachers' institutes in several centres, and that the week's instruction given in them is likely to prove of value, for it covers practical teaching, games, Liberian history, hygiene, nature study, and child study—the last illustrated by cinematograph films. Another interesting article describes Vonjama School, the oldest of the eight schools in the interior of the Republic, and possessing among its 88 pupils a serviceable cadet corps. An article on the Episcopal Church Mission, by Bishop R. E. Campbell, covers over a century of Liberian life, and is the first of a projected series describing the various organisations at work in the Republic. There is also a further description of President King's inauguration, while Mr. Ballanta Taylor, who was in Monrovia on that occasion, has contributed a short survey of the importance of African music in African evolution.

Kaffir-co[illegible] Success.

Of the winter crops in Basutoland, kaffircorn is the only one that could be reasonably accounted for as a success. This harvest is almost evenly promising throughout the territory

The North of Basutoland have suffered little shortage in their ou[illegible] vious years while the south has almost made up for many years loses in the past

The fall of price of this grain in the south, is a testimony to the consensus opinion publicly held that kaffir corn was plenty this year.

Mealie crop is in comparison with previous years very poor. The latest crop is the only one that shows signs of good development. The only danger that is threatening about this is [illegible] them before they are fully developed.

However, there is this truth that experience has established. Unless the Basuto have a little capital to carry on, if there is plenty of wheat harvest they are almost sure to suffer a loss with the mealie crop. simply because of no time to weed it, and in many cases, they have no money to employ more hands on their lands. It seems then the principle of doing what you are able to do best is the only one that will hold at this stage.

Our people must therefore learn to do or plough the lands they can afford to work only, and then employ themselves in the best way they can on these lands.

A VISITOR FROM THE GOLD COAST.

Manchester Guardian Weekly 6-22-28

(Topical.

Sir Ofori Atta Omahene, Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakawa, in London. He has come over for his investiture as a knight.

A SERIOUS BLUNDER.

Letters To The "Ilanga."

(By Telly Nkota.)

Kindly allow me space in the columns of your journal to point out what I consider to be a serious blunder committed by the Transkeian Territories General Council in its election of delegates for the forthcoming Native Government Conference.

Certain members of the Bhunga—five all told—were elected to represent the Transkeian Territories General Council in the Native Conference of 1926; and the fact that, when the Premier called a Select Committee to meet and deliberate on the Native Bills at Cape Town in 1927, the said Bhunga elected its delegates for that Committee, from the same, sufficiently justifies the presumption that those members had acquitted themselves well in the Native Conference of 1926. That the elimination of certain unfavourable items in the Bills, as evidenced by the rumour that they are now to appear redrafted in the light of the Select Committee's report, is consequent upon the deliberations of these delegates, (and others of course) goes a long way to verify the assumption.

In the face of such evidence of creditable work, one would imagine that the said Bunga might have done well to re elect these members to represent it in the forthcoming Native Conference rather than elect an altogether new set of delegates who might find the discussions on the Bills, at the present stage, too far ahead of them to grapple with. Let us hope that the Bunga is not above realising that it is never too late to mend.

Race Problem – 1928.

Africa.

TROUBLE ON THE DIGGINGS.

Natives Resent Wage Reductions.

JOHANNESBURG, June 18.

Owing to the heavy fall in the price of diamonds, many Lichtenburg diggers have stopped work, and others held a meeting on Friday and decided to reduce the natives' wages from 18s. to 12s. weekly on some parts of the diggings.

This morning the natives refused to accept the reduction, and a lightning strike occurred. It is estimated that 5,000 natives are out. The magistrate and police endeavoured to persuade the strikers to resume work, but failed. A number of diggers, fearing serious trouble, got out rifles and revolvers, but up till now there has been no clash.

The diggers have passed a resolution requesting the Government to close the Namaqualand fields entirely in order to prevent a further fall in the prices of diamonds.—"The Times."

During Monday night the strike extended, and it is now estimated that 20,000 men are out and all the diggings are idle, except at Welverdiend, where the natives accepted the reductions to 15s. The strikers firmly refuse 12s., although some are inclined to accept 15s. The employers say that they would like to pay more than 12s., but that they are now getting for diamonds only £1 for every £5 received previously.

Many women and children have left the diggings for Lichtenburg Town, and strong detachments of police are arriving at the diggings, where efforts to persuade the strikers to resume work are continuing.—"The Times."

Graduation Day at Fort Hare.

The spacious and exquisitely furnished students' dining hall at Fort Hare was the scene of an epoch-making ceremony on Wednesday last (30th May). It was the auspicious occasion of honouring the graduands of this college who were successful at last year's arduous examinations. Professor H. S. Scott, M.A, Director of Education, Transvaal presided as representing the University of South Africa. This event by far eclipsed last year's ceremony for the overwhelming attendance by interested European Missionaries Native School inspectors and Secondary School teachers who numbered about 100.

The presence in the assemblage of the parents of the graduates added prestige to the proceedings, and the eloquent address of the chief speaker of the day Prof. A. Kerr, M.A, principal of Fort Hare College, was a fitting oration quite in harmony with the lofty standard of a dignified graduation ceremony. Native visitors travelled long distances to attend, and High School students from the neighbouring institutions wore a complexion of keen enthusiam at the success of their fellow students. The gathering numbered about 300 souls.

A more detailed report of the entire proceedings of this historic function will appear in a later issue of this journal.

Happiness, its procurement and Preservation.

(By "Ned of Old")

There is one pursuit which has engaged the minds of the sons of men from the creation of the world until now; and it would seem from their restless and unsatisfied condition that they are not an whit the nearer to the attainment of the object than when first they started on the chase. Happiness is the goal for which they are striving: but so different are the means which they employ, and so ever-varying the course which they take, that we wonder not to hear many among them declare that they have pursued a phantom; that like the mirage in the desert, it has melted away before their approach; or, like the fabled apples of Sodom, it has been "all ashes to the taste."

But, in spite of this happiness has a real and tangible existence; and if we can secure her at any cost, life—ay, and the longest one—will have been well expended. Let us then enquire into the nature of this blessing, for which we are willing to give up all, and carefully investigate the nature of the road, before we too start upon the toilsome race, that our feet stumble not upon the dark mountains where so many have given up in despair. And let us first enquire:—

What is happiness?

A state of being in which the body and mind, freed from the bondage under which they groan, are at liberty to follow the original object of their being, namely, the perfect law of God. It is to be freed from all care for the present, and all anxious thought for the future; to have a sound body and sound mind, with all their powers in full exercise, mutually helping each other.

We were told when we were little tots of children and we were so foolish as to think that we could read right off without learning our A B C's, that there is no royal road to learning. That is a fact there is no getting around. It's just as truly a fact, and a far more glorious one, that there is a royal road to happiness. That's what all the men and women that have lived for the last six thousand years have been trying to find—the certain way to be happy. There are hundreds of ways they'd taken, the blood that had been shed, the money that had been wasted, the hearts that had been broken, the souls that had been lost in searching for happiness along the wrong roads. There are as many of them as there are stars in the Milky Way, and folks are all the time opening and laying out new ones. Incident after incident may be given to prove what mistakes we make in praying for what God in His wisdom and mercy refuses to let us have, and how we blunder into wrong and dangerous ways, screaming and kicking at this bolted door, and trying to pick the lock of that, and to blow the door of another off the hinges, and the jolly of it all, and the love "that saves us from the consquences ourselves."

General Missionary Conference of South Africa

[CONTRIBUTED]

The imagination of the Christian world has been stirred within the last two years by reports of the International Missionary Conference held at Le Zoute, Belgium, in the autumn of 1926 and of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council held in the spring of this year. At these important gatherings much thought has been given to the awaking of Africa, and it is therefore peculiarly fitting that the church of Africa itself should give special attention to some of the issues that have been raised. This will shortly be done for on the invitation of the Ciskeian Missionary Council, the Triennial Missionary Conference of South Africa will be held this year at the adjoining institutions of Lovedale and Fort Hare, Cape Province. The Conference will open at 8 p.m. on Tuesday, 26th June, and close at 11 a.m. on Friday the 29th.

The general subject of the conference is *The Reintegration of Native Life on a Christian Basis.* The Conference will endeavour to recreate the spiritual atmosphere which permeated the International Missionary Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926, and will keep in view the resolutions of that Conference. Particularly will it remember the new call to to the missionary forces in Africa from those then gathered at Le Zoute a call to a fresh advance, a further step forward, and an enlarged conception of the mission of the Christian Church.

Endorsing Mr. Oldham's words that incomparably the most important thing the conference can do is not to debate nor to listen to speeches however able but to pass beyond the region of the human into a new living experience of the Divine that comes through prayer, the executive in South Africa has arranged that the first meeting shall be devotional, and that the introduction shall be given by one who participated in the privilises of the Le Zoute Conference, and a devotional period will form the centre of each day's business.

To a large extent the opening of the discussions has been committed to speakers who took part in the Le Zoute Conference, and the closing debates will be led by speakers newly returned from the International Missionary Conference at Jerusalem.

It is generally recognised that the old social and religious life of the Native peoples of South Africa is in the process of unbounded disintegration. The situation is of such gravity as calls for, in the words of Mr Oldham, "an outburst of new forces comparable to the breaking forth of fresh life in the church, more than a century ago, which led to the birth of the missionary societies which we represent." The immensely powerful weapon of education lies still in missionary hands, and the burden of responsibility for its proper utilization lies not only upon the missionary societies but upon every missionary superintendent of Native Schools. The greater part of a day is therefore to be given to the practical problems of the reintegration of Native social and religious life through education.

While economic conditions vary considerably in different areas the general economic position of the Native people in the Union of South Africa is seriously unsatisfactory, and in the longer settled parts a crisis is approaching if it has not already arrived. The problems thus arising challenge missionary consideration and effort at every step, and dare not be ignored by the followers of Jesus, the friend and defender of the poor. Such questions as land for relieving congestion, better utilization of existing holdings, possibilities of immigration, guidance for the Native people in acquiring and using capital, employment and its remuneration and Native combination for economic purposes should be considered and opportunity should be taken to consider the missionary attitude to be taken to the existing Native labour combination, the I.C.U. Mr. Clements Kadalie has been invited to be present and to state at first hand the aims of the I.C.U.

These subjects all point to a new alignment of the Christian forces in the country. It is clear that very widely the missionary effort to convert the heathen has spent itself and missionaries have become mainly pastors. Fresh surveys are needed of all the fields in view of reorganisation of work to win the heathen, from which new measures of co-operation between the various forces in the fields should be devised. The need for marshalling the missionary force with its face towards the remaining and entrenched heathenism requires to be emphasised. Also, in light of the spread of education, and the influence arising from contact with non-Christian Europeans, and unbelieving Europeans, a fresh alignment appears to be required on missionary teaching regarding the questions raised during the last century with the advance of science concerning the scriptures, man's place in the universe and such like issues.

Further, the grave problem of Native ill-health must be faced with practical consideration of medical measures through hospitals, Native doctors and nurses, and better living conditions.

The coming discussion will deal with such work as that of the Students' Christian Association, in the light of the Jerusalem Conference.

Among the speakers expected are Bishop Karney, Johannesburg; Dr. J Dexter Taylor, Johannesburg; Dr. J Henderson, Lovedale; Dr Loram, of the Native Affairs Commission; Rev. R H W Shepherd Lovedale; Prof. Du Plessis Stellenbosch; Father Callaway, St Cuthberts, Rev. A Cardross Grant, St. Matthew's Dr. Macvicar, Lovedale; Rev. J H P Jacques, Port Elizabeth; Rev John Dube, Natal; Prof. D D T Jabavu, Fort Hare; Max Yergan, Mrs. J W Hofmeyr, Mrs. Bridgman and Miss Cooke.

Readers Views.

Present and Future Life of the Basuto.

Mr M Phasumane writes:

Dear Editor,—Please allow me a space in your valuable paper to say few words about the present and future life of our country as I see it.

The present life of our country has changed a great deal from that of ten years ago. In those days people did not experience the difficulties which we see to-day, viz: starvation, poverty, numerous cases of murder, horrible theft of livestock, epidemic, disputes of land which causes serious bloodshed, ~~murders~~ and drunkenness which is responsible for the state of immorality which is found among certain classes of our women and men, and the unhappy state of unlawful marriages of our boys and girls. These and others are all things which are invading our country nowadays. 6-22-28

If some one would sit down and consider deeply about the above stated enemies of our persent generation, we shall come to a conclusion that unless an attempt is made to redeem the situation, the future of our country shall be doomed.

The present state of affairs of things requires sane men, true patriots, men of vision and ability, men who cannot tolerate the present course of things among their people. Men who will devise means and ways of eradicating our people from this mire of degrading evils. If there is a nation which is in need of sane leadership to day it is this of ours.

To my humble opinion I find one effective way to destroy the above mentioned enemies of our country people: that is to establish industrial and commercial societies throughout the country as well as farmers associations.

The sole object and aims of these associations shall be to get financial power for the betterment of our future generation. I am well aware well that as Basuto people when we come to the point of money we will find insurmountable difficulty. Surely, in the life of our pastor ganisations which almost everyone ended in a great fiasco, we never availed ourselves with the assistance of deserving European friends for safety of our funds, in order to avoid the mis-use of people money. After building ourselves financially strong we will open monumental industries and commerce where we can employ hundreds and hundreds of our boys and girls who come direct from their various colleges. There and then we can succeed to produce in our country men and women who are fit and strong enough to be tempted to thieving, drunkenness, murder and immorality. Our boys and girls shall busy themselves with something instead of loafing and loitering about. Their minds shall be kept thinking some work. The source of all evils I have narrated in the preceding paragraphs are, to my mind due to want of employment and poverty.

Poverty creates criminals. It is no virtue to be poor. To be hungry without hope for possibility of finding food breaks ones heart, same as to be sick without hope of getting medicine, just as it is to be naked without hope of getting clothing by right means. A poor man is subject to crime and the doors of hell are accessible to him. It is a hellish predicament to be in. Organisation and associations are two essential things to progress.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

THE LABOUR QUARREL—INFLUENCE ON NEXT ELECTION CHAOS AT PRETORIA—NATIONALIST FEUDS—MR. ROOS'S OPTIMISM—HERENIGING.

('African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, June 22.

The Labour Party quarrel, though it has ceased to be a topic of any great public interest, is likely to lend a piquant flavour to the next General Election, for in the probable extinction of this important branch of the Pact there lurks a possibility of a South African Party revival. In other words, the present Opposition has a big chance of profiting from the downfall of Labour. The Nationalists are alive to the danger and are watching the progress of the Labour wrangle with mixed feelings of irritation and apprehension. The South African Party, on the other hand, are sitting tight and saying little, though keenly alert to the possibilities that have been opened up for them through the Labour impasse.

The Labour Split.

Labour is clearly split from top to bottom, and there is little hope of a compromise. Pandemonium was the only result of the Branch meeting of the Party at Pretoria, the rival factions supporting Colonel Creswell and the National Council respectively nearly coming to blows. Chaos reigned and the meeting achieved naught in the way of bringing about peace. Unless something unforeseen happens, it seems certain that two Labour camps will take the field at the next election, in which case the Nationalists will be placed in the predicament of having either to nominate a Nationalist against the Labour candidate or else stand aside and take the risk of the South African Party man getting in on a split vote. No doubt if Labour cannot adjust its differences before the call to battle sounds the Nationalists will cut adrift from Labour and seek re-election entirely on their own initiative.

This would be an excellent thing for the country and clear the air. It would also dispose of the present anomalous position in which we have two parties, whose principles are diametrically opposed, joining forces against a party that has infinitely more in common with the Nationalists than Labour could ever hope to have.

Mr. Roos Unafraid.

Mr. Tielman Roos, however, is not among those who fear the coming issue. On the contrary, he thinks the Nationalists were never stronger, and that they will be returned to power with a thumping majority. Though the Transvaal delimitation could not have been more favourable to the South African Party, Mr. Roos counts on his own party securing at least thirty to thirty-five seats in that proviace. He also thinks that even if the Labour quarrel is not patched up the opposing factions will have the sense not to nominate candidates against one another.

Mr. Roos, by the way, is not very impressed with Mr. Hofmeyr's plea for hereniging and the formation of a Central Party embracing the members of the Nationalist and South African parties who hold similar views. He had suggested the formation of such a party last year, but his venture met with a very frosty reception, not only from his own colleagues, but also from the South African Party. The chances of hereniging were, in Mr. Roos's opinion, much more favourable then than to-day.

"At the present moment, bearing in mind the approaching election and that the election spirit is abroad, with us there can be no question of conversations on this subject," stated Mr. Roos. "In a word, it is now war-time, and when you are making war then it is no use talking of peace. The best way for the Nationalist Party to further the object which I have constantly envisaged is by achieving a smashing victory at the polls. Such a victory is not only possible, but comparatively easy if the Nationalists do their duty, and if the country shows its acknowledgment of the peaceful and prosperous life assured by the Nationalist Government of the last four years."

Sir Drummond Chaplin is another who looks with a critical eye on Mr. Hofmeyr's proposal, pointing out that Mr. Hofmeyr is unduly optimistic in thinking now that the question of South African status and the Flag dispute have been settled there no longer exists any real difference of opinion. It is not a particular Bill or act or action, but the spirit in which the Union is carried on that matters, declares Sir Drummond, and as far as he can see, there is a good deal wanting on the part of his friends on the other side of the House.

Different Outlook.

"It would be quite easy to show how differently from us they interpret their obligations," he declared, "such as on the question of status and agreement relating to the Flag. Unless we have better proof of there being a greater community of thought between the two parties than is evident to-day, the suggestion of a fusion of parties is quite out of the question. I can quite understand that some of our Nationalist friends would rather have to do with us than with their Labour friends. When it comes to the point, however, they will find their Labour friends more subservient than we are. If our Nationalist friends are dissatisfied with some of their people let them shed some of their Labour friends and some of their extreme Nationalists. Let them come over to us. We interpret the Act of Union in the most liberal way possible."

Sir Drummond's views are pretty general, so that there seems little chance of any hereniging movement succeeding for yet awhile. Sir Drummond Chaplin is probably right, too, in thinking that the next election will be fought on the same lines as in 1924.

Mysterious Liberal Party.

And what of the Liberal Party, that mysterious organisation, whose leaders are so modest that they prefer to keep in the background and hide their identity? No one is taking the newcomers to the political arena very seriously, but they may provide a little excitement even if they win no seats. Even if the party were built on more solid foundations, their success would be extremely problematical, for already South Africa has its choice of parties of all shades of political opinion. Mr. Roos hits the nail on the head when he declares that there is no room for another party.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, June 12.

The Yellow Fever Again.

A week ago Lt.-General Tilkens, Governor General of the Congo, wired our Colonial Office that two further cases of yellow fever had just taken place at the Safrica Camp, near Matadi. Consequently, since the 10th inst. only the passenger steamers are allowed to freight in the Lower Congo ports, and there they are allowed to land only provisions, medicaments, and victuallings for the public services. This according to the Brussels "Nation Belge" of this morning.

As a result of this reappearance of the yellow fever, King Albert and Queen Elisabeth will avoid Matadi and proceed by airplane from Boma to Léopoldville.

(The Safrica is the company which got the contract for the building of the new and improved line Matadi-Léopoldville.)

African World 6-6-28

SIR OFORI ATTA IN LONDON.

West African Knight Receives the Accolade.

Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E., Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa, who has proved himself the most interesting and picturesque overseas visitor to our shores for some time past, has carried out a heavy programme of engagements in London during the week, the outstanding event being his investiture with the insignia of the K.B.E. by H.M. the King at Buckingham Palace on Wednesday.

Last Friday Sir Ofori Atta visited the Royal Mint and the International Horse Show at Olympia, and on Saturday was received by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, and by the Right Hon. L. S. Amery, the Dominions Secretary, at the Colonial Office. On Sunday he spent a pleasant day at Godalming, Surrey, as the guest of Sir Ransford and Lady Slater; an interesting group taken on this occasion will be found

African World 6-30-28

SIR OFORI ATTA AND SUITE AT WEDNESDAY'S INVESTITURE.

in the WEST AFRICAN MONTHLY SUPPLEMENT accompanying this issue.

On Monday, Sir Ofori visited Africa House, Kingsway, where he was received by Major-General Grey, and on the following day paid visits to Woolwich Arsenal and Kew, and attended the reception given by the Royal Colonial Institute at South Kensington. On Wednesday morning, magnificently garbed and with full regalia, he proceeded to Buckingham Palace for the investiture, an event which, one may be sure, will dwell long in our distinguished visitor's memory. The whole of Thursday was occupied in inspecting L.C.C. schools—Sir Ofori Atta is keenly interested in educational matters—while on Friday the Gramophone Company's works at Hayes and those of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation at Bow were visited. Sir Ofori Atta also attended the annual meeting of Akim, Ltd., of which company he is a director. A full report of this meeting will appear in our next issue.

To-day (Saturday) Sir Ofori Atta is to have a rapid view of Britain's naval and aerial power. In the morning he will go to Chatham to visit the Royal Dockyard. He will inspect H.M.S. "Kent," the new flagship of the China station, which leaves for the Far East next week. The "Kent" has just been put into commission in time to allow the Paramout Chief to inspect her. He will also inspect one of the new "super" submarines. After lunch he will motor direct to Hendon to see the Royal Air Force pageant.

To-morrow he will lunch at Yately Hall, Hants, as the guest of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, and on Monday will leave for Brussels to carry out a rapid Continental tour. Sir Ofori is expected to return in about ten days' time, and will then visit Liverpool, Manchester, and other provincial cities before his departure for West Africa.

Phamotse Memorial Fund.

We members of the Basutoland Progressive Association, thus having suffered a great shock by the death of President of the Progressive Association, S. M. Phamotse having decided to build a memorial in honoury of his great work among his people, we therefore appeal, to the Chiefs, Nation, the Government Officials, and European friends resident in Basutoland and outside for voluntary contributions to a proposed fund.

Basutoland

6-22-28

We hope, this appeal will be met with generous respond by men, women and all friends in and outside Basutoland. The contributions should be forwarded to the Editor, and Marked "PHAMOTSE'S EMORIAL FUND."

All contributions received will be acknowledged here below.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL.

PRINCESS MARIE LOUISE PERFORMS THE UNVEILING CEREMONY.

A notable event of the past month (writes our Nairobi correspondent) was the unveiling by Her Highness Princess Marie Louise of the African War Memorial which has been erected opposite the Cenotaph in Sixth Avenue, Nairobi. Numerous branches of the Empire were represented at the ceremony. There was an immense gathering of Africans, headed by paramount chiefs with other chiefs and headmen of the several tribes.

African World

In inviting Her Highness to unveil the Memorial, Sir Edward Grigg spoke of the achievements of the African troops and carriers depicted on the statuary to be unveiled, and of the monument, a thing of beauty, worthy of the great devotion and signal sacrifice which it commemorated.

6-30-28

The African troops who served the King in the war were distinguished by two great military qualities, valour and endurance. There is no greater test of the character and discipline of troops. Valour has always been the distinguishing mark of the officers and men of the King's African Rifles. So splendid was their record in the war, when no fewer than twenty-two battalions of the King's African Rifles were raised, that the King consented to become their Colonel-in-Chief just three years ago. It would take too long to follow the achievements of the regiment through the East African campaign. But those achievements, inscribed upon their Colours, were many and glorious. Suffice it here to say that no troops had harder conditions to face, and that no troops of whatever race served the King more nobly in the often desperate ordeals which marked the East African campaign.

Carriers' Great Valour.

Great valour was also displayed by many of the Africans who served as carriers. Again and again they had to bring up ammunition under fire; again in emergency, when the teams of the machine-guns had been killed or wounded, they themselves served the guns, and served them well. But the most signal feature of their service was the splendid endurance which they showed. Without the long lines of communications, which depended absolutely on them, the fighting troops could never have advanced or fought at all. Exacting at all times, their service became a fierce ordeal indeed, when in the midst of the campaign in Tanganyika there came a year of unusually heavy rain. At one period on the Dodoma-Iranga road carriers were bearing provisions for the troops waist deep in water for nine miles. To those two qualities of the African troops, to that valour, to that endurance, and to their splendid record in all ways, they paid tribute with all their hearts.

There was one feature of the memorial which was an especially happy one. Dedicated in the first instance to the Native Africans who served the King, it was also dedicated to the memory of all men of whatever race who fell in the East African theatre. All those to whom this monument was raised belonged to one great comradeship, whatever their race. In that comradeship at that time the whole Empire was bound. Without our help the Africans who fought for the King could not have held this, their own land. Without their help we should have had to weaken the already hard-pressed line in France and elsewhere in order to defend the King's possessions in East Africa. Throughout the Empire in those days we were united by the great struggle in one common purpose, and that common purpose, to the utmost of our strength we served.

The struggle, the enmities, were now passed, but there was a moral in that great comradeship of War which we, who live in these latter days, should not forget. In the War we fought for what we believed to be just, what we believed to be fair. Inscribed on our banners was fairness to all, so that all men might have their due share in the wealth of the land and their due share in its goverment. That rule of fairness and

THE AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL AT NAIROBI. Majesty the King is Colonel-in-chief, was one which would ever stand out as an example of bravery and heroic attention to duty among the annals of the long and glorious history of the armies of the British Empire. The King's African Rifles formed a vital part of that long line which stretched from the shores of the Mother country across France, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Egypt to Africa. It would be a source of deep interest to his Majesty that she, his cousin, should have unveiled the memorial to the men of his regiment. His army was to him his children. He was in the closest touch with all that concerned them and their welfare was ever near his heart.

justice for which these gallant men fought and died must still at all times rule our minds. No race in Kenya could prosper long or surely by looking only to its own interests. We must strive to understand each other's needs, to respect each other's rights, to help each other's progress, if all races are to enjoy peace, plenty and happiness in this, our common land.

This monument, raised after a common victory, stood a witness to what the races can accomplish by mutual service, mutual help.

Her Highness recalled that the war record of the King's African Rifles, of which his

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The "Elder Dempster Magazine."

The issue of the "Elder Dempster Magazine" for this month is full of "meat": besides articles of topical interest it gives an insight into the impression made on the minds of different types of newcomers and on old residents by West Africa and its life. Mr. A. C. G. Hastings, in "The Long Trail," describes travelling in Nigeria in the early days of British occupation; Dr. Walter Miller, in "Nigeria in 1900 and 1928," contrasts the conditions of those early days with those of the present from a teacher's point of view: Mr. D. W. Paterson makes the comparison as seen by a busines man in "The March of Progress in West Africa," and in "Developments in the Gold Coast," Mr. T. Whitfield describes the progress of the port of Sekondi from 1907 till its supersession by Takoradi. On the other side, Sir Edgar Sanders ("Some Impressions of West Africa"), and Captain G. Spenser Pryse ("An Artist in Africa") tell us how the country strikes the new-comer.

How It Strikes the First-Timer.

These two articles are of special interest because they give the early impression made on a visitor by the West Coast before the bloom of novelty has been rubbed off by use and wont. Nothing is more difficult for the Old Coaster to recover and describe than the sense of strangeness in his new environment which is so strong on him in the first days. As Sir Edgar Sanders says, the life of the Coast is hardly known even to those who, like himself, have a large business connection with it, and have what he calls a map and paper knowledge of it. "To those who return even after their first tour of twelve or eighteen months these things have become so familiar as to have ceased to appear to be anything but commonplace, and 'Coasters' therefore forget about them or fail to remember how they were struck by them on first acquaintance." Sir Edgar recalls the thrill of the arrival at Freetown, and the kaleidoscope of colour presented by the mob packed about the quays and streets, in the memory of which heat, noise, and colour are the keynotes. Sir Edgar's impressions are those of a man of business; the things that impress him are the works of man, the towns and villages, the training of the police, the invasion of the motor-car, and the growth of mechanical skill among the African users of it. To Captain Pryse the striking things are the African's joy in life and the beauty of primitive life and art. He "hesitates to generalise after a visit of only four months," but recalls an early morning when "the sound of drums and song floated up from the crowded huts below." His Nigerian "boy" explained that the people were making a noise because they were happy, adding "My people generally happy." As Captain Pryse asks:—"How many of those who enjoy the overwhelming benefits of civilisation can say so much?"

The March of Progress.

The articles by Dr. Miller and Mr. Paterson show how rapidly these overwhelming benefits are being imparted to West Africa. Dr. Miller describes some of the darkest aspects of the early days as a foil to the results of the work of the men who have devoted themselves to this work and as an encouragement to persevere in it. "These are the days in which the future of Nigeria for good or evil is being very specially determined." Therefore he rejoices that "our schools and universities and hospitals and the Army and commerce are sending out to us even better and better men." He pleads with them to remember that, by whatever title they may be labelled, they are all missionaries, whose work is to "make Nigeria better than India, or Egypt or the Sudan," and to replace mutual criticism by "the sincerest desire to help each other towards the goal for which all are making." Of all the contributors Captain Spenser Pryse has the freshest point of view. As an artist he looks at the countries and their peoples from an angle different from that of the officials, merchants and missionaries. While these dwell on "the overwhelming benefits of civilisation" and rejoice in the triumph of material progress over primitive conditions, the artist is struck by the reaction of barbarism on civilised æsthetics. Alongside of the discovery by administrators of the value of Native customs and the importance of maintaining continuity by preserving Native traditions there has grown up "at the heart of our civilisation a school of æsthetics which finds its inspiration in barbarism." Having exhausted the resources of classicalism and romanticism, finding no inspiration in the conventions of a sophisticated society, artists are seeking touch with Nature, and think they have found contact with her in the primitive world. Though some artists have carried their admiration of the primitive to a pitch of which its own exaggeration is the best corrective, the influence of Negro art is visible to the understanding eye in the plastic arts by its effects on colour and design, and in music by the prevalence of Negro rhythms which pervades every branch of it. The indisputable superiority of civilisation is less loudly asserted, "past self-confidence has been replaced by a reasoned effort to retain whatever is best in Native institutions. . . . The effort to preserve Native arts and crafts has taken practical shape." Contact with primitive life produces as strong a clash of ideas in the mind of a European artist as contact with civilisation produces in the minds of Africans. "Something of this clash of ideas is in everybody's mind to-day. To a visitor impressed by the superior beauty there is in a primitive life with which he has established contact for the first time, the clash is very insistent."

Other Articles.

Sir William Geary tells how for thirteen and a-half years the Niger Company "not unworthily maintained the burden of Empire" in the spirit of the Elizabethan pioneers. In "Education the Corner Stone of Prosperity," Mr. Kenneth Sharrock maintains that education will justify itself by producing a demand for a higher standard of living, and by increasing the output of West African produce, and thus creating opportunities of employment for the growing number of educated young men who will be trained in the schools. Mr. R. H. Nuttall ("By-Products of the Nigerian Meat Supply") gives interesting figures of the slaughter of beasts in Nigeria, "not specially regarded as a flesh-consuming country," which sets the reader marvelling at the colossal slaughter which must be going on to supply the population of these islands. Mr. H. J. Ross-Bell describes the growth of Casablanca, the great port which the French are establishing on the Moorish coast, which will be one of the stations of the future West African Air Service. The causes of Syrian emigration, which is raising problems in West Africa, are described by S. M. Haffar, B.Com. Altogether, another most interesting and fascinating issue of this popular and well-conducted magazine.

W. F. H.

Mafeteng Show

NEEDLEWORK

In the last Agricultural Show held here, we heard complaints from the the women section complaining that some of their exhibits were refused at the show, the reason advanced being that those articles had been awarded prizes once or twice in the previous shows

It is a sound reason that exhibitors should be encouraged to vary their work and try to bring frssh exhibits to the show But the fact is, that articles may have been refused it is not the condition of the show that to bring exhibits that have won prizes once. We remember horses that have won prizes at this show three or four times and other curious This was done we think for there was no condition against it 6-22-28

We believe next year's Committee will look into these things and tell the people the exact thing they should do

FOWLS

Under this heading there appears fowls, turkeys, ducks and muscovey ducks. Now when one come to look at class 34, that is fowls, he observes that there is one or two sets of leghorrs, one of upi gdottes, one or two bastard hens, one of wyndottes. Then when it comes to allotting of prizes, the first is either awarded to leghorn or wyndottes, or others and the second prize is awarded to a different breed and so on until they are all given out. But there is special reason and good and to why people should breed leghorns, and there is so much good diffrn reason for breeding either wyndottes or other fowls, and there is no reason why another breed should deserve better prize than others.

In our opinion fowls should be grouped, or classied according to their breed. Turkeys and Muscovey ducks should be cut off from the list. The former never warrant the number while the latter are never exhibited at all.

Appeal Dismissed.

Quaint Marriage.

News were circulated with great excitment on Saturday last that Molapo Mojela's appeal was dismissed before the Privy Council. It will be remembered that this case was an appeal against the judgement of the Basutoland Supreme Court and the High Commissioner of South Africa, and the appellant who was wrongly advised filed his appeal to the Privy Council On Thursday last the hearing was opened before the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Sumner and Lord Atkin, sitting as a judicial committee of the Privy Council when the question of succession to chieftainship and the status of the issue of a deputy wife under the Native customary law of Basutoland was heard. 6-22-28

It was stated that failing a son by the first or "great" wife, a son of the deputy wife or the son of any other wife of the late chief adopted by him as heir may succeed to the position, and that the son of the deputy wife is regarded as the son and heir of the first or "great" wife.

The Privy Council dismissed the appeal of Molapo Mojela (son of the lawful deputy wife for the former chief's first or "great" wife, who was childless) against the decision of the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland in favour of the respondent, Thabo Lerotholi Mojela, in the claim by two brothers to succeed to the chieftainship of the Makhauta tribe of Basutos.

The respondent, Thabo Lerotholi Mojela, was the son of the late chief's fifth wife, who was a widow, whom he abducted The Commissioner's decision was based on the fact that he was not satisfied as to the validity of the chief's marriage with is deputy wife.—The Friend.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

The Tengo-Jabavu Bursary.

(By Resurgam).

[To the Editor "Imvo"]

I am forwarding £1 as a token of my appreciation of the eminent services rendered by the late J Tengo Jabavu to literature, to education, to religion and to general enlightenment at a period when the people sat in gross darkness. I should also like to hang a peg or two *en passant* as I consider it a reflection on educated men of the race that there is no representative body of superior intellects to which matters of signal importance affecting race interest could be referred as they arise, and through which chiefs of parties and executives of organisations and societies could adjust their disputes and arrange plans of united action.

The necessity of such an appeal as that of Professor Jabavu would at once be seen and provided for and is there no interest in the son of the departed reformer that he should leave those shores on his important mission to the Jerusalem Conference without some demonstration on the part of such a united body of his educated countrymen. Are matters of this kind not of signal importance and why should the Bantu be voiceless and actionless when such crises come upon us? There is a talk of a Round Table Conference but I am doubtful if many realise what the aims of such a conference should be So far to judge by writers to "Umteteleli wa Bantu" it looks as if their aim is to get up machinery to be used for partisan politics and the beating to death of Hertzog and his Bills. Others again like yourself are at loggerheads with the honoured President of the Bantu Union for daring to express himself contrary to the views of a political faction in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament on the Native Franchise. Time will not permit me to say here why I support Peelen's attitude and also the extension of a separated vote to the other Provinces and the acceptance of the Union Council Bill on terms Intricate and involved questions of this kind cannot be done justice to in the heat and scramble of Congress meetings and shows the need for some method of *rapprochement* on the part of our educated men in order to bring the best intellects to bear on them as they arise. The wild jackanapes have got to be tamed down and taught what true education and culture mean and how many of those who cheer or hoot at our assemblies know what Professor Jabavu is going to do at Jerusalem. We are told that at that Conference the first subject for discussion among others is the relation of the Christian message to the non-Christian religions. Secondly how is the Christian message to be conveyed to the non-Whites and the use of the resources which the Church has for the purpose. Thirdly the building up of an indigenous church which is related to the deeper instincts of the people and the desire of the Natives for responsibility in developing such a national church There are also grave racial issues which are menacing human society in South and E. Africa and these threaten the work of European missions. The development of problems of Industrialism among the backward races of the world making it possible for the church to be of aid in their solution. There is also the question of destitution of rural areas and the need for adapting education to fit the conditions of Native social life and its practical needs In this latter field the Professor will doubtless be in his element. As an enthusiastic advocate of reforms in Agriculture bringing Native effort in line with latest scientific developments and labour devices.

It would be a boon if the Professor would snapshot everything of striking interest he meets on the way and obtain slides for lantern lectures on his return, the income so derived to be devoted to useful national purposes.

AN INIQUITOUS LEVY.

Our contemporary the "Cape Mercury" gives the following trenchant views regarding this glaring injustice done to Natives of South Africa:

"The excessive duty on cotton blankets and Kafir sheeting came under discussion on Thursday at the annual congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of S. Africa, and it is satisfactory to note that a resolution was passed protesting against the imposition—for the present duty is nothing short of an imposition. Mr. Ivan King of East London, who submitted the resolution, maintained that the duties seriously affected the poorest people of the country. As we all know, thousands of Natives, owing to successive droughts, are on the verge of starvation, and the continuance of these duties, especially under existing circumstances, is positively iniquitous. One speaker alleged that the duties are partially responsible for the unrest that is now manifesting itself among the Natives in every part of the country, and this contention is possibly not far from the truth. The duties, it will be remembered, were heavily increased in order—according to the Government—to afford protection to a manufacturing industry that was to be established in South Africa. From all accounts this undertaking has not materialised. In any event, the making of woollen blankets was contemplated, whereas the Natives, especially those in the Cape Province favour the cotton blanket, which cannot be made in this country unless the raw material is imported. The position is that on a Native blanket valued at about 4d. per lb., the duty is ninepence or tenpence, which, in view of the poverty of people who have no other attire, is a wicked anomaly. Government's plea of seeking to foster and protect a South African industry no longer holds water, and if the duties are maintained it will amount to proof that the real object of the Government is to specially tax the Natives According to the Budget statement, the duty on sundry articles of clothing worn by Europeans is to be reduced Why cannot Government deal similarly with the tariff governing cotton blankets and Kafir sheetings? The elementary principles of justice demand that the duties in question be largely remitted. The present Government has done more to foster an anti-European feeling amongst the Natives than any of its predecessors, and it is high time that in this regard it revised its policy."

The Hertzog—Smuts Compromise.

The general impression among Europeans in South Africa and the Nationalist—Labour government in particular is that the South African Party by virtue of their success at polls in twelve constituencies depending on the Native vote have *ipso facto* become the guardians of the Native franchise. Considered as such the Prime Minister and his party have taken it upon themselves to barter with the leader of the Opposition, in the Native voter market, and the latter in turn has acquiesced in entering into negotiations with General Hertzog—which negotiations have taken the form of the two new bills that are being arranged to be presented to parliament next session in amended form. The two bills—the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill and the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill are the remains of a much plauded Native policy that the Premier intended to introduce in his late four inseparable and impracticable bills.

As Native voters in the Cape we were free to vote for whatever party or candidate offering for parliamentary honours, and no pledge was ever entered into by Native voters with any political party. What mattered to us was the personality of the candidate—his views on Native interests and sympathy with Native aspirations. If it happened in the past that the South African Party enjoyed the almost exclusive patronage of the Native vote, it must be clearly understood that it was not for the sake of the party, so much as for the men who offered themselves for election. We therefore find that the European champions of Native rights and justice in parliamentary caucuses have sadly overlooked the fact that General Smuts has done the Native voters a disservice if it is true that he has capitulated with the Prime Minister in chopping and changing of their (Natives') vote in the Cape in any from whatsoever.

We say it would be a lamentabe disservice to compromise on our vote when we—the owners of the vote have never been consulted in any special congress or round-table conference as to the form the new franchise should take. We place the highest premium on that precious gift the late Queen Victoria's government bestowed to us in 1854, which gave us equal citizenship in the political affairs of our home land (South Africa), irrespective of colour and creed. We make bold to say that any politician or leader of a party who consents to assist General Hertzog in the consummation of his desires in conjuring with our individual and full franchise rights which were amply protected in the Constitution of the Union cannot fall outside the category of the subtle enemies of the Bantu.

As a race we feel we cannot even make suggestions regarding the liberality or otherwise of the new proposals until an

opportunity is given to us to voice our feelings in person before the government and even parliament. Any pronouncement on the compromise terms may easily be construed as a bow of consent to the proposed changes, which may lead the Premier to adopt the measure *mutatis mutandis* with a clear conscience of having done the work with the approval of the Native people.

If the leaders of the political parties feel that they have the power to cause the passage of the bill through the Assembly and the Senate in face of the insistent appeals of the Native voters to be heard, we daresay they will do so, but Native voters cannot assist by volition to the cutting of their own throats to please any government or political party. Even at this late hour we hope that wiser counsels may prevail, and that the Imperial authorities will advise the King to use his prerogative as provided in the Letters of Instruction to the Governor-General, in justice to the Native voter, in a matter of a sacred gift by the late beloved Queen Victoria.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

BID FOR COLOURED VOTE--ELECTION PROPAGANDA—GENERAL SMUTS BUSY—A SOCIAL EVIL—DEAN'S DENUNCIATION—VIOLENT NATIVE TALK.

("The African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, April 27.

General Smuts, who has hopes of a South African Party victory at the next General Election, made a strong bid for the Cape coloured vote when he addressed a conference of the African People's Organisation. He told the audience everything they wanted to be told, which, of course, is the secret of success in political tub-thumping. The General spoke eloquently of the principle of equal rights for all civilised men, and deplored the tendency recently in our legislation to draw distinctions.

Equal Rights.

"You can only govern on the principles of justice, fair play, and equal rights," he declared. "The people must feel satisfied that whether they are high or low, black or white, rich or poor, there is equal justice for every man, and that is the only principle on which you can govern a nation; and that is certainly the only principle on which you can govern this very difficult country of South Africa."

The clever Opposition Leader made another good electioneering point when he warmly acknowledged the qualities of the coloured people and their contribution to the building up of South Africa. "You have been a most law-abiding people," he said. "Whenever there has been trouble you have always done your duty. When the Great War took place you once more did your duty, and large numbers of your boys went with me. They fought just as bravely and did their duty just as magnificently as the whites did."

Needless to say, the General was loudly applauded for the expression of these sentiments.

The Conference was very bitter about the Government's white labour policy: a strong protest against it was entered. It was also resolved to ask for a civilised wage for all coloured people in Government employ; that coloured men in Government service be given opportunities to attain higher grade positions, and particularly that they also be given a fair share of employment in Government services in the northern provinces. Also that the Minister of Labour be asked to instruct the Wages Board to investigate wages and conditions of farm labourers with a view to fixing a living wage.

Johannesburg's Morals.

Johannesburg, once called a university of crime by the late lamented John X, and reminded of it ever since, has found another severe critic in the local Dean, who is shocked at the Golden City's morals. Unfortunately there is some foundation for his strictures, though it is questionable whether Johannesburg is any worse than any other town of its size and cosmopolitan population. The Dean spoke of the "appalling frequency of the unmarried mother."

The cowardice of the men in these cases was something amazing. Out of fifty cases that had come under his notice only two men had had the decency to stand by the girl. The machinery for getting hold of the delinquent men in these cases required to be altered, for it was lamentably slow in operation. He saw that at a conference of the National Council of Women to be held at Johannesburg, Durban was to ask that illegitimate children should bear their father's name and not their mother's. He would like to see a law like that placed on the Statute Book.

The Dean is right in attributing much of the trouble to the low wages paid to girls in certain trades.

Whether the Dean's words will have any good effect is doubtful. These social evils had long been known to exist, and all the talking in the world won't eliminate them.

Foolish Native Outburst.

As was, perhaps, to be expected, there has been some rather violent talk at the annual congress of the I.C.U., which is being held at Bloemfontein—this despite a very tactful welcoming speech to the delegates by Mr. Deane, a former Mayor of the town. Mr. Deane pleaded for a spirit of give and take between blacks and whites. Both were destined to live together, he said, both were equals in sight of God. The white man had educated the black, and had given him a greater measure of security. He had also brought the black man religion. In reply he had awakened self-consciousness in the Bantu people.

In reply to these conciliatory remarks the president of the Congress, J. G. Gumade, retorted that it was true that black and white live together, but while the black man had played his part well, the white man had failed deplorably. The black man had been deprived of his rights, and was landless because his colour was against him. The white man burdened them with many passes, and sent them to the police station. Many cases of shooting natives had come before the courts, and those convicted had been discharged when they erred. What did the Government do but pass the Native Administration Bill to prevent them from crying out against these atrocities!

The black man was created in this country, and he claimed every inch of it. He admitted that the white man provided employment, but at the same time he was underpaying him. "We are nothing but slaves," he added. If the colour bar were removed the native would make wonderful progress.

The problem of black and white was a difficult one, but it was made so in the interests of the ruling classes.

Chief's Tactful Words.

Happily all did not adopt this truculent tone. Chief Tanala's speech, for example, was a model of tact. He claims to be a Britisher of the fourth generation, and recalls a most happy meeting he had with the Duke of York at Cape Town. He and his people, he said, had been treated like gentlemen.

The natives of his country (the Transkei) would never resort to force. "We know our power, but we can resort to litigation, failing which we can go to the League of Nations, but our last resort would be to the Supreme Being, the Omnipotent. No white man can fight against destiny and predestination of the Almighty."

A noble sentiment, nobly expressed. Utterances couched in these terms and breathing a spirit so admirable will do the native cause infinitely more good than violent speeches which are unworthy of men who claim to be leaders of native thought in South Africa.

Native Farmers' Association

The Native Farmers' Association of the Keis Kama River Valley held its forty fourth quarterly meeting at Burnshill on the 26th May last on a rather cold day. The attendance was fair and indicative of the devotion to duty and keenness of the Native people in the movement. There were also present Mr D Ross the Manager of the Cis-Kei Native Agricultural Demonstrators, with Mr Norton who is the headmaster of the only Ciskei Native School of Agriculture at Fort Cox. 7-3-28

In his opening remarks, the chairman dwelt on the importance of making use of rains to the best advantage The meeting was welcomed locally by the headman (Mr A Kwatsha) who said, among other things, that it is this meeting that influenced the Government to send Mr Ross, Mr Norton, and agricultural demonstrators in this district, and encouraged some members to possess Savings Bank Deposit Accounts for the encouragement of thrift, instead of investing in cattle under present conditions. Professor Jabavu in thanking the local people emphasised the point that it is a good thing to be welcomed and also remarked that during his furlough he found people in London, France, Egypt and Palestine devoting most of their time to ploughing.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. Mr Ross was asked to give a report of the Fort Hare Agricultural Show that took place on 27th April last. He pointed out that Native handwork exhibits were few and not up to the mark. He also gave a number of valuable hints on how to arrange these exhibits in due course He further remarked that the next show will be held on 24th May next.

An excellent report, on money spent on buying and selling mealies in order to relieve people from starvation, was given by the Assistant Secretary and was so enthusiastically accepted that the committee was again authorised to continue the scheme It was really very regrettful to note that there are about five fully qualified Native Agricultural Demonstrators in the district of King William's Town who are out of work and who have submitted their applications to the officer concerned but to their utter disappointment they saw Demonstrators from the Transkei filling up vacancies which thing is an unspeakable injustice

The roll was then called and £4/10/., was received. The next meeting was fixed for Gwiligwili on the 25th Aug next Among those who were prominent in the discussions were Messrs E G Mankazana, D D T Jabavu, S F Sonjica, J D Gulwa, F C Cweba, D Ross, L M Nkonyeni, Metuse and others.

The meeting was entertained with an excellent repast by the local village people.

Syrians as White Race

OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENT

The Secretary for Justice has issued a circular on the position of Syrians in the Union, which reads as follows:— 6-22-28

Although the national home of the Syrians is Asia, the Appellate and other Divisions of the Supreme Court have held that they are a White race, and consequently not subject to the laws applicable to the Coloured races. It may also be mentioned that Syrians, if otherwise qualified, are enrolled as Parliamentary voters in each of the four Provinces in the Union.—Friend

Race Problem - 1928.

Africa.

SIR OFORI ATTA'S VISIT.

[By our Special Correspondent.]

Sir Ofori Atta's time in England continues to be fully occupied. On Thursday, June 21, Huntley and Palmers' biscuit factory was visited. Sir Ofori was dressed in the robes of a ruler, and wore his crown, composed of heavy plaques of wrought gold. He was also wearing two gold necklaces and beautifully wrought gold bracelets. Sir Ofori was conducted round the factory by Mr. Geoffrey Palmer and the managing director, Mr. Herbert Pretty, and evinced lively interest in every one of the operations which he inspected. He lingered frequently, inspecting the processes of manufacture, packing, sorting, icing and piping, and in the bride cake department tried his hand at a piece of ornamental piping, as the Prince of Wales had done on his recent visit to the factory. He was greatly impressed by his visit to the stores and inspection of the ingredients employed, and was delighted at the sight of cocoa-beans imported from his own State. Altogether he was much impressed by what he saw, and continually expressed admiration. Throughout his visit he showed a most genial disposition, exchanging friendly greetings with the workpeople, who gave him a rousing send-off on his departure from the factory.

West Africa 6-30-28.

On the same day, Sir Ofori visited the Morris-Cowley works at Oxford, as well as the principal colleges. His first visit on Friday was to the head office of the Bank of British West Africa, where he was shown round the premises by the General Manager, Mr. Leslie Couper, C.M.G. The collection of coins and paper currency of the old African Company to the notes of the present day, with a varied group of "Ashanti weights," particularly attracted Sir Ofori's attention. From the Bank he went to the Mint, where he was met by Sir Robert A. Johnson, the Deputy Master, who found a bond of union in the fact that he and Sir Ofori were both receiving the same degree of knighthood in the following week. After an interesting tour of the plant, the party were shown into a strong room containing some two-and-a-half million pounds in silver, packed in the £100 bags so familiar to anyone who trades in West Africa. Later in the day, Sir Ofori visited the Horse Show at Olympia, and was surprised that in an important race open to both sexes, the winner was a girl. Later still, he went through the printing office of the "Daily Express," and witnessed the production of its first edition.

On Saturday, a call was paid on the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, and on Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies, when Sir Ofori brought forward a number of questions of interest to his people, questions on which more will be said later.

On Sunday, June 24, the Zoo was visited, followed in the afternoon by a trip to Godalming to visit Sir Ransford Slater at his private residence, Picton Croft. After tea, and a stroll round the grounds, Sir Ofori motored over to Charterhouse, and was shown over the school buildings by Col. F. W. B. Smart. A short call was paid on Monday at Africa House, the headquarters of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, and after a tour of the building Sir Ofori enjoyed the wide view over London that may be obtained from the roof. In the afternoon, he visited the House of Commons with Mr. J. H. Thomas, and later in the day saw the House at work. The subject, unfortunately, was a dull one, for the Finance Bill was in its committee stage, but, on the principle of the sexton's holiday, Sir Ofori was pleased to examine the methods of the premier Legislative Council of the Empire. Wednesday, June 26, was devoted to a visit to Woolwich Arsenal, followed by a call on the African Selection Trust, Ltd., while in the afternoon Kew was visited, and, in the evening, the Royal Colonial Institute.

The great event of the week, and, indeed, of the tour, was Sir Ofori's visit to Buckingham Palace on Wednesday for his investiture in his new rank by the King. On his arrival at the Palace, he was delightfully surprised at being accorded the honour of a private reception, when the King chatted on the affairs of his State and expressed regret that his whole suite had not accompanied him, for Sir Ofori was attended only by the Awoso. The State umbrella, by the way, used by Sir Ofori on his approach to the Palace, was carried by Mr. A. E. O. Larbi, a law student of the Middle Temple.

During the evening, Sir Ofori visited the White City Speedway, and was greatly interested in the dirt-track racing. At the close he "invested" J. Kempster with the decoration which he won in the "Silver Armlet" race.

On this visit he was met by Prof. Lowe and Mr. Barrington Hudson, son of Mr. Arthur Hudson, K.C., ex-Attorney-General of the Gold Coast, and before he left he spoke through the microphone to the 45,000 people and thanked them for their very warm welcome.

Sir Ofori spent much of Thursday in inspecting L.C.C. schools, under the guidance of an inspector, and undoubtedly learned much that he will find of value on his return to Akim Abuakwa.

After visiting the Gramophone Co.'s works, and attending a board meeting of the Akim Diamonds, Ltd., Sir Ofori proceeds to Chatham to-day, with Mr. Roy Wilson, M.P., as the guest of the Bank of British West Africa, and will be shown the dockyard and H.M.S. Kent. Afterwards he will re-cross London and attend the air pageant at Hendon. His future programme includes lunch with Sir Gordon Guggisberg, at Yately, Hants, on Sunday, followed by visits to Brussels and Paris, and, according to present arrangements, he is due to arrive at Liverpool on July 10. He will be on Merseyside until July 18, when he will leave for the Gold Coast by the Elder Dempster M.V. Adda. During his week's stay, a sight-seeing programme is being arranged which will show Sir Ofori the importance of Liverpool and Manchester from the point of view of West Afircan trade and as regards cotton shipping. On the evening prior to his sailing from the Mersey, Sir Ofori will be the guest of the Chairman (Mr. J. H. Sharrock) and the Committee and members of the West African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce

CRIME IN KENYA.

More Expert, More Dangerous.

("African World" Correspondent.)

"Crime in Kenya is rapidly becoming more expert, more dangerous, and more professional," states the Kenya Police annual report which has just been issued, and the need for a greater degree of efficiency and professional knowledge by all ranks in the force to combat the increasing cleverness and resources of the native criminal is pressed. Instances are given to show that the criminal is becoming more expert. In one case, safe-breakers took deliberate precautions to prevent identification by finger-prints—washing and smearing the safe with mud. An important development during the year under review was the inauguration of the Criminal Investigation Department, prior to which the responsible duties which devolve upon this department in all modern forces had been delegated to a small staff of Asiatic and native plain-clothes men, who, in practice, had not the training, the capability, nor the time to handle the important cases or matters of any degree of ramification.

Indian Demonstration.

There has been an unfortunate demonstration, a mass meeting of Indians to protest against the jury's action in a recent Supreme Court case. The jury stopped the case against a European charged with assaulting an Indian and damaging his property at the little trading station of Uasin Neyro, in the Masai Reserve, near Narok. Addressing some 300 Indians at the demonstration, Mr. U. K. Oza said it sometimes seemed that the Union Jack had ceased to give the protection it ought to to His Britannic Majesty's Indian subjects. Was it not necessary for the peace of the country and the good will of the communities that there should be no suspicion on the part of any one community that they were being unfairly treated; that no one part of the community should have the least reason to say that justice was not meted out to them?

People's Sense of Justice.

"Is it not a tribute to your law and justice that our people go unarmed into reserves inhabited by tribes whom you yourselves consider are dangerous?" he continued, addressing the few Europeans present. "Is it not necessary that they should have in their heart of hearts that sense of security which would make them still further inclined to penetrate into the furthermost recesses of this wild, undeveloped region under the British flag? Do you think that if this sense of security is destroyed—and there is a growing sense of security every day—that this will cease, and that it will be a blot on the name of Britain?" The meeting passed a resolution protesting against the action of the jury.

QUESTION OF NATIVE RESERVES.

Mr. Linfield criticises Proposals of Kenya Government.

Mr. Fred C. Linfield, who was a member of the Parliamentary Commission of 1924, referring to Sir Edward Grigg's recent pronouncement on the question of native reserves, expresses the view in a letter to the Press that the proposals mentioned by the Kenya Government will not make for a better understanding between the white community and the native races.

Express & Star 6-16-28

Mr. Linfield recalls this passage in the report of the Parliamentary Commission:

> There is probably no subject which agitates the native mind to-day more continuously than the question of their rights in land, both collectively as tribes, and individually as owners or occupiers. In this disquiet they are actively supported in their claims by the missionary bodies of all denominations. Uncertainly in regard to future land policy is certainly the principal cause of disquiet among the natives, more particularly of Kenya and Nyasaland.

Sir Edward Grigg, declares Mr. Linfield, now proposes further encroachments upon native reserves, and then goes on to state:—"Parts of the Colony, which are arid and at present without inhabitants, might, as a result of water boring, prove very valuable for a possible future extension of the reserves." He later add:—"This will breed new confidence between our African fellow-subjects and ourselves." Will it? I very much doubt. In the past large tracts of land were acquired by settlers and land speculators at very low prices, and in some cases for no payment at all, but nearly all the expenses of development, such as railways, roads, &c., have been paid for in the main by the British taxpayer. There is ample room for European development on these lands, without trespassing further on native reserves, as the following figures will help to prove. I suppose there are about 20,000 Europeans in East Africa all told, and there are probably 20,000,000 natives. The area of Kenya is 245,000 square miles, and the population in 1924 was estimated as:—Europeans, 10,295, about 2,000 of these being settlers; Asiatics, 23,470; natives, 2,495,065. The native reserves occupy 46,837 square miles out of a total of 245,060 square miles.

It is sometimes overlooked that the development of the native will have a beneficial effect upon trade and commerce. When Uganda produces a large cotton crop it is usually followed by increased importation of British goods. I am convinced that if our railways and roads were carried through the whole of East Africa, where the population is most dense, and greater assistance was given in the teaching of agriculture, cattle-raising, and craftsmanship, we should in time reap the benefit of increased demand, not only for Lancashire goods, but for agricultural implements, and many of the amenities of civilised life. This has been the experience of West Africa, and I am confident it can be repeated in East Africa without any injury to the European settler, whom I would encourage and assist in every way. It seems to me that there is ample scope for this policy.

Africa.

SIR OFORI ATTA'S VISIT.

[By our Special Correspondent.]

Sir Ofori Atta's time in England continues to be fully occupied. On Thursday, June 21, Huntley and Palmers' biscuit factory was visited. Sir Ofori was dressed in the robes of a ruler, and wore his crown, composed of heavy plaques of wrought gold. He was also wearing two gold necklaces and beautifully wrought gold bracelets. Sir Ofori was conducted round the factory by Mr. Geoffrey Palmer and the managing director, Mr. Herbert Pretty, and evinced lively interest in every one of the operations which he inspected. He lingered frequently, inspecting the processes of manufacture, packing, sorting, icing and piping, and in the bride cake department tried his hand at a piece of ornamental piping, as the Prince of Wales had done on his recent visit to the factory. He was greatly impressed by his visit to the stores and inspection of the ingredients employed, and was delighted at the sight of cocoa-beans imported from his own State. Altogether he was much impressed by what he saw, and continually expressed admiration. Throughout his visit he showed a most genial disposition, exchanging friendly greetings with the workpeople, who gave him a rousing send-off on his departure from the factory.

West Africa 6-30-28.

On the same day, Sir Ofori visited the Morris-Cowley works at Oxford, as well as the principal colleges. His first visit on Friday was to the head office of the Bank of British West Africa, where he was shown round the premises by the General Manager, Mr. Leslie Couper, C.M.G. The collection of coins and paper currency of the old African Company to the notes of the present day, with a varied group of "Ashanti weights," particularly attracted Sir Ofori's attention. From the Bank he went to the Mint, where he was met by Sir Robert A. Johnson, the Deputy Master, who found a bond of union in the fact that he and Sir Ofori were both receiving the same degree of knighthood in the following week. After an interesting tour of the plant, the party were shown into a strong room containing some two-and-a-half million pounds in silver, packed in the £100 bags so familiar to anyone who trades in West Africa. Later in the day, Sir Ofori visited the Horse Show at Olympia, and was surprised that in an important race open to both sexes, the winner was a girl. Later still, he went through the printing office of the "Daily Express," and witnessed the production of its first edition.

On Saturday, a call was paid on the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, and on Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies, when Sir Ofori brought forward a number of questions of interest to his people, questions on which more will be said later.

On Sunday, June 24, the Zoo was visited, followed in the afternoon by a trip to Godalming to visit Sir Ransford Slater at his private residence, Picton Croft. After tea, and a stroll round the grounds, Sir Ofori motored over to Charterhouse, and was shown over the school buildings by Col. F. W. B. Smart. A short call was paid on Monday at Africa House, the headquarters of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, and after a tour of the building Sir Ofori enjoyed the wide view over London that may be obtained from the roof. In the afternoon, he visited the House of Commons with Mr. J. H. Thomas, and later in the day saw the House at work. The subject, unfortunately, was a dull one, for the Finance Bill was in its committee stage, but, on the principle of the sexton's holiday, Sir Ofori was pleased to examine the methods of the premier Legislative Council of the Empire. Wednesday, June 26, was devoted to a visit to Woolwich Arsenal, followed by a call on the African Selection Trust, Ltd., while in the afternoon Kew was visited, and, in the evening, the Royal Colonial Institute.

The great event of the week, and, indeed, of the tour, was Sir Ofori's visit to Buckingham Palace on Wednesday for his investiture in his new rank by the King. On his arrival at the Palace, he was delightfully surprised at being accorded the honour of a private reception, when the King chatted on the affairs of his State and expressed regret that his whole suite had not accompanied him, for Sir Ofori was attended only by the Awoso. The State umbrella, by the way, used by Sir Ofori on his approach to the Palace, was carried by Mr. A. E. O. Larbi, a law student of the Middle Temple.

During the evening, Sir Ofori visited the White City Speedway, and was greatly interested in the dirt-track racing. At the close he "invested" J. Kempster with the decoration which he won in the "Silver Armlet" race.

On this visit he was met by Prof. Lowe and Mr. Barrington Hudson, son of Mr. Arthur Hudson, K.C., ex-Attorney-General of the Gold Coast, and before he left he spoke through the microphone to the 45,000 people and thanked them for their very warm welcome.

Sir Ofori spent much of Thursday in inspecting L.C.C. schools, under the guidance of an inspector, and undoubtedly learned much that he will find of value on his return to Akim Abuakwa.

After visiting the Gramophone Co.'s works, and attending a board meeting of the Akim Diamonds, Ltd., Sir Ofori proceeds to Chatham to-day, with Mr. Roy Wilson, M.P., as the guest of the Bank of British West Africa, and will be shown the dockyard and H.M.S. Kent. Afterwards he will re-cross London and attend the air pageant at Hendon. His future programme includes lunch with Sir Gordon Guggisberg, at Yately, Hants, on Sunday, followed by visits to Brussels and Paris, and, according to present arrangements, he is due to arrive at Liverpool on July 10. He will be on Merseyside until July 18, when he will leave for the Gold Coast by the Elder Dempster M.V. Adda. During his week's stay, a sight-seeing programme is being arranged which will show Sir Ofori the importance of Liverpool and Manchester from the point of view of West African trade and as regards cotton shipping. On the evening prior to his sailing from the Mersey, Sir Ofori will be the guest of the Chairman (Mr. J. H. Sharrock) and the Committee and members of the West African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce

CRIME IN KENYA.

More Expert, More Dangerous.

("African World" Correspondent.)

West Africa 6-23-28

"Crime in Kenya is rapidly becoming more expert, more dangerous, and more professional," states the Kenya Police annual report which has just been issued, and the need for a greater degree of efficiency and professional knowledge by all ranks in the force to combat the increasing cleverness and resource of the native criminal is pressed. Instances are given to show that the criminal is becoming more expert. In one case, safe-breakers took deliberate precautions to prevent identification by finger-prints—washing and smearing the safe with mud. An important development during the year under review was the inauguration of the Criminal Investigation Department, prior to which the responsible duties which devolve upon this department in all modern forces had been delegated to a small staff of Asiatic and native plain-clothes men, who, in practice, had not the training, the capability, nor the time to handle the important cases or matters of any degree of ramification.

Indian Demonstration.

There has been an unfortunate demonstration, a mass meeting of Indians to protest against the jury's action in a recent Supreme Court case. The jury stopped the case against a European charged with assaulting an Indian and damaging his property at the little trading station of Uasin Neyro, in the Masai Reserve, near Narok. Addressing some 300 Indians at the demonstration, Mr. U. K. Oza said it sometimes seemed that the Union Jack had ceased to give the protection it ought to to His Britannic Majesty's Indian subjects. Was it not necessary for the peace of the country and the good will of the communities that there should be no suspicion on the part of any one community that they were being unfairly treated; that no one part of the community should have the least reason to say that justice was not meted out to them?

People's Sense of Justice.

"Is it not a tribute to your law and justice that our people go unarmed into reserves inhabited by tribes whom you yourselves consider are dangerous?" he continued, addressing the few Europeans present. "Is it not necessary that they should have in their heart of hearts that sense of security which would make them still further inclined to penetrate into the furthermost recesses of this wild, undeveloped region under the British flag? Do you think that if this sense of security is destroyed—and there is a growing sense of security every day—that this will cease, and that it will be a blot on the name of Britain?" The meeting passed a resolution protesting against the action of the jury.

QUESTION OF NATIVE RESERVES.

Mr. Linfield criticises Proposals of Kenya Government.

West Africa 6-16-28

Mr. Fred C. Linfield, who was a member of the Parliamentary Commission of 1924, referring to Sir Edward Grigg's recent pronouncement on the question of native reserves, expresses the view in a letter to the Press that the proposals mentioned by the Kenya Government will not make for a better understanding between the white community and the native races.

Mr. Linfield recalls this passage in the report of the Parliamentary Commission:

> There is probably no subject which agitates the native mind to-day more continuously than the question of their rights in land, both collectively as tribes, and individually as owners or occupiers. In this disquiet they are actively supported in their claims by the missionary bodies of all denominations. Uncertainly in regard to future land policy is certainly the principal cause of disquiet among the natives, more particularly of Kenya and Nyasaland.

Sir Edward Grigg, declares Mr. Linfield, now proposes further encroachments upon native reserves, and then goes on to state:—"Parts of the Colony, which are arid and at present without inhabitants, might, as a result of water boring, prove very valuable for a possible future extension of the reserves." He later add:—"This will breed new confidence between our African fellow-subjects and ourselves." Will it? I very much doubt. In the past large tracts of land were acquired by settlers and land speculators at very low prices, and in some cases for no payment at all, but nearly all the expenses of development, such as railways, roads, &c., have been paid for in the main by the British taxpayer. There is ample room for European development on these lands, without trespassing further on native reserves, as the following figures will help to prove. I suppose there are about 20,000 Europeans in East Africa all told, and there are probably 20,000,000 natives. The area of Kenya is 245,000 square miles, and the population in 1924 was estimated as:—Europeans, 10,295, about 2,000 of these being settlers; Asiatics, 23,470; natives, 2,495,065. The native reserves occupy 46,837 square miles but of a total of 245,060 square miles.

It is sometimes overlooked that the development of the native will have a beneficial effect upon trade and commerce. When Uganda produces a large cotton crop it is usually followed by increased importation of British goods. I am convinced that if our railways and roads were carried through the whole of East Africa, where the population is most dense, and greater assistance was given in the teaching of agriculture, cattle-raising, and craftsmanship, we should in time reap the benefit of increased demand, not only for Lancashire goods, but for agricultural implements, and many of the amenities of civilised life. This has been the experience of West Africa, and I am confident it can be repeated in East Africa without any injury to the European settler, whom I would encourage and assist in every way. It seems to me that there is ample scope for this policy.

JOINT EAST AFRICAN BOARD.

White Settlement in Tanganyika.

At the June meeting of the Executive Council of the Joint East African Board a special resolution was passed to record congratulations to Sir John Sandeman Allen, Vice-Chairman of the Council, on his knighthood; and it was also resolved to forward telegrams of congratulation to Lord Delamere on his marriage, and to Sir Christian Felling and the Hon. H. T. Martin, C.B.E., on the distinctions conferred upon them according to the King's Birthday List of Honours.

Attention was drawn to the change in policy on the part of the Tanganyika Government in regard to white settlement in Tanganyika as described in the issue of "East Africa" published on May 31. The Chairman pointed out that it was most essential for the Board's Committee to prepare as soon as possible a considered memorandum on the whole question, as the East Africa Commission had asked for the views of the Board on this subject at their meeting with members of the Council on May 18. It was agreed that the Committee should invite representatives from the Associated Producers of East Africa and the Royal Colonial Institute to collaborate with them.

Congo Basin Treaties.

A report was presented by the Treaties Committee stating that the memorandum drawn up by Sir John Sandeman Allen on the Congo Basin Treaties incorporated the views of the Committee, and it was resolved to adopt both Sir John's memorandum and the covering report of the Committee as the Board's considered views on the subject.

A letter from the Nyasaland Planters' Association urging the Board to use their influence with the Colonial Office to disallow Section 25 of the Ordinance passed on April 2 was read to the Council. It was decided to defer discussion until copies of the letter had been distributed to members of the Council for their closer consideration.

Letters from the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Producers of East Africa supporting the introduction of the Eastern Telegraph Company's service into Kenya were read to the Council, and disappointment was expressed that the Convention of Associations in Nairobi was not in favour of the establishment of a direct cable service at Mombasa unless the cable company agreed to reduce their rates, which the Convention considered excessive. It was hoped that subsequent discussion between the Executive of the Association of East African Chambers of Commerce and the Convention of Associations would lead to an early settlement of the question.

It was announced that a conference with the Colonial Office would probably take place in the second half of July, and it was proposed to make the main subjects for discussion: Native Tenants on Private Estates in Nyasaland, White Settlement in Tanganyika, and the Congo Basin Treaties, it being understood that inquiries regarding other questions in East Africa would also be put forward for elucidation.

The Sudan.

AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

Educational Conference at Rejaf.

A language conference was held at Rejaf, Mongalla Province, in April, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. G. Matthew, Secretary for Education and Health.

It was attended by over forty representatives of Government and missions, including Mr. Hussey, the Director of Education, Uganda, and Mr. Haddon, Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, Uganda; Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt, Administrateur of Faradje, Congo; the Right Rev. A. L. Kitching, Bishop of the Upper Nile; and many other representatives of Sudan, Uganda and Congo missions.

Professor D. Westerman, Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, was present as expert adviser to the conference.

Very satisfactory results were obtained, and it was agreed that some six group languages should be selected for development for educational purposes in the south. As regards orthography a uniform alphabet was adopted, largely based on that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Other matters such as the compilation of text-books were also discussed.

Apart from the actual objects of the conference it provided a unique opportunity for many of those engaged in educational work in the south to meet and discuss various problems.

Basuto'and Medical Service.

We learn from the Bloemfontein "Friend" of the 16th instant that: "Dr Gill, of Ladybrand has accepted an appointment in the Basutoland Government Medical Service, and has left for Maseru to take up his work. He is a son of Mr. H. F Gill, of Clocolan."

In the course of the hearing of the charge of murder of Motaoane, in the report of the proceedings we came across two new names of Doctors that must have been newly appointed to the Basutoland Medical Service, with the appointment of Dr. Gill there are three new doctors we have heard of added to the old roll

There have been continuous cry in Basutoland for more medical service among the Basutos, some of the largely populated districts complaining that they were being scantily served. One of the chief painful cry raised inside the National Council and outside in the country. it was in respect of the horror they felt when they were ordered by Government authorities to bring their dead from remote places to government hospitals for post motem examination. The sight always became terrible and heart-rendering when the people had no other means of conveyance except sledge, and the body get to the hospital covered with dust, smeered with mud and bruised. Sometimes is brought on a horseback fastened to a saddle in a sitting position. The sight of these things is simply unbearable and not worth looking at under any circumstances.

If so many doctors were employed with an object to put a stop to these practices the Basuto would be altogether grateful to the Resident Commissioner.

The Medical department used to give an excuse that there were no doctors available to travel long distances to the place where the body is as their services were required at the dispensaries. With many doctors at the Government disposal there will be no reason for any such excuse.

PLAIN TALES FROM AFRICA EAST.

"The Company of Adventurers," By John Boyes. ("East Africa," 91, Great Titchfield Street, W.1. 16s. net.)

Not so many years ago John Boyes was arrested and tried by the British administrators in East Africa, which had not too lively a sympathy with daring adventurers—though the Empire has been built over the waste places which these men have trod. A few years before that, the reviewer of this book, in which John Boyes tells some of his adventures, sat in the Guildhall side by side with Paul Chaillu to see Stanley receive the freedom of the City, for crossing Africa. So small a gap of years covers the days since the places of which John Boyes writes, and which are now accessible by train and motor-car, were still unknown regions of Africa. Boyes did not belong to the band of explorers, but to those who hardily follow in their train, rifle and life in hand, to see whether there is anything in the unknown worth while for them. He had adventures and enterprise a-plenty. Not having had a bellyfull in the Matabele War he must needs go up the East Coast by Arab dhow till he could land and find a footing in the Kikuyu country. He "pacified" it in his own fashion and (after the unsympathetic interlude already mentioned) settled down to make his living as trader and elephant-hunter.

Not for him the days of luxurious *safari*. He hunted on twopence ha'penny a day, or thereabouts, with donkeys instead of motor-cars, and bearers for what he could get them—once he conscripted a horde of ivory-carriers from a village, which regarded the proceeding as a huge joke. We may add, and we are sure he will forgive the liberty, that instead of a game licence he carried his own cordite. Not to put a fine point on it, he poached elephants in the Lado Enclave when it was profitable.

These episodes of elephant hunting are the most entertaining in the volume. Any one of them properly expanded would make a short story in "Blackwood." There were the elephants which made life a burden to a village, having lived on the crops and knelt on the inhabitants for two generations, with nobody able to refuse them tribute. Boyes converted these tame tax-gatherers into ivory—which was what elephants were for, to him. Then there was the elephant which charged his friend Knowles, missed him in the long grass, and then breaking off a large branch from a tree proceeded to beat the grass systematically to find him. And the elephant herd, 400 about in number, bathing in the river; and the other elephants on the wrong side of the flooded river; and the Indian elephant poacher who bolted, leaving all his ivory behind him.

Then there are the tales that are told by the camp-fire; the tale of the .303 rifle which brought bad luck to all who handled it; the tale of the rhinoceros which charged a chain-gang and carried it into the bush; the tale of the zealous Airedale which nearly cost Boyes his life, and the tale of the elephant hunters who added some hundreds of square miles to British territory by removing the German boundary-posts so as to enable them to poach with greater freedom. Then there is the story of Mrs. Walsh's washing and the rhino—and a score of others. They are the raw material of romance. In reading them we recall one of John Boyes's unexpected turns. He always carried a book with him to read in the evenings, after the day's march, under the shade of a tree; and sometimes he would leave a cache of such volumes with a Native Chief for other adventurers to read if they came along, stipulating only that if they took a book they should replace it with another . . . This is one of the books a man might read . . . at the end of the day . . . in the wilderness, or by his own fireside.

E. S. G.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE WEALTH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

A somewhat new but nevertheless extremely interesting and sound argument was developed by the Earl of Athlone in his speech as the guest of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire at their annual luncheon on Wednesday. "South Africa," he remarked, "had had many ups and downs, but if her course were surveyed from a standpoint detached from a present preoccupation with the particular current up or down, it would be observed that, although the downs were steep, and therefore loomed large in the memories of those who had had to experience them, the upward gradients were long, persistent, and dominating." His lordship then proceeded to develop the argument that the prosperity of South Africa did not, as was generally supposed, depend on the continuance of gold exports, and "that, when that base was withdrawn, the prosperity would dissipate like the baseless fabric of a dream and leave not a rack behind." "Up to a certain point," remarked the speaker, "that criticism might be justified. The present prosperity of South Africa had been built on gold. She paid in gold for about one-half of her imports, and it was true enough that, if gold suddenly failed her, she would have to reduce her mode of life to one consistent with a margin of one-half or probably much less than one-half of what she at present imported." Nevertheless, the prosperity of South Africa did not entirely rest on gold production, as was shown by the figures of exports during recent years, a comparison of which showed that while in 1910 the value of agricultural products exported amounted to £9,500,000, in 1927 the value had increased to £28,000,000. Allowance for currency depreciation would reduce the latter total to approximately £22,000,000, a net improvement during the period of £12,500,000. In 1910 agricultural exports were only about 18 per cent. of total exports, while in 1927 they were about 32 per cent. of the total, a notable increase when it was remembered that the output of gold has risen in value from £32,000,000 to £42,000,000, and that included in the total exports were £15,000,000 of diamonds and coal. It is well that such facts as these should be circulated both in this country and in the Union, not that there is any likelihood of any sudden decrease in gold production, for large areas of the Rand still remain to be explored, while there are good indications of payable deposits in other areas the development of which may gradually replace or supplement the production of the present goldfield. In other minerals, too, South Africa may provide gratifying surprise, for the complex geological conditions of the country are favourable for mineralisation of every kind. There is, therefore, no cause to anticipate that the mineral output of the Union is likely to appreciably diminish in the immediate future, but all the same it is good that attention should be publicly drawn to the steady progression shown by agricultural exports, which progression is a sure indication that the prosperity of South Africa is on a sound and permanent basis.

African World 7-14-28

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

"God-Axes."

Mr. C. W. Welman is to be congratulated on the high standard of the articles in the "Gold Coast Review" under his editorship. In the latest issue (Vol. III., No. 2, July to December, 1927) there are two contributions of outstanding interest—"Stone Artefacts of the Gold Coast and Ashanti," by Captain R. P. Wild, Inspector of Mines, and "Music in the Gold Coast," by Mr. W. C. Ward, of Achimota College. In the former Captain Wild deals with those stone implements which are scattered so abundantly over the surface both of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, and known colloquially as "God-Axes." My attention was called to these when I was quite a young man by seeing a native "doctor" scraping a curiously shaped stone to mix the dust so obtained in medicine he was preparing for one of the house-servants. I was attracted by its resemblance to the implements, then known as "celts," which I had seen exhibited in European museums; the authenticity of Boucher de Perthes' discoveries in the Somme valley had only recently been established, and their significance appreciated, while the terms palæolithic and neolithic were still comparatively new. The "doctor" told me that the stone was a thunderbolt, and had been brought down from the sky by a flash of lightning during a thunderstorm. He also told me that the thunderbolts were powerful medicine, and were used by many of his fraternity; in some cases a thunderbolt was worn as a charm, but more usually scrapings were mixed with other medicines to make them stronger. The next specimen I came across was at the house of a Christian friend who had one in his waterpot to keep the water cool. He also called his stone a thunderbolt, and gave a similar account of its origin. After this I was on the watch for stone implements, but it was not until I went up country that I found them recognised as tools and called axes; I never heard them described as hoes. I was puzzled by the small size of the implements, and could not get any explanation as to how such small implements could be used as axes. I could not discover any provision for attachment to a handle, but came to the conclusion that they were inserted in a forked or cleft stick, to which they were tied with bush rope. The people said that they were God's axes, which fell from the sky, and they did not know how God used them. Captain Wild's suggestion that they were originally much larger and have been worn down, by use is credible. I can confirm his speculation as to the use of the hoe in making gold-pits. He says:—"The circular section of the pits and their diameter, about 2½ feet, the dimension of squatting man, suggest the possibility that some such implement as a hoe, used between the legs, was employed for the purpose." In my prospecting days I had many holes sunk in what were said to be "likely spots" by a man squatting in a hole and using an iron hoe as he revolved "on his own centre."

Who Made Them?

From time to time I found a good many of these implements, and always at a depth of between 18 in. and 3 ft. Captain Wild suggests that the makers were an ancient race of agriculturists which inhabited the country before the intrusion of the Akan people in the course of their migration from the north-east. There is much evidence to support this theory of an aboriginal people. The Akan peoples were familiar with iron before the arrival of the Europeans; their language has a name for the metal not derived from any European language, and the accounts of the earliest voyagers describe the peoples of the Gold Coast as skilful workers in gold and iron, so it does not seem likely that they made the stone axes, for, as Captain Wild points out, present-day Ashantis and Fantis disclaim all knowledge of them and believe them to be of celestial origin. The traditions of the Akans assert that the country was inhabited when they reached it, and that they often had to fight with the aboriginal peoples. The people of Winnebah, whose own name for their district is Simpa, claim that they defeated the intruding Akans and maintained their independence, a tradition supported by the fact that they retained their own language, which is quite distinct from Twi; this is now dying out. According to the traditions of the Elminas, when the eponymous founder of the town, which they call Edna, having quarrelled with his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, reached the bank of the River Benya he was met by one who stated that he was the God Benya, and invited him to settle there with his people, and gave him his daughter to wife. In course of time Benya has become the personification of the river, and has been worshipped. He is said to have reigned for several hundred years before ascending to Heaven. He was succeeded by Edna, who also reigned several hundred years before joining his father-in-law and the other gods. When stripped of its supernatural trimmings the tradition seems to indicate that there were twenty-five or thirty generations between Benya and Edna and their representative and reputed descendant in the middle of the nineteenth century. Until the old town was destroyed on June 13, 1873, "Benya's House" was still standing, opposite the drawbridge-gate of the Castle, and was his temple.

Palæoliths.

Captain Wild refers to the scantiness of palæoliths. I think that this is rather due to lack of trained observers than to lack of specimens. The neolithic implements are so evidently artificial that they suggest human handiwork to even untrained observers, but palæoliths are usually so crude that their human production can only be detected by an expert like Sir Albert Kitson, the Director of the Geological Survey of the Gold Coast, who has "found several thousands of stone implements of rude form and finish and of palæolithic types in various places." I believe that these are more numerous than is generally supposed. When engaged in constructing the proposed Cape Coast-Sefwhi trade road through Jukwa (Lower Denkera) I found a number of pieces of quartzite resembling in shape the "old stone" arrowheads I had seen in museums, but they were so crude and roughly worked that, not being an expert, I was diffident of ascribing them to human agency. However, when digging foundations for a bridge over a small stream, my men turned up a "pocket" containing a large grevish stone (which I took to be a hammer) about half-a-dozen of the arrow-heads and a piece of flint shaped like the "scrapers" of the museums. No other stones or pebbles were found in the bank. I made a parcel of the find and sent it to the District Commissioner at Cape Coast with a note describing how and where the stones were found, hoping that he would send them to headquarters, and that they might ultimately find their way to the British Museum. When some months later, I asked the D.C. what he had done with the parcel, he said that he had thrown "the old stones" into a corner of his office, and supposed that his boys must have thrown them away. I most regretted the loss of the flint scraper, and have often puzzled over the question—Where did that piece of flint come from?

W. F. H.

OPENING OF THE LOWER CONGO-KATANGA RAILWAY.

Important Speech by King Albert.

The inauguration of the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway was celebrated at Elisabethville by a banquet presided over by their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians, and attended by Sir Crawford Maxwell, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, all the authorities of the city, and notabilities associated with the construction of the railway.

His Majesty wore the uniform of Lieutenant-General, with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Leopold and the Insignia of the Order of the Garter.

Proposing the toast of their Majesties, Mr. Jean Jadot spoke brilliantly of the great interest showed by them on every occasion in the progress of the Colony, of which their present visit was proof. He then referred in eloquent terms to the genius, foresight, and tenacity of purpose of the great King Leopold II., who, in the face of such great difficulties and adverse criticism, had laid the foundations of the great Colony.

Mr. Jadot then explained in detail the services this new national route would render to trade and industry in the entire province and to the Congo at large.

His Majesty the King, who had a loyal and enthusiastic reception on rising, thanked Mr. Jadot for his kindly reference to the Royal Family, and then welcomed Sir Crawford Maxwell and Mr. Droogmans and Commandant Lothaire. He continued:—

"The flight of time proves to-day the wise political foresight of the great concessions of 1906, for without the effective assistance of financial groups the great achievements we admire at present could never have been realised. No one was better qualified to speak on this occasion than Mr. Jadot, owing to the part he had taken in the creation of the railway. The best praise I can give him is to recall the words of King Leopold II.: 'The great Jadot is a man of the highest value.'

"We are all here to-day as guests of the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway Company, and to celebrate its achievement we have come to the Congo. Never was an enterprise launched and carried through under more difficult conditions nor with greater care for the well-being of the workers. There are few colonial railroads whose construction has been so rapid and whose course has been so cleverly worked out for vast traffic as this one. These results have been attained by Mr. Odon Jadot and his engineers. And after praising the merits of the leaders let us express our gratitude to those simple workmen who were so wholeheartedly devoted to their task, a work indispensable for the

African World 7-21-28

economic life of the Congo. I congratulate the company on its initiative and on its care shown for the material and moral welfare of its staff. The railway will assure the development of agriculture, which alone keeps the native to the soil; it will transform the economic conditions of the districts through which it runs, facilitate labour problems, permit of provisioning of the upper regions, and make of Katanga a province more and more Belgian, and closer in touch with the economics and politics of the Metropolis.

"The company undertook the vast project of King Leopold II., which was to intersect the Colony with a network of railways in communication with all parts of Africa. Let us hope that in a few years we may see this railway constituting a national line of great extent, linking up the Colony's richest regions to the ocean, for the railroad attracts population and increases the value of territory. When the problem of transport is solved, the question of waterways must also be considered. The completion of the port of Matadi, the construction of that of Boma, and of new lines between the different harbours are points of a united plan to be in time realised. For this great work we must be sustained by our confidence in the destiny of Africa and by the conviction that our labours are for the greatness and prosperity of the homeland, of which the Congo is an integral part. In this mission of civilisation let us neglect nothing, forbear no sacrifice to ensure the progress of our magnificent Colony."

His Majesty's speech was concluded amid the warmest applause, and the auspicious occasion ended by the playing of the Brabançonne.—From "La Nation Belge."

The Native Bills.

The Bloemfontein correspondent of the "Volkstem" learns from a good source that the Prime Minister will accept the suggestion to summon a National Convention to deal with the Native question. At the convention the Natives will be adequately represented by their own delegates. The convention will not be called together until after the return of the Parliamentary delegation to Canada.

In the meantime, the correspondent says, the Prime Minister has requested his followers in the Pact not to speak about the Native legislation at public meetings.

LIBERIA PRESIDENT APPOINTS LOOMIS FINANCIAL ADVISER

Washington, August 1.—(AP)—John Loomis, of Strasburg, Va., has been appointed by the president of Liberia as financial adviser to that republic on recommendation of President Coolidge in accordance with the terms of the 1926 loan agreement.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

KENYA NATIVE LANDS ORDINANCE.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

("African World" Special Report.)

The Native Lands Ordinance in Kenya was the subject of an extremely important and interesting debate in the House of Commons on the 13th inst. The passage of the Bill, it will be recalled, has been delayed by the intervention of the Colonial Office.

Mr. Snell (Labour, Woolwich), who opened the debate, said the general principle of the measure was good because it gave the native people a real title to their land and it might well be a real native charter. There was a risk, however, of its being a mere legal façade, behind which the natives might be despoiled. There was, for instance, a provision permitting land in the native reserves to be leased for ninety-nine years. That might mean picking the eyes out of the reserves. If there were to be leases at all they should be for short periods and subject to very strict conditions. Mr. Snell also criticised the composition of the constitution which it is proposed to set up, contending that there should be more native representation.

The Crown Colonies.

Colonel McDonnell (U., Dartford) urged a greater development of the Crown Colonies. These were the potential markets for British manufactures. The time had come for the setting up of a Committee to see that the Colonial Secretary had machinery adequate to co-ordinate the services throughout the colonies and also for the purpose of carrying out research work.

Colonel Wedgwood (Labour, Newcastle-under-Lyme) protested that the measure did not preserve the natives' rights, but enabled the white settlers further to trench upon those rights. The one fear of the natives was that they might lose their land. The Land Board consisted of the Governor, four officials, and four settlers. What on earth, he asked, were the four settlers doing in that galley? It was putting the wolves to look after the sheep. It was an attempt to get the land away from the natives and so force them to work for the white settlers. The only hope for the native races was for them to learn English and fight their way into the legislative assemblies.

Viscount Sandon (U., Shrewsbury) maintained that the Colonial Office was not to blame for the lack of administration in the colonies. The blame lay at the door of the Treasury. The noble lord spoke of the work being done by France in connection with her colonies in North Africa. If similar work was attempted in connection with the British Colonies, he said, the wicked autocracy at No. 11, Downing Street would be up in arms for not producing something that could be used in the Budget speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year

Mr. Thomas's Suggestion.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Labour, Derby) urged the appointment of a Commission to consider the whole question of Colonial development. While he did not belittle the opportunities afforded by the Dominions, he was convinced that an examination of the possibilities of the Crown Colonies and Dependencies would show the existence of opportunities that were undreamt of.

Mr. Amery (Colonial Secretary), replying to the debate, stated that steps were being taken to strengthen the organisation of the Colonial Office. They were reorganising the Office in such a way that it could deal with all administrative questions and to make the Office effective throughout the Empire. He looked forward to creating in the next year or two a really effective agricultural and veterinary organisation throughout the whole Empire. He was trying to make the Colonial Office an effective general headquarters for usefulness throughout our Empire. Discussing the recent tour of the East by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Ormsby-Gore), the right hon. gentleman insisted that it was only by personal contact that they could bring the best kind of influence to bear. The Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Samuel Wilson, who would be accompanied by the Chief Medical Officer, was going out to West Africa not only to go into health problems but also to study the question of the eighteen months' tour without a period of leave.

The Kenya Native Land Trust, he proceeded, and the problems involved, brought forward in a very acute form the most important of all the issues with which we were confronted in any part of the world where white emigants came into contact with the pre-established native population. The only right view to take was that there was room in these countries for white men and black men to live side by side. It was not in the interests of the white man to exploit or degrade the black man.

Colonel Wedgwood: Must the black man work in your policy?

Mr. Amery: It is not the policy of the Colonial Office that the native should be compelled to work for the white man. It is desirable that the native should develop his own territory and strengthen his faculties by honest effort, but there is no compulsion to exchange work in his own reserve for work for the white settler. Proceeding, the right hon. gentleman said there was an initial period in which it was essential that the control should remain in Parliament—(hear, hear)—and should not be entrusted to a mere handful of emigrant settlers, but looking to the future, in our relations with the white settler, we should carry him along and bring to his mind a conception of trustship.

Genesis of the Measure.

The whole genesis of this particular measure lay in the fact that, while none of the existing reserves could be alienated without the consent of the Secretary for the Colonies, there had been a feeling that that consent had been given from time to time perhaps too readily, and a great anxiety among the natives arising from a judgment delivered in 1921, which laid down that the natives were tenants at will of the Crown. They had decided, with regard to Kenya, that the right form was a Central Board closely associated with the Governor of the Colony, and therefore under the supervision of the Secretary of State. The Board consisted of the Governor, four officials, and four non-official members. The non-official members would be people like the missionaries, who had taken a direct interest in the affairs of the natives themselves and who would safeguard the point of view of the natives.

Mr. J. H. Thomas: What is the objection to putting on the Board someone directly representative of the natives?

Mr. Amery said he would consider that point. The object and purpose of the Bill and its results, he trusted, was to ensure that certain areas were declared to be reserves set aside for the use and benefit of the native tribes of the colony. This legislation, he believed, constituted a new landmark in East African history. The only reason why he had asked the Governor to suspend action on the Bill was that the East African Closer Union Commission had asked him to consider their general recommendations on the native question before he took final action. Before he sanctioned further stages of the measure he would give the fullest consideration to the criticisms that had been made that day.

The Dominion Office vote was under discussion at four o'clock, when the debate stood adjourned and the House rose.

Native Affairs Act 1920.

As the question of the government's right to approve of resolutions passed by Ciskei Local Councils before such resolutions can be effective, has been the subject of enquiry by Native taxpayers lately it would assist Councillors to refresh their memories as to the actual terms of the Native Affairs Act (1920) Amendment Act of 1925. We publish these terms hereunder with the observation that it would seem that the Commission has first to recommend to the Governor-General that in its opinion a local council should be brought in under the terms of this amending act before the clause applies. Our interpretation of it is that all local councils have full powers unless at the establishment of a Council the amending clause of approval by the Minister was introduced. Therefore all councils upon whom this declaration was not originally enforced are free from the encumbrance The terms are "The Native Affairs Act 1920) Amendment Act provides that decisions of local councils are subject to the Minister's approval in certain cases, thus: "If the Commission reports to the Governor General that in its opinion the condition or the stage of development of the inhabitants of any area for which it is proposed to establish a local council is such that the exercise by such council of any powers under Section 5 or 9 of the principal Act should be subject to the approval of the Minister, the Governor General, in any proclamation under Section 5 establishing such council, may declare that all decisions of such council in the exercise of any such powers shall be subject to the approval of the Minister. Every decision of any such council shall be submitted by the chairman for the consideration of the Minister who shall give such directions concerning the same as he deems fit. It shall be the duty of any such council to carry out such directions of the Minister. On the recommendation of the Commission the Governor General may by proclamation in the 'Gazette' withdraw in respect of any local council any restriction imposed in terms of Section 2 of this Act upon the exercise of powers conferred upon such council by Section 6 or 9 of the principal Act."

economic life of the Congo. I congratulate the company on its initiative and on its care shown for the material and moral welfare of its staff. The railway will assure the development of agriculture, which alone keeps the native to the soil: it will transform the economic conditions of the districts through which it runs, facilitate labour problems, permit of provisioning of the upper regions, and make of Katanga a province more and more Belgian, and closer in touch with the economics and politics of the Metropolis.

"The company undertook the vast project of King Leopold II., which was to intersect the Colony with a network of railways in communication with all parts of Africa. Let us hope that in a few years we may see this railway constituting a national line of great extent, linking up the Colony's richest regions to the ocean, for the railroad attracts population and increases the value of territory. When the problem of transport is solved, the question of waterways must also be considered. The completion of the port of Matadi, the construction of that of Boma, and of new lines between the different harbours are points of a united plan to be in time realised. For this great work we must be sustained by our confidence in the destiny of Africa and by the conviction that our labours are for the greatness and prosperity of the homeland, of which the Congo is an integral part. In this mission of civilisation let us neglect nothing, forbear no sacrifice to ensure the progress of our magnificent Colony."

His Majesty's speech was concluded amid the warmest applause, and the auspicious occasion ended by the playing of the Brabançonne.—From "La Nation Belge."

The Native Bills.

The Bloemfontein correspondent of the "Volkstem" learns from a good source that the Prime Minister will accept the suggestion to summon a National Convention to deal with the Native question. At such a convention the Natives will be adequately represented by their own delegates. The convention will not be called together until after the return of the Parliamentary delegation to Canada.

In the meantime, the correspondent says, the Prime Minister has requested his followers in the Pact not to speak about the Native legislation at public meetings.

LIBERIA PRESIDENT APPOINTS LOOMIS FINANCIAL ADVISER

Washington, August 1.—(AP)—John Loomis, of Strasburg, Va., has been appointed by the president of Liberia as financial adviser to that republic on recommendation of President Coolidge in accordance with the terms of the 1926 loan agreement.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

KENYA NATIVE LANDS ORDINANCE.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

("African World" Special Report.)

The Native Lands Ordinance in Kenya was the subject of an extremely important and interesting debate in the House of Commons on the 13th inst. The passage of the Bill, it will be recalled, has been delayed by the intervention of the Colonial Office.

Mr. Snell (Labour, Woolwich), who opened the debate, said the general principle of the measure was good because it gave the native people a real title to their land and it might well be a real native charter. There was a risk, however, of its being a mere legal façade, behind which the natives might be despoiled. There was, for instance, a provision permitting land in the native reserves to be leased for ninety-nine years. That might mean picking the eyes out of the reserves. If there were to be leases at all they should be for short periods and subject to very strict conditions. Mr. Snell also criticised the composition of the constitution which it is proposed to set up, contending that there should be more native representation.

The Crown Colonies.

Colonel McDonnell (U., Dartford) urged a greater development of the Crown Colonies. These were the potential markets for British manufactures. The time had come for the setting up of a Committee to see that the Colonial Secretary had machinery adequate to co-ordinate the services throughout the colonies and also for the purpose of carrying out research work.

Colonel Wedgwood (Labour, Newcastle-under-Lyme) protested that the measure did not preserve the natives' rights, but enabled the white settlers further to trench upon those rights. The one fear of the natives was that they might lose their land. The Land Board consisted of the Governor, four officials, and four settlers. What on earth, he asked, were the four settlers doing in that galley? It was putting the wolves to look after the sheep. It was an attempt to get the land away from the natives and so force them to work for the white settlers. The only hope for the native races was for them to learn English and fight their way into the legislative assemblies.

Viscount Sandon (U., Shrewsbury) maintained that the Colonial Office was not to blame for the lack of administration in the colonies. The blame lay at the door of the Treasury. The noble lord spoke of the work being done by France in connection with her colonies in North Africa. If similar work was attempted in connection with the British Colonies, he said, the wicked autocracy at No. 11, Downing Street would be up in arms for not producing something that could be used in the Budget speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year

Mr. Thomas's Suggestion.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Labour, Derby) urged the appointment of a Commission to consider the whole question of Colonial development. While he did not belittle the opportunities afforded by the Dominions, he was convinced that an examination of the possibilities of the Crown Colonies and Dependencies would show the existence of opportunities that were undreamt of.

Mr. Amery (Colonial Secretary), replying to the debate, stated that steps were being taken to strengthen the organisation of the Colonial Office. They were reorganising the Office in such a way that it could deal with all administrative questions and to make the Office effective throughout the Empire. He looked forward to creating in the next year or two a really effective agricultural and veterinary organisation throughout the whole Empire. He was trying to make the Colonial Office an effective general headquarters for usefulness throughout our Empire. Discussing the recent tour of the East by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Ormsby-Gore), the right hon. gentleman insisted that it was only by personal contact that they could bring the best kind of influence to bear. The Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Samuel Wilson, who would be accompanied by the Chief Medical Officer, was going out to West Africa not only to go into health problems but also to study the question of the eighteen months' tour without a period of leave.

The Kenya Native Land Trust, he proceeded, and the problems involved, brought forward in a very acute form the most important of all the issues with which we were confronted in any part of the world where white emigants came into contact with the pre-established native population. The only right view to take was that there was room in these countries for white men and black men to live side by side. It was not in the interests of the white man to exploit or degrade the black man.

Colonel Wedgwood: Must the black man work in your policy?

Mr. Amery: It is not the policy of the Colonial Office that the native should be compelled to work for the white man. It is desirable that the native should develop his own territory and strengthen his faculties by honest effort, but there is no compulsion to exchange work in his own reserve for work for the white settler. Proceeding, the right hon. gentleman said there was an initial period in which it was essential that the control should remain in Parliament—(hear, hear)—and should not be entrusted to a mere handful of emigrant settlers, but looking to the future, in our relations with the white settler, we should carry him along and bring to his mind a conception of trustship.

Genesis of the Measure.

The whole genesis of this particular measure lay in the fact that, while none of the existing reserves could be alienated without the consent of the Secretary for the Colonies, there had been a feeling that that consent had been given from time to time perhaps too readily, and a great anxiety among the natives arising from a judgment delivered in 1921, which laid down that the natives were tenants at will of the Crown. They had decided, with regard to Kenya, that the right form was a Central Board closely associated with the Governor of the Colony, and therefore under the supervision of the Secretary of State. The Board consisted of the Governor, four officials, and four non-official members. The non-official members would be people like the missionaries, who had taken a direct interest in the affairs of the natives themselves and who would safeguard the point of view of the natives.

Mr. J. H. Thomas: What is the objection to putting on the Board someone directly representative of the natives?

Mr. Amery said he would consider that point. The object and purpose of the Bill and its results, he trusted, was to ensure that certain areas were declared to be reserves set aside for the use and benefit of the native tribes of the colony. This legislation, he believed, constituted a new landmark in East African history. The only reason why he had asked the Governor to suspend action on the Bill was that the East African Closer Union Commission had asked him to consider their general recommendations on the native question before he took final action. Before he sanctioned further stages of the measure he would give the fullest consideration to the criticisms that had been made that day.

The Dominion Office vote was under discussion at four o'clock, when the debate stood adjourned and the House rose.

Native Affairs Act 1920.

As the question of the government's right to approve of resolutions passed by Ciskei Local Councils before such resolutions can be effective, has been the subject of enquiry by Native taxpayers lately it would assist Councillors to refresh their memories as to the actual terms of the Native Affairs Act (1920) Amendment Act of 1925. We publish these terms hereunder with the observation that it would seem that the Commission has first to recommend to the Governor General that in its opinion a local council should be brought in under the terms of this amending act before the clause applies. Our interpretation of it is that all local councils have full powers unless at the establishment of a Council the amending clause of approval by the Minister was introduced. Therefore all councils upon whom this declaration was not originally enforced are free from the encumbrance The terms are "The Native Affairs Act 1920) Amendment Act provides that decisions of local councils are subject to the Minister's approval in certain cases, thus: "If the Commission reports to the Governor General that in its opinion the condition or the stage of development of the inhabitants of any area for which it is proposed to establish a local council is such that the exercise by such council of any powers under Section 5 or 9 of the principal Act should be subject to the approval of the Minister, the Governor General, in any proclamation under Section 5 establishing such council, may declare that all decisions of such council in the exercise of any such powers shall be subject to the approval of the Minister. Every decision of any such council shall be submitted by the chairman for the consideration of the Minister who shall give such directions concerning the same as he deems fit It shall be the duty of any such council to carry out such directions of the Minister. On the recommendation of the Commission the Governor General may by proclamation in the 'Gazette' withdraw in respect of any local council any restriction imposed in terms of such council by Section 6 or 9 of the principal Act. Section 2 of this Act upon the exercise of powers conferred upon

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SITUATION.

Not for many years has the political situation in South Africa been as interesting as at present. The Labour Party, which has been split from top to bottom as the result of the crisis precipitated by Colonel Creswell, is in a state of chaos, and unless the opposing factions can adjust their differences before the next election is due, the Nationalists will be placed in a dilemma which will require very delicate handling if the party is not to suffer at the hands of the South African Party. Though individually the Nationalists have the greatest following in the country, they are not sufficiently strong to win sufficient seats to enable them to form a Government without the aid of Labour. As a matter of fact, the day is still far distant when South Africa will be able to boast a Government that will be independent of some sort of coalition. This is to be regretted, because the position, as it exists to-day, is an entirely false one, occasioning, as it does, the anomaly of a Government composed of interests diametrically opposed, and an Opposition which has considerably more in common with the strongest party than the party forming the coalition. We had a parallel to it in England during the brief Labour regime. The key to the puzzle rests with Labour, and everything depends on whether the Party will seek some kind of compromise rather than give the South African Party a loophole of stealing a march on the Nationalists. General Hertzog and Mr. Tielman Roos profess to be unconcerned at the danger that threatens them, but we gather that they will feel considerably more comfortable when they learn exactly which way the Labour cat proposes to jump. They are no doubt confident that before it is too late the Labour wranglers will for electoral purposes allow their private quarrels to be relegated to the background, in order that once again, in company with the Nationalists, they may indulge their hatred for the common enemy—the South African Party. Though doubtless something of the sort will transpire, it is difficult at the moment to see how the Labour breach is to be closed now that Mr. Boydell and Colonel Creswell—each of whom has no mean following—have been expelled from the party. What if two Labour parties take the arena? Will the Nationalists put up candidates in opposition or will they risk a South African Party success being secured on a split vote? The position is indeed a piquant one, and amusing in that the Labour Party holds the Joker. *Semper aliquid novi ex Africa.* This is certainly true of the country's politics.

"AFRIKAANS" REQUIRES ATTENTION.

In an interesting address given to the Nederlands Bond, by Dr. Leipoldt, one of the eminent educational men in charge of the South African scholars now touring England, just before his departure at Cape Town, on the subject of "Afrikaans and its literature," the gifted lecturer pointed out the disagreeable fact that without the Netherlands language—commonly known as High Dutch, the taal was practically incomplete. To-day Afrikaans was still in a transition period, and whilst it was lacking in literary criticism, and despite its national value to a degree—the neglect of the Netherlands language in the schools, the home, the Church and communal life had made it a dumb if not a dead language—a most deplorable fact. South Africa was making a great mistake in permitting this, in fact, committing a sin towards the literature of its nation. Afrikaans was not as applicable or plastic as the English language—the Netherlands Dutch and its knowledge was indispensable from that point of view for the South African child. Dr. Leipoldt does not fear the so-called Anglicism, Germanism or Netherlandism as far as South Africa is concerned, but he believes Afrikaans will decline, and may disappear, owing to the growing of Netherlands literature, which is so vitally indispensable to the nation that it cannot drop it without the gravest risks. The study of the Netherlands Dutch literature should be made obligatory in Dr. Leipoldt's opinion, whilst referring to English, the learned lecturer said, according to Ons Vaderland, that at no time in South Africa's history were her children in the Platteland speaking such faulty, ungrammatical English as at present. At present Afrikaans was being forced to the front in a bastardised form, so that neither a good Dutch, a good English nor a good Afrikaans was taught to the younger generation. The address was received with greatest interest, and deserves the widest attention from all concerned in the literary welfare of the rising generation, and coming from such an acknowledged authority the grave warning conveyed accentuates its importance from the national aspect.

EDUCATION IN THE TROPICS.

It is gratifying to note that the methods of education for the native population in the Equatorial regions of Africa and elsewhere are happily now becoming more closely studied, and Mr. Ormsby Gore's trenchant reference thereto at the League of Empire Franco-British Congress this week deserves gravest consideration. The Parliamentary Secretary of State for the Colonies emphasised that "more harm has been done to native education by the transplantation of English textbooks with a purely European background to the tropics than in any other element of education. It is amazing to find taught in the tropics such verse as 'Good King Wenceslaus,' with its snowy atmosphere, the robin redbreast, and a whole gamut of experiences which are absolutely outside those within the ken of the negro, and he concluded that there is hardly a 'reader' produced for schools in this country that is suitable for schools in topical Africa." It is almost incredible that better and more suitable methods of teaching for the areas concerned have not been initiated in our Colonies. Even in the little Negro Republic of Liberia, under the indefatigable direction of Professor James Sibley, recently appointed as official Educational Adviser by President King, we find excellent school books for the young people, illustrated throughout by African scenes, persons and animals, thereby enabling the children to grasp the sense of their school literature at its fullest value, and consequently with keen enthusiasm. There are many directions in which Liberia has still to learn from Europe, but in this particular sphere of her official activities it is giving a valuable object lesson to the other European Colonies on the West Coast, where the comments of Mr. Ormsby Gore might well receive early official attention from the special authorities concerned.

Location Regulations.

The officials of the Town Council of King Williamstown on the 26th June caused six members of the Native Vigilance Association of this town namely A. M. Jabavu, W. J. Mama, A. Njaba, K. Gosa, R. Haya, R. Tutu, to appear before the Assistant Magistrate (Mr. T. J. Conway) to answer a charge of violating location regulation No. 44 framed under Section 23 (3) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. These Natives took it as part of their duty as a Native Vigilance Association to convene a meeting in the Ginsberg Location for the purpose of explaining the new regulations and if necessary express an opinion on them. They found this procedure necessary, in view of the fact that the regulations were framed approved and passed by the local authority and the government departments entirely without consultation with Natives. This would appear to assist the Location Superintendent in educating the residents concerned in the new law that was to control them; but when the said Superintendent was invited to be present at this meeting by the Committee of the Vigilance Association, he took up a hostile attitude, as if to suggest that it was none of the association's business to interfere in this respect. To show his hostility, the Superintendent gave instructions which led to the choosing for arrest the six Native members out of crowd of nearly 100, under Regulation 44 which reads "No gathering, public meeting, or entertainment, shall be permitted in any street, or public place in the

location without the permission of the Council in writing, first had and obtained under the signature of the Town Clerk."

When the Attorney for the defence (Mr. C. R. Atherstone) took exception to the indictment as disclosing no offence, the magistrate upheld his contention and discharged the accused. It transpires therefore that the regulation as well as many others that have been framed and passed for the control of the locations, are bad at law, and indicate recklessness if not utter disregard of the interests of Natives, on the part of those charged with the duty of framing regulations. Apart from Regulation 44 disclosing no offence one wonders whether the urban local authority, the Minister for Native Affairs and the Administrator are aware of the serious inroad this regulation (and others of the same tenour) makes into the liberty of free speech which every British subject enjoys under the common law. Is it because these regulations are framed for controlling Natives that the urban local authority, the Minister for Native Affairs and the Administrator assume to themselves the role of legislators when in fact parliament delegated only executive powers of control in Act 21 of 1923? The action of the Governor-General in exercising legislative powers under the Native Administration Act has been pronounced ultra vires, and this should be an indicator for Town Councils to discriminate between executive and legislative powers in framing regulations.

No doubt the Town Council of King Williamstown will take immediate steps to remedy the defect in Regulation 44, and we hope this time they will take the trouble to constitute Advisory Boards for the locations before attempting to do so, as the Act lays down that any amendments, or additions to the regulations must be done in consultation with the Location Advisory Board.

It is since the 19th April 1928 that these regulations have been promulgated in the Official Gazette. We cannot see why it has not been practicable to establish these boards up to now. The regulations have not yet been translated into a Native language and posted in conspicuous places as the Act provides, and yet our city-fathers see no harm in enforcing them when they have not carried out their part in the business.

In conclusion we may point out to the Secretary for Native Affairs who acts for the Minister that Natives look to his department for protection from these liberty-robbing and unfair regulations; and from what we read into the regulations, quite a number of them will require to be remodelled, if the Town Council, composed as it is of ex-magistrates and lawyers, are to be saved in future the ignominy of their regulations being made the object of ridicule in the law courts.

BAN ON NATIVE MEETINGS.

POWERS OF SUPREME CHIEF ULTRA VIRES.

A case of importance concerning a native has been decided in the Free State Division of the Supreme Court at Bloemfontein.

A native named Absolom Goduka of Koffiefontein, was found guilty of contravening Government Notice No. 1787, of October 21 last, in that he had a public gathering, or assembly, of natives above ten in number in a location for the purpose other than religious service or public administration or regulation of domestic affairs of any particular kraal without permission of the chief or headman of the location, and without the approval of the magistrative of Koffiefontein. He pleaded not guilty, and was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of £5, or one month's imprisonment with hard labour

The Attorney General laid the matter before the Judge for a week, and the latter referred the matter to the Provincial Division as a matter of appeal.

The question was whether the Government Notice was ultra vires It had been framed by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the Native in terms of Section 1 of the Native Administration Act (No 38 of 1927 As such he had all powers which at the beginning of the Act were vested in him in respect of natives in Natal Among these powers were powers conferred by the native code i.e, the Schedule to the Natal Statute 19 of 1891 but the Court held that none of these sections conferred legislative powers on the Supreme Chief They conferred "all political power and authority," but that meant only executive power The whole of the Schedule to the Statute referred to formed a code of native civil and criminal law

In the matter of assemblies of natives, the code in Section 273 provides that if more than five persons are assembled together, from whose conduct breach of the peace may be apprehended, each is guilty of an offence if they refuse to disperse when commanded by the kraal head or any official It seemed to the Court that the Government notice was ultra vires of powers conferred on the Supreme Chief by Sections 32 and 42 of the Schedule There were however, other powers which were conferred on the Governor of Natal by Section 7 of Law 44 of 1887, which had been transferred to the Governor General of the Union By that Section, the Governor General had over all natives "all the power and authority which according to the laws and customs and usages of natives are held and enjoyed by a Supreme or Paramount native chief" The question arose whether a Paramount Chief had the right to prohibit a meeting of natives, as had been done by the Government notice in the present case. The judgment then referred to the following communication received by the Attorney General from the Native Affairs Department, from which it appeared that the Paramount Chiefs had no such power in Natal: "Attention is also invited to Section 7 of Law 44 of 1887, which invested the Governor General with the power of a Supreme or Paramount Chief

COMMISSIONER'S REMARKS.

"The Chief Natal Commissioner remarks in this connection that it may be asked whether a Paramount Chief had authority under the native law and custom to prohibit meetings of natives To such an inquiry, I would reply that the necessity for promulgating a prohibitive order should not have arisen since the holding of a meeting in any way antagonistic to the Paramount Chief would have been declared as an act of treason and punishable by death"

It seemed to the Court that as the Department of Native Affairs apparently admitted that the powers of prohibiting public meetings were never exercised by a Paramount Chief according to the "laws and customs and usages of natives," it could not presume any existence of such a power as it was a question of fact that there was no presumption that any given power was possessed by a Paramount Chief. The Court could hardly hold that this particular power was possessed by him in the absence of any evidence to that effect.

The conviction was quashed, but the Court intimated that the quashing of the conviction might not preclude the Court from coming to a different decision in a future case if evidence was produced to show that the powers of a Paramount Chief would extend to the making of such a regulation as was contained in the Government notice. "*Cape Times.*"

Republic of Liberia.

OPENING OF THE GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL, MONROVIA.

("African World" Correspondent.)

Of all the valuable work that President King has done for his country, the opening of the Government Hospital at Monrovia on May 13 last is, perhaps, the greatest.

In the presence of the officials of the Liberian Government, the Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Corps, as well as representatives from all parts of the Republic, the Government Hospital was formally opened by President King and Bishop Gardiner.

The hospital is a fine building of solid stone and concrete brick, built in the Spanish type, with broad, covered verandas on all sides, and situated in the midst of extensive and well-kept grounds. The hospital faces the blue Atlantic, and has an unceasing cool sea breeze and a view of matchless beauty. On the ground floor are the rooms assigned to the medical staff, the operating theatre, the dispensary, the consulting room, and the reception room. The first and second floors contain the 200 beds of the hospital, and are divided into single and double rooms and small wards. There is as well a maternity ward, an isolation ward, and a pavilion for the use of patients who are waiting for admission. The kitchen, equipped with all modern conveniences, as well as the laundry, are in a separate building. The entire hospital is fitted with the most modern sanitary equipment, an ample supply of water—often so hard to obtain in the Tropics—while powerful electric lights and fans contribute to the comfort of the patients.

There is a medical staff of three physicians, educated and trained in Europe, and a nursing staff of which Miss Cooper is the head, a woman of most unusual ability, who took her training and was graduated with honours from the first schools of the United States; she is assisted by three young women of Monrovia recently returned from New York, where they have taken their training in the first hospitals, and form an efficient and devoted staff.

During his visit to Europe last year President King personally supervised the buying of the best and most modern medical supplies and scientific appliances.

Yellow fever is unknown in Liberia; all reports to the contrary are fictitious, and the climate and health conditions surpass those of most other parts of the West Coast. This hospital is the result of years of hard labour and great sacrifice on the part of President King, and a living monument to his endeavours to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, regardless of colour and of race, and to cheat Death of his heavy toll.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

A RACIAL AWAKENING.

In a thoroughly appreciative article, "The Outlook" publishes under the title "The Negro Awakes" an account of achievements that, the sub-title adds, may foreshadow a Colonial civilisation.

The argument is as follows:—"Fifty years ago the intellectual supremacy of the White races was undisputed, to-day it is being seriously challenged by the Negro on both sides of the Atlantic. In Africa it has been mainly under European tutelage. In America there has been no such guidance; on the contrary, the advance has been achieved in the face of bitter racial prejudice, often expressed in cruel injustice. The chief apostle of the new order was Booker T. Washington, who taught his people to eschew social and political equality, and to concentrate on equality of economic and educational opportunity, of which he trained them to take full advantage in the great institution which his genius created at Tuskegee. Inspiring and sustaining the upward movement, there has been a spirit of deep religious conviction disciplined in the school of adversity. This has expressed itself in a new type of minstreloy which the old world is but now beginning to appreciate. These "Negro spirituals" have a beauty and a pathos all their own, due to the circumstances of their origin. They were the "Songs of Zion" sung literally "by the waters of Babylon." A deeper evidence of this spiritual quality and a happy omen for the future is the absence of all hatred and ill-will. All that is desired is the opportunity for the Negro to develop to his utmost capacity along his own lines, and to express himself in his own way, unhindered by barriers of race and colour erected by the other side. "A fair chance!" "A square deal!" "Equality of opportunity!"—these are the rallying cries of the new movement, and not, emphatically not, the appeal to passion and violence recently raised by "a fervent Negro leader."

The argument is reinforced by a most telling array of names of international renown, mostly men and women from the American side, but including one—Coleridge-Taylor—a man of Sierra Leonean ancestry, who owes nothing to American environment.

The article will well repay study by European and African alike, and in West Africa it might do much to re-inspire the chivalry of the one, and the courage of the other.

J. D.

Nyasaland.

ZAMBEZI BRIDGE.

Governor of Nyasaland on the Prospects.

In the course of a speech to the Nyasaland Legislative Council last month the Governor, Sir Charles Bowring, made a long reference to the position in regard to the Zambezi bridge, apropos the recent visit of Sir George Schuster who, in addition to being a member of the Hilton Young Commission on Closer Union, is chairman of the East African Guaranteed Loan Committee which makes recommendations in regard to the allocation of the £10,000,000 loan authorised by Parliament at the end of 1926.

The Governor said that during his visit Sir George Schuster was able to familiarise himself with the latest economic and financial statistics and forecasts and to discuss on the spot with the railway authorities including an engineer who was at present engaged in investigating the proposed site of the Zambezi Bridge and the possibility of alternative facilities for crossing the river, the financial aspects of improved communications both across the Zambezi and by extending the existing railway system to Lake Nyasa. Certain estimates of the cost of these improved communications had already been prepared and forecasts of the increased traffic that would be available for some years in advance had been compiled by General Hammond and his associates.

7-28-28

The Governor added that he had examined these forecasts and informed Sir George Schuster that he did not consider them unduly optimistic. He had further informed him that provided the estimates of the cost of construction were approximately correct; provided it was definitely established that any engineering difficulties could be overcome; provided their position at the Port of Beira was assured, and provided a satisfactory arrangement could be arrived at with the existing railway interests, it would in his opinion be to the benefit of Nyasaland to provide the funds necessary for both the Zambezi crossing and the railway extension. At the same time it must be realised that the financing of these works and the provision of funds for departmental expansion with the object of increasing production during the period of construction would at any rate be a matter of considerable difficulty, and he considered it inevitable that additional taxation would have to be imposed on all sections of the community. It was necessary to face this fact, as without improved communications the maximum carrying capacity of the existing railway system and Zambezi crossing was already in sight and with it the limit of economic productivity. They had to choose between stagnation and progress, and he was convinced that only the latter alternative was possible.

"After discussing the financial position of the Protectorate very fully with Sir George Schuster, Sir Charles Bowring concluded, 'I am now engaged in preparing for the consideration of the Secretary of State a scheme for the rearrangement of the system of financial control exercised over us by the Imperial Treasury, and for meeting our increased liabilities in respect of the capital it will be necessary to provide for improved transportation facilities and the departmental expansion to which I have already referred.'"

WEST AFRICA IN PARLIAMENT.

Ex-Slaves in Sierra Leone.

Mr. W. Baker (Bristol) has received a written reply to his question suggesting that the Ordinance abolishing the legal status of slavery in Sierra Leone is inconsistent with the provisions of Part VII of the Protectorate Ordinance which prohibits the exodus of any man from his chiefdom except on payment of a sum of money which is beyond the means of the average slave, and that slavery in fact should be abolished by repealing Part VII and by taking steps to see that all slaves were informed of the change of their legal status.

In the reply, Mr. Amery quotes Sir Joseph Byrne, who states that Part VII of the Ordinance in question always was, and is, applicable to all Natives of the Protectorate, and has continued without discrimination.

West Africa

When the terms of the 1927 Ordinance were under consideration, prior to enactment, the Governor did not lose sight of the possibility of Part VII of the Protectorate Native Law Ordinance defeating the object of the new Ordinance. He states that there is no reason to anticipate that it will have that effect in any degree, and that he would be unwilling to repeal it so long as it remains of considerable utility. He assures me, however, that the operation of these provisions will be carefully watched, and that, in particular, the political officers concerned will be alert to discover and to deal with any attempts at extortion.

7-28-28

Native law requires that any Native who desires to leave his chiefdom for good shall inform his Chief and state where he proposes to live. This report is usually accompanied by a "shake-hand"—i.e., a present of a sum of money, generally about 2s. or 4s. On the other hand, in the Central Province there have been a few cases in which excessive sums have been demanded.

Where a Native proposes to be only temporarily absent from his chiefdom the Native law of some parts of the Protectorate requires him to notify his Chief of his intention and destination, while in other parts there is no such obligation, or it has become virtually obsolete. Where notification of temporary absence is required a "shake-hand" is not necessary.

The Native law allows a Chief to refuse any Native permission to leave his chiefdom in a proper case. For example, a Native might properly be required to remain in his Chiefdom to answer some charge, or to meet some civil claim.

In substance, Part VII gives statutory effect to the Native law of the Protectorate; and is never construed so as to add to its obligations. In one important respect it mitigates the Native law, in that it gives a right of appeal to the District Commissioner.

It is recognised that in years to come development of transport and the general opening up of the Protectorate may require a reconsideration of the provisions of Part VII. At present, however, these are a useful part of the machinery of the Protectorate, since they help to prevent the evasion of house tax, of criminal and civil justice, and of family obligations.

It is possible that a Chief might endeavour, on his own initiative or at the instigation of former slaveowners, to keep quondam slaves in his own chiefdom; but more than this it is obvious that Part VII would not enable him to do. In practice, the tendency of the Chiefs appears to be to endeavour to detach quondam "slaves" from their former masters and to give them lands to farm elsewhere in the chiefdom. In any case any attempt on the part of a Chief to keep them with him, or with their former masters, or even in his chiefdom, against their will by having recourse to Part VII would be almost certain to fail. A Native who wishes to leave his chiefdom and thinks that permission to do so would be refused does in fact leave without reference to anyone, and, unless he should be left alone, the matter would almost invariably come before the District Commissioner, who, realising that there had been an attempt on the man's freedom, would decide in his favour. The attempt to secure his return to his old chiefdom would then be at an end.

In view of this report, I think that there is no danger that the provisions of Part VII of the Protectorate Native Law Ordinance will prove inconsistent with the Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance

The medal for long service and good conduct has been awarded to Sgt. F. T. Giles, Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry and Nigeria Regiment.

OUR KENYA LETTER.

(*"African World" Correspondent.*)

NAIROBI, June 30.

"Government has thought it desirable even at the eleventh hour to secure a round-table discussion on the Local Government Bill on its merits between the European and Indian communities, and I am glad that this view has commended itself to the representatives of both communities." His Excellency the Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, made this announcement in the last session of the Legislative Council which resumed in June to consider some of the most important measures of the year, including the Native Lands Trust Bill—which appears to have caused a stir in London—the Land Bank Bill, and the Cleansing of Cattle and the Fencing Bills. The statement as to the procedure Government proposed to take in connection with the Local Government Bill was awaited with considerable interest since the Indian communities were not officially represented on the Legislative Council, due to their own policy of boycotting the elections and refusing to accept nomination to the Council, and the Indians of the two centres, Nairobi and Mombasa, to which the Bill applies are naturally deeply interested in the question. After remarking that he recognised that Indian opinion in the Colony had been unsettled during the past few months by wider issues, His Excellency stated that the proposed Committee would be thoroughly representative and would contain equal numbers of Europeans and Indians with the Commissioner of Lands as chairman.

The Lands Trust Bill.

Pointed observations were made by the Hon. Conway Harvey, leader of the Unofficial Party in the Legislature, when His Excellency intimated that in accordance with a request made by Mr. Amery, the Native Lands Trust Bill would be referred back to the Secretary of State together with the report of the Select Committee before it was read a third time and passed. "We are bitterly disappointed by the eleventh hour postponement of this important measure," said Mr. Conway Harvey. "We consider it to be distinctly discourteous to Your Excellency, insulting to the people of Kenya and grossly unfair to the natives." The Hilton Young Commission had asked to be given the opportunity of considering the Bill and the report of the Select Committee upon it in connection with their own report. If the Hilton Young Commission desired to make representations regarding the postponement of this measure, such representations might well have been made some considerable time ago, continued Mr. Conway Harvey. "We have no alternative but to believe that their action has been influenced by the intrigues of certain busybodies who have no knowledge of the subject and whose efforts were clearly calculated to undermine the natives' confidence in the sense of justice and honour of the British Government. Natives did not understand the ramifications of political intrigue and a promise to a native, as to a child, should always be regarded as a most sacred obligation." He also referred to the fact that this announcement had appeared in the Press before Government had had the opportunity of making it to this council, and on this point, His Excellency said he was sure Mr. Conway Harvey would understand that there was no intentional discourtesy on the part of the Secretary of State. He was sure it was due to some sort of delay or accident.

Undesirable Immigrants.

A motion urging for the adoption of more stringent measures to prevent the immigration into Kenya of persons of undesirable character was adopted at the recent session of the Convention of Associations. The Commissioner of Police who attended the Convention in order to make a statement on this question, agreed that there were a lot of "stiffs" in this country and that it would be for the country's good if they were pushed out of it. Mr. A. C. Tannahill, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, had estimated that there were 150 Europeans in the Colony who were out of work, but he (the Commissioner of Police) thought he had under-estimated the number, according to a report he had received from the Criminal Investigation Department. The Commissioner also stressed the importance of having a liaison between the Criminal Investigation Department and the Immigration Department. (Note.—This has been established by the appointment of the Commissioner of Police to the position of Principal Immigration Officer and of other police officials at the coast to positions in the Immigration Department.)

Road and Rail Competition.

The Convention of Associations has pressed for stricter regulations on the motor omnibus and goods carrying vehicles in the Colony in order to check the unfair competition with the railway. It was pointed out that these heavy vehicles were run for profit on roads provided at the public expense and their contribution to the upkeep of the roads was just the same as that of the private motorist, namely, the cost of the annual licence. The competition with the railway was unfair since the railway was bound to carry all classes of goods whereas motor vehicles could pick and choose their goods and, naturally, picked the classes for which the railway charged the highest rates. The effect of this on the lower rates charged by the railway on such goods as agricultural products would be serious if this form of competition was allowed to grow up unrestricted. Sir Christian Felling, the General Manager of Railways, made a statement on the position. He said the railway did not ask that this evolutionary means of transport should be restricted. They asked that any competition in transport should be regulated in such a manner that it would not affect the general interests of the country.

A Zoologist in Kenya.

An interesting visitor to Kenya during the month was Sir David Ezra, the Calcutta magnate, who, accompanied by Lady Ezra, is now touring South Africa before proceding to England for a short stay. They return to Calcutta in November. Sir David is a well-known zoologist and his magnificent residence in the heart of Calcutta is set in the midst of his own zoological gardens. He has a hill Mynah which never fails to surprise new visitors to the gardens by calling for "Three Cheers for the Prince of Wales"—always adding an enthusiastic "Hip, hip horray!" When he advertised recently in a South African journal for certain specimens of birds for his gardens, he received numerous replies, though his correspondents lost sight of Sir David's interest in the birds of South Africa in their anxiety to know if there were any prospects of Sir David securing on their behalf tickets in the Calcutta Sweepstake. His brother, Mr. Alfred Ezra, of Cobham, Surrey, is vice-President of the London Zoological Gardens. Sir David is keenly interested in the beautiful zoological gardens at Corstorphine, Edinburgh, as he regards this as one of the best organised and conducted institutions of its kind.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

(**"African World" Correspondent.**)

BRUSSELS, July 24.

The Congo's Loyalty.

On Friday last the "Thysville," which had taken our King and Queen to the Congo, arrived back at Antwerp and landed an interesting mail. Amongst this were the Kinshasa papers, the "Avenir Colonial Belge" and the "Information Coloniale" of the end of June, which in connection with the arrival of Their Majesties published certain articles expressing, in a vibrant way, the colony's admiration and love for our Sovereigns.

You have published daily reports about the Royal journey and the enthusiastic reception which King Albert and Queen Elizabeth are meeting in the Congo. An indication as to this enthusiasm is found in the Elisabethville "Essor du Congo" of June 18, which shows that the Elisabethville subscription list for the reception of our Sovereigns had, on that day already brought 230,185 frs. This fund is for Elisabethville only, Panda, etc., having their own subscriptions.

Shortly, there will be seen on the screens pictures of the reception of our King and Queen at Kinshasha, taken by the Paramount, one of the big American cinema corporations, which sent one of its operators, Mr. Cohindy, by airplane to Kin for this purpose.

To the Congo by Airplane via the West Coast.

The Paramount operator was conveyed to the Congo by the Coudron biplane, which has since arrived at Cape Town with Messrs. Baud and Mauler, navigator and pilot respectively. Their machine left Paris on March 2 and arrived at Kin on June 17, via Dakar, Kayes, Bamako, Abijan, Accra, Cotonou, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Port Gentil, Pointe Noire, Boma, and Brazzaville, the journey taking this time because Mr. Cohindy had to film a good deal en route. The flight itself required only 100 hours and was marked by no sensational event.

Interviewed in the "Avenir Colonial Belge" of June 23, Mr. Baud stated that the route he followed is not the best to the Congo on account of the bad atmospheric conditions prevailing. The best route, according to him, is via the Sahara.

Death of Mr. Victor Lagache.

The Brussels "Nation Belge" announces this morning the death of Mr. Victor Lagache, one of the famous Lagache brothers, of Renaix, who founded the Texaf (Textile Africaine).

Mr. Victor Lagache, who was in very poor health, was recently in the Congo on an inspection tour, he being with his brother Léon and with Mr. Joseph Rhodius, their managing director in Africa, a member of the trio, which was the very soul of the Texaf.

By a sad coincidence the "Nation Belge" published this morning also the photographs of the inauguration by King Albert of the Texaf cotton mills at Kin, a great day in the industrial story of the Congo.

The Kilo-Moto Petroleum.

Mr. F. van der Linden, the special correspondent of the "Agence Economique et Financiere," now touring the Congo, writes from Kilo ("Agence" of the 17th inst.) that the prospecting for petroleum in the Lake Albert basin by the Kilo-Moto Gold Mines Company entitles them to great hopes. The petroleum zone could extend on an area 200 kiometres long by 40 to 50 kilometres wide. The petroleum already discovered is equal in quality to the Californian petroleum. The petroleum fields should be at a depth varying from 400 to 1,000 metres, and their own depth could vary between 30 and 100 metres.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

THEIR BELGIAN MAJESTIES IN THE CONGO.

Late in the afternoon of July 19, the steamboat "Prince Leopold" arrived at Kabalo with Their Majesties and suite, after three days' navigation on Lakes Upemba and Kisale, through great masses of papyrus and highly picturesque country.

The arrival at Albertville was late in the evening, and next morning Their Majesties were received by Mgr. Huys, the White Fathers of the Baudouinville Mission and the District Commissioner, Mr. Labrique, after which they left for an excursion on

[*Courtesy of "The Times."*

board the "Baron Dhanis" on Lake Tanganyika as far as Toa, returning after a trip of seventeen hours. On July 21 the Sovereigns visited the military camp of Niemba, travelling by train. It is charmingly situated on a height overlooking the Lukuga river. Here a review and march past of troops took place, and Their Majesties then left for Kabalo, lunching at Nyunyza on the way back.

Their Majesties left Kabalo on board the "Prince Leopold," and descended the river with Kongolo for destination.—From "La Nation Belge," Yesterday (Friday) Their Majesties were due at Stanleyville.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

NIGERIA'S STEADY PROGRESS.

EXPANSION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The Colonial Office annual report for Nigeria for 1927, printed in the Colony and purchasable (price 1s. 3d.) at any of H.M. Stationery Offices, is an interesting and informative publication, reflecting the steady progress of the country in many directions.

In 1926-27 the revenue was £7,734,429 and the expenditure £7,584,692, with over a million spent on loan works. This shows in the quinquennial period a steady continuing increase of the former and a reduction of the latter.

The revenue and expenditure for the six months April to September, 1927, was £2,896,960 and £3,242,892 respectively.

IMPROVED TRADE BALANCE.

The total value of the trade of Nigeria (including specie) during the year was: Imports £15,341,000, and exports £16,312,000, an increase of £716,000 on the trade of the previous year. The value of the transit trade (that is, goods passing through the inland waters of Nigeria to and from French territory) was slightly over £19,000, a decrease of over £600.

Commercial imports, excluding specie, were valued at £12,352,000, an increase of over 5 per cent. compared with the previous year, while commercial exports at £15,647,000 showed a slight decrease.

The United Kingdom accounted for 53.5 per cent. of the total trade, compared with 53,7 per cent. for the previous year, imports at 62 per cent. showing a decline of 1.1 per cent. and exports at 45.6 per cent., a decline of 22.2 per cent.

The United States with 10 per cent. of the trade showed an increase of 28.2 per cent., but Germany with 15.5 per cent. showed a decrease of 0.3 per cent.

EXPORTS.

The export trade relies mainly upon certain staple articles of great value, representing, as they do, the main sources of the wealth of the country. These are palm oil, palm kernels, ground nuts, cocoa, cotton lint and tin. The following statistics show the expansion in export of these commodities during the last five years:—

PALM OIL.

	Quantity. Tons.		Value. £
1923	99,431	.....	2,982,488
1924	127,083	.....	3,944,349
1925	128,113	.....	4,166,096
1926	113,267	.....	3,616,159
1927	113,305	.....	3,617,382

PALM KERNELS.

	Quantity. Tons.		Value. £
1923	223,171	.....	3,740,852
1924	252,847	.....	4,461,482
1925	272,925	.....	4,937,450
1926	249,100	.....	4,440,452
1927	256,967	.....	4,574,191

GROUND NUTS.

	Quantity. Tons.		Value. £
1923	22,887	.....	403,059
1924	78,266	.....	1,461,448
1925	127,226	.....	2,394,251
1926	126,799	.....	2,342,739
1927	90,772	.....	1,633,896

COCOA.

	Quantity. Tons.		Value. £
1923	32,821	.....	922,298
1924	37,204	.....	980,402
1925	44,705	.....	1,483,764
1926	39,099	.....	1,366,016
1927	39 152	.....	1,968,612

COTTON LINT.

	Quantity. Cwts.		Value. £
1923	62,701	.....	396,549
1924	92,770	.....	762,427
1925	132,724	.....	797,463
1926	179,315	.....	1,182,050
1927	101,854	.....	611,124

TIN.

	Quantity. Tons.		Valeu. £
1923	8,475	.....	1,190,313
1924	8,852	.....	1,548,040
1925	9.293	.....	1,757,578
1926	10,562	.....	2,217,046
1927	10,926	.....	2,403,720

Approximately 50 per cent. of the palm oil exported to the United Kingdom, 25 per cent. to the United States of America, 10 per cent. to Italy, while the remainder was divided between Germany, France, Holland and Belgium.

With regard to palm kernels, almost all went to the United Kingdom and Germany, each taking about 50 per cent. and 45 per cent. respectively.

All of the tin ore and over 9 per cent. of the cotton went to the United Kingdom. The hides and skins were taken by the United Kingdom and France in about equal proportions and roughly 20 per cent. of the total was distributed between Germany, United States of America, Belgium, Italy and Holland.

The cocoa was divided between the United Kingdom, United States of America, Holland and Germany, about 30 per cent. going to United States of America, and 60 per cent. almost evenly divided between the others. About 60 per cent. of the ground nuts went to Germany, 20 per cent. to France, 10 per cent. to the United Kingdom, and the balance to Holland, Belgium, Italy and Spain.

IMPORTS.

The principal articles of import are cigarettes, cotton piece goods, kerosene, kola nuts, petrol, provisions, salt, spirits (gin), tobacco unmanufactured, and the statistics for the last five years show steady expansion.

Of the other main articles of imports, it will cause no surprise to find that petrol supplies exceeded 3,000,000 gallons—the highest yet.

With regard to the sources of these supplies cigarettes, cotton piece goods and salt come from the United Kingdom. Provisions also come chiefly from the United Kingdom, but practically all of the salt fish comes from Germany and Norway, and the trade in this commodity is a large and growing one.

Kerosene, petrol and tobacco unmanufactured come from the United States of America, kola nuts from the Gold Coast Colony, and spirits (gin) from Holland chiefly.

There seems to be no reason (adds the report) why the British Empire should not compete with the countries mentioned above for the local market in dried and salted fish, and there should be an opening for more trade in British motor-cars, etc., but in this respect British companies have improved their position considerably during the last few years.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Agriculture and Social Systems.

The third issue of "Africa," the journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, is fully up to the level of excellence which the previous issues have led us to expect. All the articles are valuable, both for the facts set out and for showing the inferences which may be drawn from the facts. In a fully-documented article on the "Division of Work According to Sex in Africa in Hoe Culture" Professor Hermann Baumann discusses the connection between women's share in agriculture and their political position. Where and while the woman was the chief cultivator, "the man grew dependent on the produce of her little garden by the house, and gradually come to be legally and socially at a disadvantage." There is therefore a close connection between hoe culture, which is carried on mainly, and sometimes entirely, by women and matriarchy "because women's field work is also logically bound up with women's right to possession of the soil and its products, and these rights have developed chiefly owing to the fact that women alone are concerned with agriculture." When the men begin to displace the women as cultivators, and especially when their cattle-breeding leads to the introduction of the plough and draft animals, the men regain social and legal independence and matriarchy gives way to patriarchy. Conquest by a pastoral race has a retarding influence on the development of agriculture and a deteriorating influence on the position of women. The cattle-breeders are the rulers wherever they are found, and the customs of the rulers are hallowed; the men of the subject races are fused with the usurpers, and retain their objection to a form of agriculture foreign to their civilisation, so that the culture of the soil is left to the women as *the unpolitical element*. The contact with European industries which draw away the men as wage-earners, and makes them economically independent of the soil, throws agriculture still more into the hands of the women and retards its development. "These are ominous signs for the coloniser, who should desire above all a flourishing native agriculture." The writer concludes that the evidence from hoe cultivation in Africa is calculated to confirm the theory that "woman, unaided by man, had developed this primitive form of production from the collection of foodstuffs, which in the older collecting stage of civilisation was her special province," and that the cultivation of root crops, associated with female culture, is the most ancient, and is closely connected with matriarchy. In Africa, as in Polynesia, wherever there is a newer hoe culture operated by men, there is a corresponding patriarchal system.

Cotton and Social Evolution.

In his article "Le Coton et l'Indigène" M. Henri Labouret shows how, at every crisis threatening to diminish the supply of its raw material, the European textile industry has turned to Africa to make good the deficiency. This, as M. Labouret point out, is perfectly logical, because the cotton-plant has been cultivated there, and its fibre has been used by the natives for ages. The introduction of the plant from the East was probably due to immigrations long anterior to the Mahommedan invasion of North Africa, as the species most widely grown there is unknown in West Africa, where there are East Indian varieties which are now giving way to American. These latter were probably brought to the West Coast about the sixteenth century, together with cassada, maize, and groundnuts. They were quickly acclimatised, and spread into the interior, producing, in favourable situations, such as the Gold Coast, Central Togoland, and Dahomey, a cotton comparable to sea island. In most places the negro cultivators have been unable to maintain the quality of the fibre, and their product was considered to be too short for use in European machines until a few years ago, when the pressure of circumstances led the spinners to adapt their plants to use these inferior short-stapled fibres. When, in the early days of this century, there appeared to be a possibility of the European textile industries being taxed at will by the American cotton-planters, the countries most concerned began to look round for other sources of supply. The activities of the British Cotton Growing Association, founded in 1902, and their results are well known. In the same year French industrials formed the "Association Cotonière Coloniale," which lacked public support, till interest was aroused in 1919 and the matter was taken up by the Government. Under the energetic administration of M. Carde, the Governor-General, measures have been taken to extend the culture in the French West African colonies; fifty-four ginneries have been installed, and 32,400 kilometres of motor-roads have been constructed to evacuate the crops. Measures are also being taken to obtain the co-operation of the native cultivators, which is indispensable to success. The development of agriculture cannot be limited to the cultivation of cotton, but must affect every branch of agriculture. It implies an economic revolution similar to that which has taken place in the British West African colonies, with far-reaching reactions on the social systems, already profoundly shaken by the introduction of French rule. The first effect of the abolition of slavery was to diminish the area under cultivation by reducing the labour force. At the same time, the cohesion of the family and tribal groups, hitherto held together by the need of co-operation in combating enemies, has been loosened by security of life; the large agglomerations tend

to break up into smaller groups, which settle in new villages and towns, and are withdrawn from the authority of the Chief, while the period of military service frees the young men from his patriarchal authority and sets them roaming in search of employment on the railways and other industries, the wages so earned giving them independence. The bases of society are being profoundly modified by the increase of wealth in the French as in the British colonies. The introduction of culture for profit is having the same effect in West Africa as the introduction of machinery had in Europe during the nineteenth century, bringing new ideas and a new outlook on life. Individualism is replacing Communism. The great need is to teach the rising generations that no individual can stand alone, that we are necessary one to another, and that co-operation between the members is the strength of a society. As in politics, the task of the leaders is to conserve the best of African laws and customs while adapting them to the innovations necessitated by contact with modern civilisation, so in social life the aim should be to fit the claims of European individualism into the framework of African family and tribal life.

The other articles deal with "Native Poetry in East Africa" (A. Werner), "Phonetics and African Languages" (A. Lloyd James), and "Languages Used in the Congo Basin" (K. E. Laman). The articles on "Some Conclusions Concerning the Bantu Conception of the Soul" (W. C. Willoughby") and "La Numeration chez les Nègres" (Maurice Delafosse) I hope to deal in another issue.

W. F. H.

WHAT WE THINK.

BELGIUM IN AFRICA.

To-day Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians are due to arrive at Stanleyville in the course of what "The Times" aptly describes as something more than an official visit. The Royal tour, which marks Stanley's first discovery of the Congo in 1878, and that of the assumption of responsibility of the Congo by Belgium in 1908, has covered both memorable anniversaries in the history of our gallant ally's great African Colony. It is the considered opinion of a capable observer who recently examined every part of the Congo Belge—an old African friend of our journal—that the Belgians are to-day twenty-five years ahead of the French and Portuguese colonies, both in the methodical and scientific industrialisation, and in the conscientious administration of the country. As late as 1920 it was very different, but how transport has been revolutionised and sped up in the Congo will be realised in that Leopoldville will shortly be reached in twelve days by rail from Cape Town via Bukama and Ilebo, and Rejaf, on the Sudanese Nile, five days, with no night travelling, by motor-car, in greatest comfort. "Cape to Cairo via the Congo Belge" will be the slogan of King Albert's magnificent reign, and Belgium's triumph.

SIR ROBERT WILLIAMS' TRIUMPH.

It was well deserved and fitting that Sir Reginald Wingate, presiding at the annual meeting of the Tanganyika Concessions on Thursday, should devote the greater part of his speech to an eloquent tribute to the great services of Sir Robert Williams and the official recognition which had been accorded to the magnificent work so successfully accomplished in Africa, and which has been of such signal service in deepening the cordial relations between this country, Belgium, and Portugal. It may be well said that no honour bestowed in recent years has received so universal endorsement as that conferred upon the guiding genius of the company which has done so much to open up to civilisation the central section of the African Continent. While it may be that the greater part of the important tasks shouldered by Sir Robert have now been accomplished, or are within sight of completion, it is nevertheless safe to say that the untiring courage and high ideals which have inspired him in carying to consummation the policy of Cecil Rhodes will carry him forward to the accomplishment of still greater triumphs in the services of his country, which is justly proud of him.

EGYPT TO-DAY.

Whilst the recent striking political developments are naturally watched with keen attention in this country, the firm attitude of His Majesty King Fuad having evoked great interest, it must be more than ever remembered to-day that the basic changes which have just taken place at Cairo are rightly viewed at Downing Street as being entirely of internal concern for the country, and that position has been quite clearly defined in London during the early part of this week. For the programme of the Egyptian Dictatorship there can be nothing but praise. Mahmud Pasha and his colleagues have set themselves to perform a great and beneficent work. They have, we venture to suspect, derived much of their inspiration from Egypt's enlightened sovereign, for King Fuad has never attached exaggerated importance to politics, and has always used his great influence to advance Egypt's material prosperity. The vast schemes of internal reform, the developments in irrigation, the improvements in the conditions of labour and housing, the contemplated legislation in regard to wages and hours with which the new Ministry hopes to busy itself are all of a type to appeal very forcibly to King Fuad's far-sighted judgment. They are out to create a new and better Egypt, and, if they succeed in their plans, any British Government that may be in power three years hence cannot but recognise the progress made and take into account the change in the situation that will have been effected. We are glad to gather from Mahmud Pasha's published utterances that during this period there will be no attempt at negotiating any permanent settlement of Anglo-Egyptian relations. It may be useful to arrive at some quite temporary arrangement, a *modus vivendi*, but for anything more than that we are fully convinced that it is far better to wait until there is again an Egyptian Parliament in being. Dictatorships are not regarded with great favour in this country, but the experiment in Egypt will be watched here with a certain sympathy provided the Ministry truly does devote itself energetically to carrying out domestic reforms, at the same time treating its opponents as liberally as is consistent with the maintenance of a calm atmosphere and abstaining strictly from all semblance of persecution or petty tyranny. That can be taken as expressing the views of Egypt's best friends on this side, and in that spirit the immediate future may be confidently considered as promising for the best results under all existing circumstances.

THE CHEAPEST ZINC PRODUCER IN THE WORLD.

It was under this description that Sir Edmund Davis summarised the possibilities of the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company to shareholders at the annual meeting on Monday last. The year had been one of continued effort to overcome not only the many difficulties connected with the installation and operation of the new electrolytic zinc plant, but in bridging the serious delays which had taken place in the delivery of plant and machinery. The plant was, however, now running satisfactorily, and it was anticipated that before the end of the year the production would be at the rate of 18,500 tons of zinc per annum. By that time, too, the company should have entered the profit-earning stage of its career. It was not improbable, said Sir Edmund, that further investigation might disclose the possibility that the various outcrops on the property were part of the mineralisation found in No. 1 kopje, in which event the output might be increased to the full capacity of the power available. That this possibility was based on reasonable expectation was indicated by the steps which are being taken to increase the electric power available, not only by adding to the present height of the Mulungushi dam, but by exploiting other avenues of power production in the neighbourhood and by the arrangements made with the Victoria Falls Company to become identified with that undertaking in the utilisation of those falls should the need arise. It was claimed by Sir Edmund that the company could produce zinc at the lowest cost now known in the world owing to cheap power, low cost of native labour, and the richness of the ore reserves, which were already in excess of one million tons. While the mineralisation disclosed on the property is a gift of nature, the gathering of the harvest will be due to the unwearying perseverance and high courage of those connected with an enterprise which promises to become in the near future one of the important industries of Northern Rhodesia. Towards that consummation no one will have worked harder, with greater singleness of purpose than the chairman, who has the gratification of knowing that his constancy in purpose has brought the company within sight of the goal of successful accomplishment.

to break up into smaller groups, which settle in new villages and towns, and are withdrawn from the authority of the Chief, while the period of military service frees the young men from his patriarchal authority and sets them roaming in search of employment on the railways and other industries, the wages so earned giving them independence. The bases of society are being profoundly modified by the increase of wealth in the French as in the British colonies. The introduction of culture for profit is having the same effect in West Africa as the introduction of machinery had in Europe during the nineteenth century, bringing new ideas and a new outlook on life. Individualism is replacing Communism. The great need is to teach the rising generations that no individual can stand alone, that we are necessary one to another, and that co-operation between the members is the strength of a society. As in politics, the task of the leaders is to conserve the best of African laws and customs while adapting them to the innovations necessitated by contact with modern civilisation, so in social life the aim should be to fit the claims of European individualism into the framework of African family and tribal life.

The other articles deal with "Native Poetry in East Africa" (A. Werner), "Phonetics and African Languages" (A. Lloyd James), and "Languages Used in the Congo Basin" (K. E. Laman). The articles on "Some Conclusions Concerning the Bantu Conception of the Soul" (W. C. Willoughby") and "La Numeration chez les Nègres" (Maurice Delafosse) I hope to deal in another issue. W. F. H.

WHAT WE THINK.

BELGIUM IN AFRICA.

To-day Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians are due to arrive at Stanleyville in the course of what "The Times" aptly describes as something more than an official visit. The Royal tour, which marks Stanley's first discovery of the Congo in 1878, and that of the assumption of responsibility of the Congo by Belgium in 1908, has covered both memorable anniversaries in the history of our gallant ally's great African Colony. It is the considered opinion of a capable observer who recently examined every part of the Congo Belge—an old African friend of our journal—that the Belgians are to-day twenty-five years ahead of the French and Portuguese colonies, both in the methodical and scientific industrialisation, and in the conscientious administration of the country. As late as 1920 it was very different, but how transport has been revolutionised and sped up in the Congo will be realised in that Leopoldville will shortly be reached in twelve days by rail from Cape Town via Bukama and Ilebo, and Rejaf, on the Sudanese Nile, five days, with no night traveiling, by motor-car, in greatest comfort. "Cape to Cairo via the Congo Belge" will be the slogan of King Albert's magnificent reign, and Belgium's triumph.

SIR ROBERT WILLIAMS' TRIUMPH.

It was well deserved and fitting that Sir Reginald Wingate, presiding at the annual meeting of the Tanganyika Concessions on Thursday, should devote the greater part of his speech to an eloquent tribute to the great services of Sir Robert Williams and the official recognition which had been accorded to the magnificent work so successfully accomplished in Africa, and which has been of such signal service in deepening the cordial relations between this country, Belgium, and Portugal. It may be well said that no honour bestowed in recent years has received so universal endorsement as that conferred upon the guiding genius of the company which has done so much to open up to civilisation the central section of the African Continent. While it may be that the greater part of the important tasks shouldered by Sir Robert have now been accomplished, or are within sight of completion, it is nevertheless safe to say that the untiring courage and high ideals which have inspired him in carying to consummation the policy of Cecil Rhodes will carry him forward to the accomplishment of still greater triumphs in the services of his country, which is justly proud of him.

EGYPT TO-DAY.

Whilst the recent striking political developments are naturally watched with keen attention in this country, the firm attitude of His Majesty King Fuad having evoked great interest, it must be more than ever remembered to-day that the basic changes which have just taken place at Cairo are rightly viewed at Downing Street as being entirely of internal concern for the country, and that position has been quite clearly defined in London during the early part of this week. For the programme of the Egyptian Dictatorship there can be nothing but praise. Mahmud Pasha and his colleagues have set themselves to perform a great and beneficent work. They have, we venture to suspect, derived much of their inspiration from Egypt's enlightened sovereign, for King Fuad has never attached exaggerated importance to politics, and has always used his great influence to advance Egypt's material prosperity. The vast schemes of internal reform, the developments in irrigation, the improvements in the conditions of labour and housing, the contemplated legislation in regard to wages and hours with which the new Ministry hopes to busy itself are all of a type to appeal very forcibly to King Fuad's far-sighted judgment. They are out to create a new and better Egypt, and, if they succeed in their plans, any British Government that may be in power three years hence cannot but recognise the progress made and take into account the change in the situation that will have been effected. We are glad to gather from Mahmud Pasha's published utterances that during this period there will be no attempt at negotiating any permanent settlement of Anglo-Egyptian relations. It may be useful to arrive at some quite temporary arrangement, a *modus vivendi*, but for anything more than that we are fully convinced that it is far better to wait until there is again an Egyptian Parliament in being. Dictatorships are not regarded with great favour in this country, but the experiment in Egypt will be watched here with a certain sympathy provided the Ministry truly does devote itself energetically to carrying out domestic reforms, at the same time treating its opponents as liberally as is consistent with the maintenance of a calm atmosphere and abstaining strictly from all semblance of persecution or petty tyranny. That can be taken as expressing the views of Egypt's best friends on this side, and in that spirit the immediate future may be confidently considered as promising for the best results under all existing circumstances.

THE CHEAPEST ZINC PRODUCER IN THE WORLD.

It was under this description that Sir Edmund Davis summarised the possibilities of the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company to shareholders at the annual meeting on Monday last. The year had been one of continued effort to overcome not only the many difficulties connected with the installation and operation of the new electrolytic zinc plant, but in bridging the serious delays which had taken place in the delivery of plant and machinery. The plant was, however, now running satisfactorily, and it was anticipated that before the end of the year the production would be at the rate of 18,500 tons of zinc per annum. By that time, too, the company should have entered the profit-earning stage of its career. It was not improbable, said Sir Edmund, that further investigation might disclose the possibility that the various outcrops on the property were part of the mineralisation found in No. 1 kopje, in which event the output might be increased to the full capacity of the power available. That this possibility was based on reasonable expectation was indicated by the steps which are being taken to increase the electric power available, not only by adding to the present height of the Mulungushi dam, but by exploiting other avenues of power production in the neighbourhood and by the arrangements made with the Victoria Falls Company to become identified with that undertaking in the utilisation of those falls should the need arise. It was claimed by Sir Edmund that the company could produce zinc at the lowest cost now known in the world owing to cheap power, low cost of native labour, and the richness of the ore reserves, which were already in excess of one million tons. While the mineralisation disclosed on the property is a gift of nature, the gathering of the harvest will be due to the unwearying perseverance and high courage of those connected with an enterprise which promises to become in the near future one of the important industries of Northern Rhodesia. Towards that consummation no one will have worked harder, with greater singleness of purpose than the chairman, who has the gratification of knowing that his constancy in purpose has brought the company within sight of the goal of successful accomplishment.

Race Problem – 1928

Africa

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

NEW MOZAMBIQUE — SOUTH AFRICA CONVENTION.

AGREEMENT SIGNED—NATIVE LABOUR AND TRAFFIC PROVISIONS.

The negotiations which began at Lisbon on May 7 between representatives of the Union of South Africa and the Portuguese Government with reference to matters affecting Mozambique and the Union ended in agreement last Friday, May 11. The agreement which will form the basis of a convention, was signed by both parties on Tuesday. In the following cable Reuter gives the main provisions of the agreement.

LISBON, May 15.

This agreement was considered at a special meeting of the Portuguese Cabinet yesterday anl formally adopted, after long explanations had been given by the Portuguese representatives. Final approval was withheld in the absence of two Ministers, who later signified their assent.

The ceremony of signing and initialling the agreement took place to-day at the Foreign Office, the Minister of the Colonies, Senhor Bebiano, signing on behalf of Portugal, and Mr. Malan, the Minister of Railways on behalf of the Union.

Recruitment of Native Labour.

The agreement is divided into four sections. The first of these, dealing with matters affecting natives, provides that the Portuguese Government shall authorise the recruiting and subsequent repatriation of native labour in the colony of Mozambique for employment in the gold and coal mining industries of the Union. A Portuguese official will undertake the functions of Curators of Portuguese natives in the Union. Portuguese natives employed in the Transvaal mines shall be progressively reduced during five years following the signature of the Convention to a maximum complement of 80,000. Labourers' contracts will be limited to twelve months, but they may re-engage for an additional six months. One-half of the contract pay, except for the first nine months, will be retained and paid upon their return to their homes.

Portuguese natives who fail to return to Mozambique will be regarded as clandestine residents of the Union, and will come under the provisions of the Immigration Acts. Special passports will be furnished to natives who desire to be employed in the mines without the intervention of any recruiting agency, but their number must fall within the quota of 80,000.

Railway and Shipping Traffic.

The second part of the agreement deals with the adjustment of traffic receipts over the Lourenço Marques route as between the Union railways and the railways of Mozambique. South Africa also agrees to secure for the Mozambique railways a percentage of the seaborne traffic, exclusive of goods destined for civil, military, and railway authorities. Railway rates between South African and Portuguese destinations are to be settled on terms mentioned in the convention.

The charges at the port of Lourenço Marques for shipping and other services on such traffic shall not exceed the lowest charges for similar traffic exported through any Union port.

An advisory board will be established by the Mozambique Government, whose functions shall only be to consider and advise as to the best means of furthering the export traffic. The South African Government undertakes, when requested by the Mozambique Government in any negotiations it may have with a shipping company, to discuss the position in its relations to the Union.

Customs.

The third section deals with customs and commercial intercourse, to be based upon reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment, reserving to the contracting parties full rights to protect their own products.

Miscellaneous.

The final section provides *inter alia* that five years after ratification either party may call for revision of the terms of the agreement, but in default of mutual agreement the convention shall lapse within six months thereafter.

Any dispute arising from the interpretation of the agreement which cannot be settled by direct negotiation shall be submitted to arbitration, and ultimately, if no agreement is reached, the questions at issue shall be referred to the President of the High Court of International Justice at The Hague, who will be requested to appoint arbitrators.—Reuter.

DISSATISFACTION IN LISBON.

(Special "African World" Cable.)

LISBON, May 18.

The bases of the new Convention are published to-day; Colonial and political circles here disagree with them, finding very important omissions. At a special meeting of the Overseas Committee it was decided to publish a monograph on the relations between Mozambique and the Transvaal, complying with the Conventions.

South African Press and the Agreement.

CAPE TOWN, May 17.

The Press is not enthusiastic about the new Mozabmique Convention, which is generally recognised to be the outcome of hard bargaining. The "Cape Times" says: "No one, certainly, will be fully satisfied—which is perhaps prima facie evidence of the document's substantial fairness. At least it may be said that it seems to embody on the whole the most sensible arrangements and that the cause for grumbling is as slight as the grounds for glee."

The "Cape Argus" hopes that the agreement will lead to closer co-operation between the two countries to their mutual interest than has hitherto been practicable. It expresses the opinion that the Portuguese have every reason to be gratified with the "generous terms" granted them in respect of railway and trade matters, and declares that the Rand will probably accept the assurance of the Government that the agreement is the best that the circumstances permitted.

The "Johannesburg Star" says that the Portuguese have achieved a most satisfactory bargain, and, as far as the railway and Customs concessions are concerned, they could hardly have hoped for much more than the Union has agreed to. Further, the "Star" thinks the result of Mr. Malan's mission is disappointing owing to the curtailment of native labour, which is more drastic than anything yet contemplated by the mining industry, and which will react adversely on European employment in the mines. The paper declares that no effort must be spared to secure such alterations in the final draft of the Convention as may yet be possible in the direction of more favourable terms to the Union.

The Rand "Daily Mail" hopes that the Portuguese Government will amend the clauses dealing with native labour before the Convention is finally drafted, as the paper states that if the stream of natives from the east coast is to be lessened in the manner proposed, both the gold and coal mines will be severely hit. The newspaper adds that the Union's foremost industry has to rely largely on an outside source of labour, and the two countries are forced to bargain, with native labour and railway traffic as the chief counters, but natives will not consent permanently to be used as pawns and traffic cannot arbitrarily be confined or diverted to a particular railway without doing grave injury to commerce.—Reuter.

Portuguese Rights Guarded.

On Monday evening Mr. Malan was entertained to dinner at the Portuguese Foreign Office. Cordial speeches were made. Mr. Malan said that he and his companions were charmed with the hospitality of and the good will shown by the Portuguese, and the course of the negotiations showed the real friendship existing between the Union and Portugal which the signing of the convention would increase. He thought that when the terms of the agreement were published they would show that Portuguese rights had been fully guarded.

Satisfaction at Lourenco Marques.

LOURENCO MARQUES, May 12.

The news from Lisbon that agreement has been reached between the South African and Portuguese delegations for a new Mozambique Convention has been received here with the liveliest satisfaction. There is a general feeling of relief and optimism. Meanwhile details are eagerly awaited.—Reuter.

Mr. Malan and Col. Cabral Returning.

LISBON, May 11.

Mr. Malan, who is representing the Union of South Africa in the Mozambique negotiations, will leave on the 19th inst. accompanied by the Governor-General of Mozambique for Funchal, where he will embark for Cape Town.—Reuter.

Later information states that probably the Union-Castle steamer will call at Lisbon to take the party direct. Colonel Cabral will have full powers to complete the negotiations in Cape Town.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter

LOURENCO MARQUES, April 25.

More Wharf Improvements.

Further minor improvements are taking place at the wharf. There is in course of construction at the eastern end of the wharf a shed for the reception of coastwise cargo. The aim of the administration is, as all coasters berth at that end, to keep the large sheds clear for the reception of cargo from or to the large ocean liners.

An indication of the development in agriculture is shown by the fact that the Agricultural Department, which has a fumigation building in the wharf area, finds it far too small to deal with the increased amount of seeds, plants, and other products requiring fumigation. There is now in course of erection, adjoining the present building, another similar construction with more than double the capacity of the present one.

A commission from the Union Railways, which I understand has been visiting all the Union ports for the purpose of reporting upon accommodation for handling goods, has spent some days here. Being of a technical character, station goods yards were visited, lines communicating with the wharf, open space, shunting, making up of trains, coal handling, and all other matters pertaining to port equipment. One of the members who had not previously visited the yards of the station and wharf accommodation, expressed surprise at the spacious wharf and goods area and the fine harbour of Lourenço Marques.

Return of the Governor-General.

Reuter's cable, stating that the Governor-General, Col. Cabral, is returning by the "Carisbrook Castle," is hailed locally with great satisfaction. It is stated that the Lisbon Government has approved the Colonial Budget, so the hopes of the people are raised to a high pitch. His Excellency will now be able to carry out important works, as many measures that have been well thought out and discussed can be immediately presented to the Government Council.

New Municipal Abattoir.

The municipality has now in course of erection a most up-to-date abattoir. The old building near the railway station is too small, and its position far from good. The new building is being erected quite out of the town, but has a line connecting with the main line. Not only will the usual method of slaughter be followed, but the by-products will be treated and sold for manure, chicken-food, etc.

X. X. X.

Indians and Fort Hare.

It will be remembered that when the proposal to provide higher educational facilities for Indians at Fort Hare was put forward it was strongly objected to by some members of the local Indian community. We pointed out at the time that the Fort Hare scheme was at least practicable, which was more than can be said of the alternatives. The inclusion of Indians among the students of European universities in South Africa would be neither feasible nor desirable, and for financial and other reasons there is no immediate prospect of the establishment of an Indian university or college. The critics of the Fort Hare proposal were, of course, perfectly entitled to object to it, but it is unfortunate, to say the least, that their objections took the form they did. The suggestion that Indians attending classes at Fort Hare would be degraded through their accociation with native students was unwise and unwarranted. Lovedale and Fort Hare have turned out many men of fine character and intellect, and in the case of the former institution some of these men have been Europeans. We are not aware that any of the European students at Lovedale in the days of Dr. Stewart suffered social, intellectual and moral degradation and several of them achieved great and deserved distinction in after life. No doubt provision would be made at Fort Hare for Indian students to be housed together, but their participation in the intellectual life of the college would certainly not be to their disadvantage.

We are glad to see that this view is shared by one of the most brilliant and distinguished of living Indians—the great poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Associated Press of India circulates the following telegram from New Delhi, dated Febry. 28:—"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, in in a statement to the Press, criticises the conduct of Mr. Habib Motan, an Indian residing in South Africa, who, in an open letter, states that Indians should not attend the Fort Hare college. Dr. Rabindranath says:—"I have read the letter of Mr. Motan, dated November 19 last, addressed to the Agent General protesting against any Indian being invited to attend the Fort Hare Native College for university education. In this letter he states that "it is humiliating to Indian sentiment and to Indian national honour and civilisation to think that our Agent-General is trying to bring us down to such a low level." Such a colour prejudice from an Indian who has himself suffered from the racial prejudice of the Europeans is to me revolting to the extreme. It is neither in accord with the Indian sentiment nor with the Indian national honour and civilisation. Our only right to be in South Africa at all is that the native Africans to whom the soil belongs wish us to be there; and to insult them publicly, as Mr. Habib Motan has done in this open letter—both by words I have quoted and by others equally contemptuous—is an act which needs immediate repudiation from all right-minded men. "Star."

Messenger's Fees.

While the Native Affairs Department has done itself credit in supplying rations to hunger-stricken Natives in the King Williamstown and other districts, there remains the open sore and capable hardship of the Messenger's Fees of 2/6 charged to individual taxpayers who have fallen in arrear with their payments. This levy operates as from the 1st April every year, when the period of grace (31st March) lapses. The reason given by the official responsible for this fee is that it was a method designed to save Natives from the costly legal process of collection by summons and attachments by writ. We find however, that even with this new system the messenger ultimately seizes cattle belonging to defaulting taxpayers, and sells them in the open market. This happens without a judgment being obtained in Court; and this procedure seems to defeat the desired aim of saving Natives from heavy costs. We may add that no notice is necessarily served on the individual defaulters, the fee becomes automatically due and payable at the revenue office at 9 o'clock on the 1st April notwithstanding the fact that it is impossible for the messenger to serve notices (if ever they are served) to the hundreds of defaulters residing in the crown locations situated at distances up to 30 miles apart. Over and above this, Chief W J Mama of this town made the astounding revelation at the last meeting of the local Native Welfare Society that King Williamstown Natives who paid their poll tax at Johannesburg and other labour centres, away from their homes, were asked to produce their receipts on their return and if it was found that they had not paid the extra half-a-crown for messenger's fees (if they paid after the 31st March) they were told to

Incomplete

General Notes.

LOCATION REGULATIONS.

The Cape Province Official Gazette of the 20th. April contains the King Williams' Town Municipality location regulations framed under the provisions of Section 23 (3) of Act No. 21 of 1923, commonly known as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. These ofcourse have been sanctioned by the Minister of Native Affairs and approved by the Administrator. In comparison with regulations approved for towns like East London, Bloemfontein, Cape Town and Queenstown, from the point of view of liberality and edification of the location residents, the local regulations compare very poorly. We are not at present discussing the regulations seriatim, but intend doing so at a future date; but reading through the seven columns of closely set type the regulations are conspicuous for the abundant spirit of lordly dominance and absence of the fatherly instinct to his children, All that was embodied in this Act by parliament,—the spirit in which the Smuts government formulated the legislation by way of assisting Natives in their social and economic elevation seems to have been sadly disregarded. Prominence is given to clauses that authorise rigid municipal control and submission of the location residents to meticulous legal discipline. Nothing seems to be provided in the regulations that gives the residents opportunities of trading freely among themselves or even eventually owning their own sites and houses. It is wonderful how these people can be expected to take pride in their environment when their hopes for future

Incomplete

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

African Ruler Visits England to Be Invested With Knighthood by King

Palmetto Leader

Copyrighted, 1928, by the National Feature Service.

Photo shows the King of Abuakwa (seated) at work in his open-air study. He is one of the most enlightened rulers of Africa. The Hon. Nana Sir Afri Atta, King of Abuakwa Gold Coast, arrives in England to be invested with a Knighthood by the King. He brought with him his wife and other members of his retinue, including his heir, a sword bearer, a court crier, and an elephant tail bearer. The King of Abuakwa is to visit the English provinces. He is a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council and is actively interested in the mineral resources of his country.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Nigerian Trade in 1927.

The "Annual Report on the Customs Department of Nigeria for the Year 1927" (Government Printer, Lagos. 15s.) tells an encouraging story of the colony's commercial prospects. The trade of the colony is not increasing at the phenomenal pace which marked the years 1900-14, but the Comptroller of Customs considers that a study of this report will make it "abundantly clear that the trade of Nigeria . . . has definitely recovered from the depression in which the world was subsequently involved, and is progressing as steadily as can be expected." Although the prices of many imported articles have fallen and the prices offered for exports have not been encouraging, the total trade for 1927—£32,000,000 (including specie)—"is an improvement on the average of just less than £31,000,000 for the three years 1924-1926," and "is much more satisfactory than that of a year such as 1920,"—which subsequent events showed to be abnormal. Of great interest are the tables on pages 9 and 10 showing the progress of the colony's trade since 1900, as far as comparison is possible in face of the higher prices of the post-war period. Between 1900 and 1913 the value of the imports and exports (including specie) increased by 350 per cent.; in the subsequent fourteen years it again increased by 135 per cent.; the £4,000,000 of 1900 had grown to £32,000,000 in 1927. The story of the revenue which is mainly derived from Customs duties shows considerable vicissitudes. Revenue, keeping pace with trade, showed an increase of 350 per cent. between 1900 and 1913. The war caused a diminution which led to the imposition of export duties and caused the Government grave concern, allayed only by the trade revival of the last few years. The prosperity of the people is shown by the constantly increasing imports of wearing apparel and boots and of luxury articles, such as cigarettes, unmanufactured tobacco, light beers and light wines. The desire for better housing is reflected in the import of corrugated iron sheets, which shows an increase of 250 per cent. over 1924. The development of road transport is shown by a threefold increase on the imports of motor-cars and motor spirit during the same period. On the export side oil-palm products make a good showing, the quantity exported being maintained above the average of the last six years in spite of unfavourable prices. The export of ground nuts was reduced by 25 per cent., partly by the low prices offered for export, and partly by increased home consumption in consequence of a failure of other food crops. On the other hand, high European prices caused large increases in the export of tin and hides and skins. The fall in the receipts from Customs duties in 1926, as compared with the previous year, has been nearly recovered, the total receipts from this source being only £150,000 less than in 1925, but £600,000 more than in 1924. A study of the tables contained in this report gives the impression that the course of progress in Nigeria's commercial expansion and prosperity is far from having reached its limit.

Sierra Leone Trade.

The oldest of the British West African Colonies, though it has not equalled the spectacular progress of the two younger Colonies in the Gulf of Guinea, maintains a steady pace along the path of prosperity. The Colony's Comptroller of Customs, in his "Trade Report for the Year 1927" (Government Printing Office, Freetown: 5s.), is able to record a considerable improvement on the preceding year. Although the trade position has changed from a balance in favour of exports of £87,605, to an excess of £163,785 in imports, "this slight preponderance need not cause any misgiving as to the purchasing power of the Colony," which is enhanced by the earnings of the large proportion of the seamen and maritime labourers employed in West Africa who are engaged and paid-off in Freetown. The money earned and spent by the people of Krutown is an important "invisible export" which considerably reduces the apparently adverse balance. The swing of the balance was partly due to the low prices of the country's products which prevailed during the year. Oil-palm products, the Colony's staple exports, were especially affected in this way, as is shown by comparing the quantities and values of the exports for the years 1926 and 1927:—

Kernels, 1926:—65,000 tons, £1,116,780; 1927:—65,436, £1,077,450; Palm oil, 1926:—2,865 tons, £89,032; 1927:—3,609, £98,179.

The European market price for palm oil was the lowest for many years, while the price of kernels averaged 10s. per ton less than in the preceding year. It is satisfactory that the expenditure on roads is being justified by increased traffic on the railways, and is repaying the Colony in larger freight receipts and greater trade. A comparison of the exports of oil-palm products through Freetown and Sherbro respectively shows that while the latter are stationary the former are increasing. Germany, having regained her position as the largest purchaser of kernels, was the Colony's best customer, the exports to Germany exceeding those to the United Kingdom by £47,000. There was a remarkable rise in the trade in the Colony's second staple, kola nuts, in spite of a fall in price; though there was an increase of 48 per cent. in the quantity over the record export of 1926, the value was only 9 per cent. greater. Most of the increase went to Nigeria, but the excellent quality of the nuts caused a considerable advance in the export to French Senegal, in spite of the preferential duty imposed in that Colony in order to encourage the cultivation of the nut on the Ivory Coast. On the side of imports the most remarkable item is an increase of 115.33 per cent. in the value of "Raw Materials and Articles Mainly Unmanufactured." As £100,000 of the increase of £137,000 under this head was due to increase in the imports of coal for bunkering steamers and of fuel oil for H.M. Navy, the adverse balance against the Colony's actual trade is, to that extent more apparent than real. An increase of £15,339 in the import of "Foods, Drinks and Tobacco" was entirely due to alcoholic liquors, a small decline in spirits being wiped out by a remarkable increase in ale, beer, and stout. The consumption of tobacco shows a falling off which the Comptroller describes as "particularly disappointing in the case of a product which is by far the most important revenue producing item in the Tariff." One of the most satisfactory items in the report is a fall of nearly £29,000 in the value of rice imported, due to the Colony's increasing ability to produce its own supply of this staple food, a result which reflects great credit on the Department of Agriculture. Cotton goods, which are one-fifth of the imports, increased by about 25 per cent. It is pleasing to note that British motor manufacturers are gaining a greater share of the Colony's custom; one-half of the 128 motor-cars, and 28 of the 32 motor-cycles imported during the year were from British factories. On the whole, the trade position of the Colony is satisfactory.

W. F. H.

REVENUE FROM URBAN LOCATIONS.

From the Mayor's Minute read at the King Williamstown Borough Council meeting of the 3rd September 1928 we observe the passage:—"It is not very long since the Council completed the erection of new Native dwellings at the Ginsberg and Leightonville Locations, under the provisions of the Housing Act, but I am sorry to record that in the case of the latter location the new habitations are not being so readily taken up as we anticipated. Twenty-eight houses, each of three rooms, and forty-nine houses of two rooms were provided, the former let at 27s. 6d. and the latter at 22s. 6d. per month. The dwellings are admirably constructed and most convenient, but probably the rentals are too high for the class of tenant for which they were built. The result is that this location is proving a rather heavy financial burden to the town, and for the year 1927 it returned a loss of £783. It will be necessary for the Council to seriously consider this position very shortly, and it may perhaps be found that although it was the intention of the Council to provide suitable accommodation at the location with the view to Natives residing there instead of in the town the object has been missed and that Natives

are still residing in the town.'

From the above excerpt it will be seen that our Borough Council are between the horns of a dilemma. After a considerable amount of capital outlay had been expended on Native housing, it is found now that the revenue has fallen far too short of the estimate, and the manner by which the deficit is to be met now, and how it is to be avoided in the future has raised a serious problem. In our opinion the issue is of purely economic origin. The Council expect to receive 22/6 and 27/6 per month respectively for three-roomed and two-roomed houses, and from what we know of the cottages and facilities provided they are not asking too much by any means, as compared with rentals charged in other urban centres. Coming to the occupier's side of the question, the tenements according to the regulations are to be occupied only by persons employed in the town. Now the question arises, are these persons in receipt of wages sufficient to feed and clothe their families, pay doctors' fees and church dues and the rent demanded of them? No!

From a weekly wage of 12/- to 18/- and £1 in very rare cases, it will be found that man will have to starve for two weeks in the month to pay for a 27/6 tenement. This inevitably forces us back to the total inadequacy of wages paid to the workmen in our town as a means of bare subsistence. A native family of 5 would be living in very simple circumstances if they spent £6 per month on food clothing and medical requirements; in fact so simple as would be conducive to a state of impoverished bodily health. The high rate of mortality among our Native infants is due primarily to this economic impasse. What is the remedy then? We are afraid that the Council and the Natives are compelled to invoke the mutual co-operation of the employers of labour—the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Industries, Retailers' Association and the employers of domestic servants. The wages paid in our town to Natives are indisputably far from a simple living standard. Our employers of Native labour have to rid themselves of the idea that natives of this age can live on mealie grain and "pap" as their forefathers. It takes more than a good fowl or ostrich diet to maintain a human being, black or white. One cannot expect to make a good and intelligent "boy" or "girl" of a half-starved or semi-naked Native. It will therefore be to the benefit of our town and everybody if the employers will take the broad view of the economic improvement of our urban Natives' lot. The question has to be faced sooner or later, as instances the decisions of the Wage Board in Bloemfontein. It cannot be avoided; and the best time to tackle it is before the Wage Board is invited to perform the unpleasant duty. How happy we would be if we could say to this Board, we are all satisfied with our wages in "King"

Princess Makaula.

The daily press has given wide publication to the achievements of Irene Zulia as a leading star in a popular London stage play called the "Show Boat". She is figuring in a huge "Mississippi Chorus" in which she exhibits unusual abilities as an actress in song and dance.

Her father Bertie Makaula was a chief of the Baca's in Mount Frere who was adopted by a European missionary Mr. White and sent to a Wesleyan Theological College in London but severed his connection with the Methodists on becoming engaged to a white lady, Miss Day of Maidstone, Kent whom he subsequently married in the nineties.

Their first born was Irene Nomabáca Makaula — White, who under the stage name of Irene Zulia has become an attraction among London theatrical enthusiasts, where, as the "Daily Dispatch" says, she "is the complete sophisticated young woman of London town."

"She is taller than most Natives, has good features, speaks English, and carries herself with that easy, lissom grace of deportment which is so marked a feature of the woman of her half-race."

We heartily congratulate Princess Makaula for reaching the top of the ladder in the stage profession and gaining a reputation which will probably prove world-wide. In addition to her ability in song and dancing she is talented as we happen to know, in the art of painting and elocution. These gifts which in her native home would have remained dormant through lack of opportunity and encouragement, were developed and given full play in England, where such repressive conventions as colour-bars and segregation are conspicuous by their absence. We hope in future Empire exhibitions our government will consider the advisability of giving a share to civilised Bantu instead of tolerating them only as keepers of ostriches and hippopotami as was done at the last London exhibition.

130-YEAR LEASE ASSURES OUTLET FOR ABYSSINIA

Ancient Ethiopian Empire Obtains Land on Red Sea from Italy

Abyssinia, the ancient empire of Ethiopia, has obtained an outlet to the sea by means of a 130-year lease from Italy of a piece of land on the Red Sea, the Department of Commerce was advised October 25, by Mowatt W. Mitchell, the commercial attache at Rome.

In his report Mr. Mitchell states: "Abyssinia's efforts to obtain an outlet to the sea have been rewarded; it has now been announced that Italy will lease to that country for 130 years a piece of land in or near the port of Assab in Eritrea on the Red Sea, where a wharf, pier or jetty can be built.

Site to be Selected

"The exact site of the port is to be determined by a mixed commission. It is expected to be either a site of approximately 6,000 square meters in the town of Assab itself or a site of 30,000 square meters about two miles distant from the city.

To Have Full Control

"The Abyssinian Government will have complete control of the land so leased and will collect taxes on imports and exports without interference from the Italian authorities."

Descendants of Solomon

Abyssinia or Ethiopia is a mountainous, volcanic country in north-east Africa. It is bounded on the north by Eritrea (Italian), on the east by British and Italian Somaliland, on the south by Kenya, and on the west by the Soudan.

The royal family claims descent from Menelik, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

WHITES TRIPLED IN CONGO IN 10 YEARS

Development is Realization of Dream of King Leopold II.

The white population of Belgian Congo in West Africa has tripled in the last ten years, the Department of Commerce was advised October 25, by the commercial attache at Brussels.

He reported that on January 1 1928, the white population totaled 20,702, of which 14,147 were Belgians. On January 1, 1918, the total white population amounted to 6,270, of which 3,285 were Belgians. On January 1, 1908, there were only 2,843 white inhabitants, 1,713 of which were Belgians.

Founded by Leopold II

The Belgian Congo had an estimated total population of 8,500,000 in 1925. It comprises an area of 909,654 square miles.

The Congo Free State had its origin in the vision of King Leopold II, of Belgium. Roused by Stanley's discoveries, he realized the great economic possibilities in the development of the vast territory reached by the Congo.

Stanley Sent Back

The International Association of the Congo, which he founded and largely financed, sent Stanley back in 1879. He founded the first station, Vivi, in February, 1880, and twenty-three others before he returned in 1884.

Race Problem — 1928

Africa

SIR OFORI ATTA AND THE LIQUOR TRADE.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Nana Sir Ofori Atta's attention has been called to an article in your journal of September 22, page 1296, "Gold Coast Letter—Liquor Prohibition," wherein your correspondent quotes a reference made by the "Gold Coast Spectator" to Nana's appeal to a highly responsible body of mercantile interests relating to the importation of gin. I am directed to inform you that the Omanhene was not unaware of the article in the "Gold Coast Spectator," but for good reasons he chose to ignore it as he had done many a time when there appeared evidence of irresponsibility in regard to articles in some of the local journals.

West Africa

As the reference to this article in WEST AFRICA invests the quotation with undeserved importance, Nana Sir Ofori Atta desires me to point out that the author of the article—to put it mildly—did not know what he was talking about.

11-10-28

It is the policy of Sir Ofori Atta not to express an opinion in any outside assembly upon any important question concerning the wishes of his people without having first ascertained the views of his Council. Nana had made no departure from this policy in regard to the liquor traffic, and long before he left for England his State Council had several times made definite pronouncements against the sale and importation of spirits. Moreover, if the writer of the article in the "Spectator" had read the debates of the Legislative Council he would have known that Nana Sir Ofori Atta's speech in Liverpool was not his first public speech on that matter outside his dominion.

What then is the justification for the following quotation from the "Spectator" republished in WEST AFRICA?:—"He (Sir Ofori) knows very well that he dare not go to Akim Abuakwa and tell his subjects that he has been advocating the non-importation of gin into the country, for he fully knows that this liquid is part and parcel of their custom on all occasions and is become part of their diet." Such remarks are as untrue as they are base.

Nana Sir Ofori Atta delivered his speech on liquor traffic to the West African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on July 17. The "Spectator's" contention is that when Sir Ofori made this speech his Chief's and people were unaware of his views and would have disapproved of them if they knew. This contention is directly refuted by the contents of the following letter dated June 27, 1928, expressing the decisive opinion of the State Council on the drink trade and addressed to the Commissioner of the Birrim District:—

"Kyebi, Akyem Abuakwa,
Gold Coast,
June 27, 1928.

"No. AKA/O.C./30/28.

"Sir,—With reference to the various applications for licences to sell spirits in Akyem Abuakwa referred to the Abontendomhene for his information, we have the honour to inform you that Barima Kwado Apeanyo has submitted the said applications to the State Council for our views.

2. At the last meeting of Okyeman, held in April last when this question was discussed simultaneously with various communications from the Government bearing on the same matter, Okyeman very strongly felt that the time had arrived that some means should be found to abolish entirely the liquor trade in Akyem Abuakwa. We arrived at this conclusion after considering carefully how ruinous the drink trade is to the health, and particularly the financial advancement of the inhabitants of this State.

3. The State Council again desire to express their abhorrence to the sale of strong spirituous liquor, such as gin whisky, etc., in view of the percentage of alcohol in them and respectfully ask that such mild drink as beer, wine and so on, should be the only drinks admitted for sale in Akyem Abuakwa; and that pending the findings and recommendations of the committee set up by Government to go into this question, we strongly advocate that the sale of spirituous liquor other than beer, wine and such like, should be suspended in this State.

We have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servants: Barim Kwadwo Apeanyo, Deputy for Omanhene, x; Kwabena Kana Adontenhene, Akim Abuakwa, x; Afua Boatema Nifahema, Akim Abuakwa, x; Barima Kwasi Aeyaw Pomaschene, Abomosu, x; Kwabena Adu Santeni Ankobeahene, Kibbi, x; (Sgd.) Fauor Amoako Jasehene, Kibbi; (Sgd.) Kwadwo Twum Barima Kyidom-Panin, Kibbi; Bafuor Kwadwo Bankyi Ofiakro, Pano, x; Odehye Kwadwo Fodwuo, x; (Sgd.) Ofori Dei Atta Pippim (Odehye); Odehye Yaw Wusu, x; Bafuor Ntim Gyakari, Akyeamehene, x; Bafuor Kwasi Nketia, Linguist to Omanhene and Odikro of Gyadam Birimso, x; Okyeame Kwasi Brewu, x; Okyeame Nyankomago, x; (Sgd.) Kwaku Ware (Linguist); (Sgd.) Kofi Dampare.

(Sgd.) K. T. A. Danquah,
Sec. to State Council.

To this letter, Captain A. J. Walker, the District Commissioner, to whom it was addressed, replied:—

"Eastern Province. No. 652/7/27.
District Commissioner's Office,
Birrim District, Kibbi,
July 2, 1928.

"My Good Friend,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. AKA/O.C./30/28, dated June 27, 1928, and am glad that you and your fellow Chiefs have carefully considered the drink trade in the Akim Abuakwa District.

2. Until, however, the findings of the special committee are published, I think it advisable to continue the present procedure.

3. The Chiefs will always be helpful in giving sound advice to their people

I am, your good friend,
(Sgd.) A. J. WALKER,
District Commissioner,

Barima Kwadwo Apeanyo,
Abontendomhene, Kibbi."

It will be noted that on the particular date on which the State Council's letter was written to the District Commissioner (June 27) Sir Ofori Atta had not gone to Liverpool to make his speech. Sir Ofori, you will recall, was with the King at Buckingham Palace on that day.

After reading this correspondence, it is for your readers to decide whether the views on gin trade expressed by Sir Ofori Atta at Liverpool contained anything so recondite or diabolical as to justify the remarks that he could not dare to go to Akim Abuakwa and tell his people about it.

In view of the very high esteem in which WEST AFRICA is held and the influence it wields, Nana Sir Ofori Atta would be happy to believe that this particular article would not have been published in WEST AFRICA had your correspondent made it clear at the same time how generally irresponsible and misinformed is the "Gold Coast Spectator."

An uncondensed publication of this letter will very greatly oblige.

Yours faithfully,
K. T. A. DANQUAH,
Secretary, Omanhene Akim Abuakwa.

Ofori Panin Fie,
Kibbi, Akim Abuakwa,
October 13, 1928.

ABYSSINIA GETS SEA ROUTE

ITALY'S CONCESSION

Empire Of Ethiopia Gets 130-Year Lease

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., Nov. 1—Abyssinia, the ancient empire of Ethiopia, has obtained an outlet to the sea by means of a 130-year lease from Italy of a piece of land on the Red Sea, the Department of Commerce was advised October 25, by Mowatt W. Mitchell, the commercial attache at Rome.

Nov 4, 1928

In his report Mr. Mitchell state "Abyssinia's efforts to obtain a outlet to the sea have been rewarded t has now been announced that Ital will lease to that country for 13 years a piece of land in or near th port of Assab in Eritrea on the Re Sea, where a wharf, pier or jetty ca be built.

The exact site of the port is to b determined by a mixed commission It is expected to be either a site o approximately 6,000 square meters i the town of Assab itself or a site o 30,000 square meters about two mile distant from the city.

"The Abyssinian Government wil have complete control of the land s leased and will collect taxes on im ports and exports without interfer ence from the Italian authorities."

Abyssinia or Ethiopia is a mountainous, volcanic country in northeast Africa. It is bounded on the north by Eritreat (Italian), on the east by British and Italian Somaliland, on the south by Kanya, and on the west by the Soudan.

The agricultural and mineral resources of the country are practically undeveloped. Its wealth of water power is unused.

The principal means of communication between Abyssinia and the rest of the world is by means of the Franco-Ethiopian railway connecting Addis Ababa with the port of Djibuti in French Somaliland.

German scientists describe the Abyssinians as a mixed Hamito-Semitic people. Other ethnologists assert that the true Abyssinian type contains no Negro blood whatever and none of the Negro qualities either physical or mental.

The royal family claims descent from Menelik, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Pass Laws In the Transkei.

That the Native Affairs Department are in course of preparing a revised and mitigated schedule of pass laws to be issued by the end of the year is welcome relief for the responsible and law-abiding class of Natives who at the present time are being subjected to dastardly indignities. The Cape Province is usually commented upon as that wing of the Union where the stringent pass laws are unknown, but the experience of a representative of this paper who happened to take a motor trip from King Williamstown to the Butterworth district on the 5th inst. went to show that the existence of a pass law proclamation in the Transkeian Territories makes the lot of a Ciskei Native traveller a veritable hell on earth. At Kei Bridge our informant tells us, his progress was abruptly impeded by an officer attired in a pair of military riding breeches, shirt and boots, which suggested the looks of a Nongqai but the man wore no jacket or cap which are the usual apparel signifying the authority of a police officer. However, the traveller pulled up in answer to an order to stop. "Any brandy in the car?" asked the arm of the law. "No Sir!" "Could I see your travelling pass?" was the next rejoinder. "I am subject to

no pass law in this country being a registered parliamentary voter," replied the traveller. A long argument ensued lasting fully twenty minutes consisting of a persistent demand for a pass on the one hand, and a total denial of liability to carry a pass on the other, and this culminated in the traveller bringing matters to a head by definitely inquiring whether he was being detained under arrest in which case he told the Nongqai that the latter would arrest at his own risk and was liable to action for damages in case the arrest proved illegal. The officer replied in the negative, but requested the traveller to delay his departure for a further ten minutes pending an inquiry from the Butterworth magistrate over the telephone "for instructions." This put the last straw on the camel's back as far as the traveller's patience was concerned and he forthwith started up his engine and left, after giving his name and Transkei temporary address in case the magistrate desired a prosecution.

We make no apology in relating this incident. It is typical of the many irritating and degrading phases of the pass laws our civilized people have long unwillingly surrendered to, at loss of prestige and great personal inconvenience. The same traveller has repeatedly visited the Transkeian Territories by rail, but was never accosted at the Kei Bridge for a pass to enter the Territories. Heaven alone knows why such a demand is made when a journey is taken by road. We are told by other Natives (reds included) that this was an unusual occurence, and that they could not account for the singling out of this particular victim. It is inconceivable that a registered Native voter whose domicile is in the Ciskei can be legislated for by a Transkeian proclamation, and that in a manner calculated to deprive him of the privileges and rights he enjoys as a full citizen in the Cape. Surely there must be something radically wrong in the administration of Natives of the various Native areas. Uniformity in the taxing of Natives of the Provinces has been attained by the imposition of the Poll Tax, and yet a multiplicity of administrative policies seems to be the favourite system with the Native Affairs Department for reasons we cannot fathom.

The question of the political status of a Native registered voter was settled when the judges ruled that the Natives Land Act of 1913 was ultra vires in the Cape Province. Natives were said to be on an equal footing in the eye of the law with the other British subjects of the King. It is gratifying to note that the Cape Native Voters' Convention has resolved to appeal in the end to the authorities of constitutional law and King George to obtain a final decision of the legal status of a Native registered parliamentary voter who is a British subject in the Union of South Africa [illegible]rds total immunity to [illegible]scriminating pass law [illegible]ther enforced under the [illegible]hority of an act of [illegible]liament. In our opinion

Native Police and White Offenders.

We were under the impression that Native police officers when sworn in for duty as servants of the crown take an oath which in effect binds them to apprehend [illegible] and transgressing the law. Of South Africa however, one has said, it is a land of sunshine and inconsistencies. This has proved to be abundantly true in the following episode.

"A European, J. van der Merwe, who is alleged to have broken into a store at the corner of Bree and Jeppe Streets Johannesburg recently, was pursued by Native constables and finally overtaken by them. The crowd which took part in the chase objected to the Natives handcuffing the man, and Van der Merwe escaped to a tram. One Native constable followed on a bicycle, and stopped the man when he got off. A number of Europeans helped him to keep the man until a European policeman could be found, and Van der Merwe was taken to Marshall Square. Police whistles were blown continuously when Van der Merwe was first overtaken by the constables, but though the incident occurred in the centre of Johannesburg, no white policeman responded."

It is amusing to point out that if Van der Merwe was escaping as a dangerous maniac who threatened to take the life of all or any one of crowd that interfered, the self same objectors would have prevailed upon the Native policeman to lay hold of the white fugitive at the quickest possible moment. This however, we are sure of, that if a crowd of Natives dared to disturb a white policeman in the execution of his duty the mob would have been arrested or charged immediately with obstructing the police in their duty. Such cases against European crowds we never hear of, but if we keep silent long enough we will soon reach the American lynch law stage which recognises the taking of the law into the hands of the mob.

Notes and Comments.

It is being rumoured that Chief Lerotholi Theko (Jacottet) had a squable with some of his followers, and there upon he took up arms to fire upon them. He was arrested and taken to Maseru. About four rifles were found in his possession We are waiting to hear if there is any foundation for the story Anyhow one could hardly believe that an intelligent young chief like Jacottet could be so foolish sometimes We have always looked upon him to set an example to the hooligan young chiefs of Basutoland,

o o o

We are being informed that someone living in the ward of sub-chief Maholi Letsie, for the offence of seizing and slaughtering an ox belonging to his neighbour was fined ten head of cattle by the Court of the Paramount Chief, and further that he should compensate the owner of that ox with five others. His followers and those that ate the meat of that ox to pay one beast each. Altogether the principal offender has to pay a fine of fifteen head of cattle. The offence is one that should be stemmed, but we think the judgment is prohibitive in consideration of an ox, taking into account that a man's life is. according to the custom of the people, only worth ten head of cattle

o o o

A contribution of 'L.M which appeared in the Leselinyana of the 10th inst., on the subject of the cost of 'church marriage' and its other defects has aroused much inrerest locally among the Christian Natives. The local pastor of the P.E.M.S who also appear to lay much impor ance on the views advanced by L.M read the article to the members of the full membership meeting on Wednesday and gave the audience chance to express their views on it There was no definite conclusion come to, but it is proposed to bring up the matter again when it is convenient to do so. This matter is serious, and we hope the local pastor is not out spectulating on it.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

Worst Slavery Still Intrenched.

That brutal survival of the theory that might makes right—the physical enslavement of human beings—is passing away. It came into being with the primitive struggles between adjoining groups of barbaric peoples and it is going out in the same company. When one tribe triumphed over another in a test of physical strength the victors made the vanquished their slaves. The custom persisted even after civilization had begun to guide the affairs of men and the taking of slaves became one of the big rewards that conquering nations took for themselves.

Imperial Rome sat upon her seven hills and decreed the fates of alien peoples who were enslaved in the Roman yoke. That was one of the glories of a Roman triumph. Nor has the basic idea of enslavement as the penalty of military defeat been changed except in its form. Conquered nations in this good day are enslaved more or less financially and territorially by their conquerors. And it has been just little over a half century since a good country abolished the physical enslavement of humans.

The Americans did but follow a custom of the African races whom they brought here as slaves. The custom still persists among the barbaric peoples of Africa, but the light of physical freedom is beginning to penetrate the darkest jungles. On the eve of the New Year a grant of freedom was extended to 250,000 negro domestic slaves in the African protectorate of Sierre Leone. And to a woman, the wife of Sir John Simon, must be given the credit for this new advance in human freedom. She called to the attention of the British government the fact that the natives of the protectorate held other tribesmen as slaves and on her representations the action of abolition was taken.

So, thus is surrendered one of the last remaining strongholds of real physical enslavement. But this does not mean that the world is becoming thoroughly and completely liberated. Mental and social slavery, as well as slavery to customs and castes, still persists and it is more grievous than the enslavement of the body. War itself is one of the worst forms of slavery that still holds humanity in its grip. Then there are suspicions, mistrust, jealousies and hatreds still holding the mind and soul of men in bondage and causing injustice, and cruelties to be heaped on individuals and nations. Humans are still the slaves of double dealing and cheating by which they rob and persecute their brothers and sisters.

The slavery to evils of a multitudinous sort is the worst form of slavery that exists, and yet very little, if anything, has been accomplished in the way of freedom therefrom. It has been nearly 2,000 years ago since a Divine Being proclaimed the emancipation of mortals from sin and error, but in all that time the slaves have refused to be emancipated. In truth, it is well that slavery of the body is passing, but mortals do not mock when they offer lauds over this emancipation and then submit their minds and souls to bondage.

EMANCIPATED SLAVES DON'T UNDERSTAND IT

Freetown Negroes Take Freedom in Rather Dumb Fashion.

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, Africa., Jan. 2.—(AP)—The negroes of the Sierra Leone protectorate could all call their bodies their own today as they began work with the opening of the new year. 250,000 domestic slaves were delivered from bondage yesterday by decree and today were on a basis of political equality with their former masters.

Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, the distinguished British liberal statesman, is given credit for disclosing to the outside world conditions existing in the protectorate and making an ardent plea which resulted in the emancipation of the slaves.

Many of the older freed men and women won't touch much of the fruits of freedom, but thousands of others, young and just beginning life, have new vistas opened to them. Emancipation did not evoke any demonstration. Indeed their release is not yet fully understood by many of these simple and ignorant blacks. They are rather bewildered by the sudden change.

Comparatively few of the former slaves have left their former masters and it is probable that many of them never will depart unless they are subjected to cruelty, but will continue to work as free men and women for those who formerly claimed their labor without pay.

It is said that in many cases the former slaves will have little difficulty in getting grants of land from their old masters. In some districts, however, numerous applications already have been received for new employment by slaves who are dissatisfied or feel the urge to tackle the world on their account.

The question of what if anything will be done in regard to compensation of the former slave holders is [illegible]

AFRICAN VILLAGES OBSERVE FREEDOM

Lincoln's Benign Spirit Smiles As 250,000 Negroes Celebrate Emancipation

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, AFRICA, Dec. 31.—(AP)—Abraham Lincoln's benign spirit tonight is smiling upon the little negro cabins of Sierra Leone's hinterland. It is the joyful eye of the great emancipation of more than a quarter million negro domestic slaves in the protectorate and with the coming of another day Sierra Leone will record, as Lincoln did by proclamation just 65 years ago tomorrow, the equality of human rights.

To a woman is given the credit for inaugurating the movement which has resulted in the abolition of slavery in this isolated region of darkest Africa—one of the last of its strongholds in the world of today. It was Lady Kathleen Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, a distinguished leader of the liberal party in England, who was responsible for making known to the outside world that domestic slavery still existed in the protectorate, as a result legislative action was taken to abolish it. The slaves were owned only by natives of the protectorate and not by Europeans.

The slaves are principally people captured in the intertribal or internicine wars before the establishment of the protectorate and the descendants of such persons. Since the proclamation of the protectorate in 1896 these wars have ceased, in keeping with the policy of Great Britain to abolish anything approximating slavery.

The slaves are engaged in farm work mostly and perform duties similar to those done by members of the family. Indeed, it would be hard for a casual onlooker to tell who is a slave and who a freeman.

It is improbable that the granting of freedom will result in such confusion as existed in the Southern States of America, it is generally predicted that the majority of the slaves will remain with their former masters.

THE LEAGUE WAR ON SLAVERY.

In the British protectorate of Sierra Leone, on the west coast of Africa, a quarter of a million slaves entered upon freedom with the new year. Emancipation was voted last September by the Sierra Leone Legislature. A year earlier the Government had taken milder measures. An ordinance decreed freedom for all slaves on the death of their masters, for all children of slaves and for all slaves entering the colony. This meant abolition within a generation. The latest step was precipitated by something of a Dred Scott case. A fugitive slave was claimed by his master and sent back into servitude by a vote of two Judges to one in the Colonial Supreme Court. Thereupon a special session of the Legislature enacted complete abolition for the end of 1927.

Great Britain has taken the lead in the war on servitude in Asia and Africa, but the original impetus would seem to have come from the League of Nations. It appointed a committee on slavery in 1923. It prepared a draft convention to which, as late as last Summer, the only signatories were Great Britain, Bulgaria and Denmark. Under British guidance the Maharajah of Nepal emancipated 53,000 slaves. Last January slavery was terminated in Burma, where 5,000 souls were emancipated, with compensation to the masters from the British Government. Last April the servile system was abolished by the Khan of Kalat in British Baluchistan.

Today it is estimated that 5,000,000 human beings are still held in bondage in various parts of the world, with the bulk about equally divided between Abyssinia and—what is news to most—in China. For the Province of Kwangtung the late Dr. SUN YAT-SEN demanded emancipation some years ago, but action was taken only last year. In June, 1926, a World Moslem Congress at Mecca denounced the slave system in the Hejaz and in Arabia as a whole. The great recruiting ground for Arabian slaves is Abyssinia, where the old murderous system of large-scale slave raids persists despite the reported opposition of RAS TAFARI, the head of the Government.

Correspondence.

THEFT FROM HOSPITAL.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir,—In the correspondence columns of your issue of February 28, 1928, appears a letter by Rev H L Henchman, in which he seems to accuse the whole of the Bantu nation for the misdeed or theft of some five native women residing near Alice, and who have been found guilty by the local magistrate of stealing a considerable quantity of linen and other hospital property, and sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment each, with hard labour, (which punishment is not sufficient for the crime).

We are not at liberty to criticise Rev. Henchman who is not unequally yoked with the legislators of the Native Administration Bill who passed a law to the effect that a Native thief is to be banished from his country and kindred, in addition to the punishment meted out for the crime; in that he urges the Natives about Alice in such hard times to make compensation or reparation for the booty in which they had no part nor share. I wonder if the Sedition Bill and Rev. Henchman, would allow a Native to accuse the whole nation of whites; or the white population of Alice, for the theft perpetrated by five Europeans.

The offending point in Rev. Henchman's letter is this; "It is acts like this which make certain Europeans (like him) state that Natives are incapable of true gratitude, and unable or unwilling to appreciate the service and self-sacrifice of missionaries on their behalf." If, Rev. Henchman, was in a position to legislate, I believe, he would enforce Article No (3) of the Native Administration Bill and in addition to the punishment meted out for the crime of theft compel the whole Native location to make compensation; forgetting the trite saying "Better that ninety-nine guilty men go free than that one innocent man should be punished;" and how much better is the reverse "that one guilty man go free than that ninety-nine innocent men should be punished"

I regret the loss to the hospital.

I am, etc.

"Sympathiser"

SLAVES ESCAPE FROM ABYSSINIA.

How they are Protected in the Sudan.

THE Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has issued for publication correspondence with the Foreign Office upon the question of slaves escaping from Abyssinia into British-controlled Sudan.

East Africa

Sir Austen Chamberlain says:—

"The records of the province of Kassala show that during the last ten years one hundred and seventy-three slaves have escaped from Abyssinia to Gedaref, a district headquarters lying some seventy-five miles from the frontier. The figure represents registered cases only, and it is probable that other slaves have escaped into the Sudan of whom no record exists. . . . 2-9-28

"Refugees from Abyssinia sometimes appear in the Roseires and Kurmuk districts of the Fung Province. As a rule such refugees come in parties of two or three or singly, but there have been cases recently when larger groups numbering one hundred or one hundred and fifty crossed into this province from Abyssinia."

It is interesting to note that British officials extend British protection to these slaves and provide them with work.

"Escaped slaves who are registered at Gedaref are sent to join an Abyssinian ex-slave community which has been formed at Gharb el Gash near Kassala. Work is there found without difficulty for the men and husbands for the unmarried women. The community is reported to be flourishing and a number of children have been born there into freedom. In no case has any escaped slave been sent back to Abyssinia. . . .

"In certain cases where large parties have entered the Sudan in a state of destitution, loans have been issued payable after the harvest and the past year's taxes remitted. These ex-slaves are free to return to Abyssinia if they wish to do so, provided any taxes they may have incurred are not in arrear. Claims are frequently received from former owners for their return as slaves, and these claims are usually accompanied by charges of some kind of crime. The refugees are, however, never compelled to return unless a criminal offence has been fully proved against them."

Picturesque Appeals.

Sir Austen Chamberlain encloses some of the translated appeals from the owners for the return of their slaves. The picturesque language in which these are couched may be gathered from the following translations:—

Let it reach Mamur, Gedaref.
Dear Sir,

May God show you the justice!

The protector of the poor and their properties is the Government.

The question is that all slaves of the Qabtia territory have run away towards Gedaref. Accordingly, we, your poor men, have been oppressed because it is difficult for us to carry on without slaves. On account of this I am sending my son to you in order that you may help him in the aforesaid matter.

I offer my thanks to you ten times ten.

Your servant
(Signature and Seal),
GRAZMACH TAFFARI.

The Sub-Mamur of Gedaref, Atbara.

After greetings and prayers for the mercy of Allah and his blessings, and after inquiry about you and your affairs, I hope that you are well. Further, I inform you that six days ago slaves fled from us to the number of eight head, amongst them a woman who is our wife. We sent people after them as far as the frontier, but they crossed into your territory, and the people returned without them. They are accompanied by a thief, an inhabitant of El Kurreita. Their tracks go towards the Atbara River in the direction of the new Fellata settlement. I request you to go after them and bring them to the District Office, as I have written to the District Commissioner, Gedaref, about them and about our wife.

Greetings!

GERMAN MISSIONS IN TANGANYIKA.

SOME months ago *East Africa* disclosed the surprising fact that German missions in the Rungwe and certain other areas of Tanganyika Territory were disposing of land to their fellow-countrymen for settlement purposes; and we denounced an arrangement by which it was possible for German missions to trade their surplus land to German settlers in areas closed to British settlement. We recalled that, following the occupation of the country by British troops, all German mission properties had reverted to the Allied Powers, that the German missionaries had been banished, and that the stations had in most cases been worked by British missionary societies. Some time ago the Germans were allowed to return to their posts, but it was not publicly announced that they were to have unrestricted title—or, in fact, any title—to the land on which their stations were situated.

East Africa 2-9-28

Our disclosures formed the subject of a Parliamentary question by Sir Philip Richardson, who, in reply to an inquiry as to the steps which it was proposed to take to prevent the commercialisation by German missions in Tanganyika Territory of land donated for other purposes and to secure for British settlers every facility to acquire the best lands upon at least as favourable terms as those upon which lands could be acquired by non-British settlers, was merely informed that "no freehold land has been either restored or granted to German missions in Tanganyika Territory."

During the Parliamentary recess we have received corroboration from no fewer than four independent sources that German missions in Tanganyika are disposing of their land to their own nationals for coffee planting and other agricultural purposes, and we have reason to know that repeated representations on the subject were made to the Tanganyika Government months ago. The Colonial Office, it will have been noticed, evaded the Parliamentary question of November last by insinuating that there could be no foundation for it because no freehold land had been granted to German missions in the Territory. If that statement of the Colonial Office is correct, the missions must be disposing of land held under right of occupancy or under some other title. What that title may be is of far less importance than the fact that such land has been traded, and has thus enabled Germans to settle in districts in which Britons cannot secure land.

East Africa, which has proved that it has no anti-missionary bias, repeats that for German missions to engage in land selling and land leasing operations in Tanganyika is an abuse of British hospitality and generosity, and we again invite a Member of Parliament to press for a full explanation of the circumstances.

Angola.

ANGOLA FOR HUNTER AND TRAVELLER.

Advantages of the Benguella Railway.

An interesting brochure is that issued by the Director of the Publicity Department (London Committee) of the Benguella Railway which contains information specially drawn up for the hunter and traveller.

We read that transport facilities have, until recent years, been badly needed to convey the traveller through Angola, but, by the construction of the Benguella Railway, he can now proceed in the most modern railway stock that British workshops can turn out, from Lobito Bay, rightly termed 'the Great West Gate to Central Africa,' to the most convenient jumping-off point in the interior for his special purpose."

He has only to take a British or Portuguese steamer to that fine, natural harbour, Lobito Bay, and from there he will be carried along one of the boldest and most picturesque stretches of railway in the whole of Africa to the very door of his aspirations.

For the trader, tourist, and explorer, a regular motor transport service from railhead, at the Anglo-Belgian Congo border to Elizabethville, with through connection to all parts of Africa, runs throughout the dry season, from the beginning of June to the end of October, and as the construction of the railway proceeds apace the distance of this motor run is daily threatened until the through connection by rail to Elizabethville is established.

The hunter after big game—and everyone becomes a hunter at heart as the train climbs the magnificent Angola plateau—can travel over the Benguella Railway to any point of the line that offers the most suitable advance base for his field of operations, and afterwards he can take advantage of the through connection which this motor transport service affords for the purpose of shooting in other parts of Africa, or to enlarge his experience of that continent by returning to Europe via the Cape, Beira, Lourenço Marques, or some other port.

Race Problem — 1928.

Africa

U. S. MINISTER GETS WELCOME TO ABYSSINIA

Received by Royalty at State Audience

Addis Abeba, Abyssinia.—The royal family and state ministers of Abyssinia recently received Addison E. Southard (white), of Louisville, Ky., as United States minister resident and consul general. His credentials from the American government were presented to the reigning queen, Empress Waizero, daughter of the late King Menelik, and Prince Regent Ras Taffari, youthful heir to the throne. The royal family claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

The American was met at the railroad station by Belligen Gheta Wolde Tsadik, Abyssinian minister of foreign affairs. The minister was accompanied by an escort of more than 200 troops. The prince regent had sent his own automobile in which the American diplomat, his wife and child were taken to the Imperial hotel, where they remained as the guests of the government until the day appointed for the presentation of his credentials.

A troop of cavalry with the various state ministers, called at the hotel for Minister Southard on the day appointed for the presentation ceremonies. The ministers explained that the old custom, which still survives to some extent, is for a foreign diplomat to ride to his audience on a gorgeously caparisoned mule, provided by the Abyssinian government. Knowing the modes of custom in other countries, however, they offered the American his choice between a motor car and mule. He chose the former.

OPENS RELATIONSHIP CLOSED 19 YEARS

The escort troop started with the commanding general of the area. The various sections of the city through which the audience hall was approached were packed with soldiers, some in modern dress, thousands more in lion's mane and military robes of old historic Ethiopia.

The ceremonies were held in the audience hall of the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, which is a splendid hall for such occasions. Many of the older and more conservative chiefs were present with their followers, at the command of her majesty the empress. The audience was a joint one. Her majesty, the empress, and the prince regent were both on the throne platform. The American remained in audience for five minutes, during which time the usual salute was fired. In responding to an address of welcome made by the prince regent, Minister Southard said he hoped the opening of the legation would enlarge the commerce and amity between Abyssinia and the United States.

The new minister was appointed by President Coolidge after a special representative of the empress had visited Washington and asked the American chief executive to resume diplomatic relations, which had been suspended since 1909. Minister Southard, who was formerly a business man interested in mining and engineering in Central Africa, will, it is thought, aid the African empire in developing its valuable mineral resources. The country is filled with natural material for trade. It lies in a vast landlocked territory in equatorial Africa.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Lourenco Marques Letter

A New Wharf Storage Convenience.

Some improvements are taking place at the wharf, which, although not of an expensive nature, make for the completeness of harbour working. For instance, there is being erected a store for the storage of goods over the number consigned. For example, a lot of 100 case goods may be loaded, but when examined there may be 120 cases; the extra twenty cases will be placed in the store, and the next shipment of 100 cases will only contain eighty, the other twenty being taken out of the store. This provision is made free of charge and will be exceedingly beneficial to the exporter, who is saved much trouble in dealing with a surplus. The store does not come under the customs, as it is not a bonded store or national warehouse. It is simply a deposit store under the management of the wharf authorities, and I hear the idea is much appreciated by shippers.

Plague Precautions.

Another structure in course of completion is for disinfecting passengers and luggage in case of plague. Ships flying the yellow flag will be able to enter the port, but must proceed to the space between the two coaling installations, where the disinfecting structure is being built. All passengers will be landed, and accommodation provided for them in the building. Their baggage and clothes will be disinfected and laundered, and they themselves will receive a disinfecting bath. From a float sulphur fumes will pass to every part of the ship, and ships may use the apparatus for killing rats and insects. The work will be carried out under the supervision of the doctor of the port in conjunction with the Health Board. The cost of the building is estimated at £7,000, half of which will fall upon the Port and Railway Administration, and the other half will be borne by the Health Board.

Tenders for Pre-Cooling Plant.

Tenders are about to be called for the pre-cooling plant to which I referred recently. As the installation is of a highly technical character, the administration will not undertake the construction of the plant. It will possibly cost £50,000, and additions can be added as the trade expands. At present no arrangement has been come to regarding the export of fruit from the Transvaal, but it is more than likely that advantage will be taken of the storage, especially for fruit produced in the Low Veldt. Fruit could be railed to the storage in less than five hours and there would be no need to chill it. From information already received from those who have citrus groves, there appears to be enough fruit coming forward to justify the erection of the pre-cooling plant. As climatic and other considerations have proved that citrus production can be cultivated as well as in Natal, it will encourage more farmers to plant orchards.

Forwarding Firm's Acquisition.

The well-known and influential firm of Parry, Leon and Hayhoe have acquired the forwarding business of Messrs. Mann George and Co., Ltd. (Delagoa), and will begin business on May 1 in premises adjoining Messrs. Mann George and Co. It will be under the management of Mr. R. D. Kirkaldy, from their Port Elizabeth office. The action of this company shows that their faith is strong in the future of the colony of Mozambique. Coming after the application of Messrs. Mitchell Cotts and Co. for a site at Natolla (as I have previously mentioned) for the erection of plant to deal with oil in bulk, intensifies the favourable sign of the times.

MOZAMBIQUE AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Lisbon Conference—the Portuguese Proposals Discussed.

(Special Reuter Cables.)

LISBON, May 7.

Negotiations opened this morning between the Union of South Africa, as represented by Mr. Malan, Minister of Railways and Harbours, and the Portuguese Government on the Mozambique and cognate questions.

Dr. Bettencourt Rodrigues, Minister for Foreign Affairs, opened the conference in a short speech of welcome to Mr. Malan, as representing the Union of South Africa, and expressed the sentiments of loyal friendship felt by the Portuguese Government to its neighbour in South Africa.

A graceful compliment was paid to South Africa when the Portuguese delegates asked Mr. Malan to preside. It is believed that Mr. Malan consented under pressure. It will probably be arranged that the heads of the two delegations will preside at alternate sessions.

According to present arrangement, the South African representatives leave Lisbon on May 18 to join the "Armadale Castle" at Madeira. They will be accompanied by Colonel Cabral on his return to Mozambique.

The native labour problem is the principal subject which will be discussed at the meetings. The Portuguese have put forward the following proposals:—

(1) All surplus native labourers in Mozambique are to be allowed to go to the Rand, 75 per cent. of their wages being paid to them on their return to Mozambique. All recruiting must be confined, under control of the Portuguese authorities, to the territory south of 22 deg. S.—i.e., the Inhambane region.

(2) The Lourenço Marques Railway shall be guaranteed profitable work.

(3) A tariff shall be agreed on, and articles enjoying reciprocal free entry into the Transvaal and Mozambique be definitely specified.

LISBON, May 8.

The Conference held its second session this afternoon under presidency of Admiral Vasconcellos, senior member of the Portuguese delegation. It is understood that the frankest discussion took place on the Portuguese proposals for recruitment of natives and deferred pay. While there is no decision yet, it is considered that an advance has been made towards a settlement. The question, however, bristles with inherent difficulties, sufficient to keep the Conference busy for days. The cleavage of opinion is doubtless sharp, but the atmosphere of friendliness in which the conversations are being held could not be bettered.

Later both delegations visited the cathedral of St. Jerome, from which Vasco da Gama departed on his voyage to India, resulting in the discovery of the Cape. Mr. Malan deposited on Gama's tomb a magnificent wreath inscribed "Homage from the Union of South Africa." Subsequently Mr. Malan inspected the Geographical Society's Museum, containing many relics of Portugal's maritime greatness of interest to South Africans.

LISBON, May 9.

The third session of the Conference was held this afternoon, again under the presidency of Admiral Vasconcellos. The whole ground of the railway questions, also native labour, was exhaustively resurveyed.

Reuter understands that the Portuguese authorities formed the highest opinion of Mr. Malan: although the delegations were hitherto unable to see eye to eye, an atmosphere of real friendship had grown up, giving assurance that every effort would be made to find a settlement of the difficulties. The discussions have hitherto been confined to native affairs, seeming to suggest that unless agrement is reached on that thorniest topic it may be regarded as unnecessary to proceed to consider the questions of railway traffic and Customs, notwithstanding these are regarded as not representing any serious difficulty. It points to the difference as regards natives, centring on one or two main points like the area of recruitment, the number recruitable, length of contracts, and the most difficult point of all, namely, deferred pay. With reference to the first-named, it is understood that the Portuguese delegates desire to limit the area from which boys are drawn to south latitude 22, also that actual recruiting be confined to the same area.

The South African side is believed to be disposed to agree to the latter stipulation, but questions the advisability of limiting the area, the effect of which would be that natives drifting in from latitudes north of 22 would be debarred from recruitment. Experience has shown that the carrying out of such restrictions is a virtual impossibility, and leads to all kinds of complications, international and otherwise, as it is most difficult to differentitate natives from north and south of a given latitude. Regarding the number of natives recruitable, the Portuguese authorities intimated that they have definitely decided to embark on a policy of development of Mozambique, as a result of which more native labour will be required for that territory. Therefore it may be taken as a *sine qua non* that the Union will not be allowed to take the same amount of labour as in the past.

As regards railway rates, as far as can be ascertained the Portuguese proposal is seen to recognise the fact that rates to-day are most favourable to Lourenço

General Notes.

Bantu Music.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Reuben T Caluza of Ohlange Institute, P.O. Phœnix, Natal on his timely production of a book of Zulu songs which have been for years favourite pieces in Bantu Concerts in Natal and the Rand. The excellence of the music lies in its humorous adaptation of ragtime cadence to subjects like African superstition, town life and political grievances. Its popularity has long passed the borders of Natal and the book is assured of a quick sale once it becomes known to our musical enthusiasts. Its price is 5/3 from the author.

Marques. They also recognise the Union's good will in maintaining the percentage of trade at the original figure, despite the lapse of the portion of the original treaty dealing with the division of trade.

The Union attitude is stated to be a desire to draw on Mozambique to the greatest possible extent, always postulating that Union natives have the first claim on the Rand mines. Thus, while the Union is prepared to agree to the maximum, it is not prepared to agree to the minimum in recruitment of natives, in view of the most definite policy to provide work for the natives in the first instance. The Portuguese, on the other hand, regard the absence of a minimum as unsettling to the Mozambique Budget. It is believed that no suggestion has yet been put forward as to the minimum proposed, but it is most unlikely that the Union will agree to any figure. The proposed maximum is also shrouded in mystery, but it is believed that 75,000 is approximately correct.

Length of Native Engagement.

As regards the length of the contract, it is understood that the Portuguese have abandoned the proposal whereby natives engage themselves for twelve months, returning thereafter to Portuguese territory for twelve months, and then re-offering themselves for a further nine months. The existing position is that the native engages for twelve months, with the option of re-engaging for a further year. The proposal is now stated to be a first period of nine months and a re-engagement of six months. It is understood, however, that no very strong views are held on the point, on which probably a compromise will be made.

Regarding deferred pay, it is confirmed that the Portuguese, while wishing as much as 75 per cent., now ask 66 per cent. on the whole earnings of the natives.

The delegates are most secretive, but my information is that the Union made a counter offer that the deferred principle on natives' pay should be after re-engagement, not on the first period of recruitment, the argument presumably being that if pay is deferred for the first period, the native, on reaching home, will not want to re-engage, and the flow of natives would thus be interrupted.

It might also fairly be argued that the native requires the full amount of his pay at first, as he has to repay advances, etc., to enable him to go to the Rand, whereas if the deferred principle is limited to the re-engagement period the native can then clear off his debts and be able to return home with money in his pocket. Thus the Union's standpoint is probably to the advantage of the native. It will be seen from the foregoing that the proceedings have reached a most delicate stage, requiring all the tact of both sides to win through. The atmosphere of good will is proving of the greatest assistance, and it is still hoped that agreement will be attained. Meanwhile, I understand that the Portuguese Government has decided to withdraw the decree terminating the *modus vivendi*.

"Thinking with Africa."

The Rev. James A Calate, Mision ary Priest, St Ninian's, Somerset East, referring to the extract from an article in the Methodist Churchman by the Rev. A J Lennard, wh ch we took over in these columns, says:

May I please comment on the Rev A J Lennard's criticism of Professor Jabavu's chapter in the above-named book as it appeared in your issue of 31st ult.?

As I am one of those who happen to know of the trouble taken by Professor Jabavu in writing the paper on Christianity and the Bantu, I feel it my duty to write in his defence, more especially as he is now overseas, having been attending the Missionary Conference in Jerusalem.

Mr Jabavu spent several days with me at Somerset East last year, and it was then I had the opportunity of hearing his well written paper read over and over to me before he sent it to press. I knew he had been thinking on the subject for a good long time, for he had spoken to me of his intention to write such a paper long before, therefore I can assure those interested that the paper was not composed hurriedly, as Mr. Lennard, the reviewer, says:

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES.

As regards the early missionaries, I am sure they would have appreciated the criticism on their high and noble work far better than the reviewer, for, engaged in pioneering work amongst the Bantu, many of them would have liked to have done everything possible for their poor converts and would have provided ample pastimes for them. But, alas! the circumstances and conditions under which they labour did not always permit of such pastimes; not because they thought it was not part of their work as Mr. Lennard seems to imply. No! rather they would realise the fact that Christianity ministered both to the soul as well as to the body, and that innocent sport under proper control and management goes a long way in making better Christians of our young men and women, boys and girls.

Surely, if Christianity demanded the giving up of certain customs, rites, dances, and beer-gatherings which were favourable pastimes, for the Bantu in the heathen stage, it well behoved the missionaries to have provided substitutes for these

Christianity is a life-religion This is why we baptize infants. Christ meant it to provide for the whole life of mankind. This is what we mean when we speak of the Church as perpetuating the Incarnation, Atonement, and Sacrifice of Our Lord. "In Him we live, move, and have our being," i.e., we pray and play and work and in Him we should die. As Shakespeare said:

All the world's a stage
And all the men and women
merely players.

Yes! if only I had money, I would not only provide my people with sport, but would myself spend part of my time playing with them.

All missionaries know how even the best of our converts go wrong if left to seek pleasure and sport in their own way, as pleasure and sport they must have.

TO DAY'S MISSIONARIES.

As regards the present missionariies, Professor Jabavu is expressing the popular Native opinion when he speaks of the vigorous efforts of the clergy of the English Church to influence the Government policy along the lines consistent with Christian policy. This should not shock Mr Lennard. The names of Bishops Carey, Karney and Talbot and Dean Palmer have become household words in many Bantu homes. So indebted indeed are we to these Missionary Church leaders for their firm and fearless stand on our behalf against unjust legislation, that had the Professor not mentioned them in his paper we all would have regretted the omission.

The Dutch Reformed Church also deserve praise for this annual Conference which is one of the ways by which Native opinion and feeling gets a fair hearing.

In this country where money and popularity oftentimes come before God and Justice resolutions of Synods and Conference do not serve more than personal sacrifice in opposing injustice. Even the I.C U. in its recent conference at Bloemfontein could not help praising Dr. Carey, the Bishop of Bloemfontein, for his fair and broad-minded views on Native questions.

In concluding my remarks I do not say Professor Jabavu's paper is without mistakes, as even the best of people make mistakes; but I am only defending him in so far as I read from your issue of the points which seemed offensive to Mr. Lennard, which, in my opinion, depend on the view one takes of the situation.

Professor Jabavu is an African writing from the point of view of his people.—"Midland News."

Forced Labour.

The historian of the future may be puzzled to account for the fact that, nearly 100 years after the abolition of slavery by this country, the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society should find no need to consider a change of title. Slavery in its usual sense, no longer exists within the Empire, though it was only last year that the last vestiges of its legal recognition were abolished in the protectorate of Sierra Leone. What is now more urgently in question is the practice of forced labour, which, as agreed in the Slavery Convention adopted by the League of Nations, may develop into "conditions analogous to slavery." The Convention draws a distinction between labour exacted for public services, which it regards as permissible, and that imposed for private purposes, which it condemns without reservation. This corresponds to the practice of the Empire, but by no means to the ideals of those who have the welfare of native races at heart. It is easy enough to defend forced labour on public works as being in principle only an adaptation to backward countries of the more usual system of public taxation. In theory this may be so, and might be so in practice also if those who were forced to work were also allowed to vote. The fact is, as Lord Lugard pointed out at Tuesday's meeting of the Society, that "public works" is "a very elastic term." This is especially the case when the home Government is possessed with the idea of developing these backward countries with all speed, partly as what Lord Olivier called "a sacred duty" to civilisation and partly as a duty to the white settlers. It is not surprising that under such circumstances "public works" should often entirely fail to satisfy the native mind of their public utility. The abolition of forced labour in all its forms seems to be the only complete assurance against exploitation.

When is an offence Committed

When Mr. Clements Kadalie of I.C.U. fame drew the attention of the Attorney General to the utterings of General Kemp, Minister of Agriculture at Maquassi as having violated section 29 of Act 38 of 1927 (popularly known as the Sedition Clause) the Attorney-General replied: "I have the honour to state that the newspaper cuttings submitted by you do not, in my opinion, disclose the commission of a criminal offence" General Kemp at Maquassi had said inter alia, "The Native should be made to realise that he is an employee and subordinate and that he could not dictate to the whites." It would seem that the Attorney-General was called upon to take action in the above passage in its character of creating hostility in the black man's mind against the white man. A black man of independent means, like a wealthy chief, Native medical practitioner or landowner is certainly justified in taking offence at being told that he is an "employee and subordinate" by General Kemp. When the Minister of Agriculture made the statement he must have known that he applies it in a general sense. At any rate Act 38 of 1927 applies in a general sense and must therefore be made to apply in the Minister's case as well to meet the ends of justice.

The Attorney-General denies the commission of a criminal offence. It would enlighten the country if he had expressed an opinion as to what kind of an offence necessarily violated section 29 of this Act. Without such definition, and with the law successfully being used against Native offenders, Natives are entitled to hold the opinion that the law in South Africa for purposes of colour will be based only on the opinions of those who administer it, and not in the letter.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Urge of Colonisation.

Whatever Dr. Albert Schweitzer writes about Africa commands and receives the respectful attention due to one who has disinterestedly spent himself in the service of Africans. His article on "The Relation of the White and Coloured Races" in the current issue of the "Contemporary Review" should be read and pondered by all concerned with the problems raised by the contact of Europeans with Africans upon African soil, the study of which is incumbent on traders and missionaries, as well as on administrators, and also on the Africans themselves. All are involved in working out these problems, and in the results of the clash of cultures which began with the arrival of the first European trader bringing goods to be exchanged for African products, and of the first missionary with his religion and his school.

African Wood

The trader, unknowingly, started a change in the outlook and objective of African industries; the missionary deliberately attacked the native religion with which the native laws and customs are intertwined. As Dr. Schweitzer points out, the strength of the indigenous African social and state systems had been sapped by these factors before "the moment when a Protectorate or other form of government was proclaimed" by European Powers. In his opinion the European Powers were under a compulsion; "political colonisation was the indispensable corrective of commercial (and religious) intrusion." The only choice left to the colonising powers was "simply one of the alternatives. Are we, on the one hand, the masters of these folks and lands simply as raw materials for our industries, or are we, on the other hand, responsible for developing a new social order, so as to create the possibility among these peoples of resisting the evils and of developing themselves a new political organisation. We have, I hold, the right to colonise if we have the moral authority to exercise this influence." But indeed, I would add, the only choice presented to the European Powers at the beginning was either to keep out of Africa altogether or to take possession of the whole. Having once decided on entering no alternative was left to them; the irresistible force of circumstances drove them onward. As Dr. Schweitzer writes, "Whatever the fundamental rights of men are, they can only be fully secured in a stable and well-ordered society."

The first effect of European colonisation was to weaken further the stability of the native societies, already shaken by the trader and the missionary; the new authority, by its better organisation and greater power, reduced the old authorities to a subordinate position, and found itself compelled to set up a new system, over or alongside those which it had disturbed, in order to ensure the peace and security essential to the trade which was its chief interest and the cause of its intrusion. As a well-ordered State cannot permit disorder on its borders, the security of the territory first taken up required extension of authority over the neighbouring territories until contact was reached with some other authority equally capable of maintaining order on its own side of the border. It is in this way that Britain and France have gradually pushed forward in West Africa till, their borders meeting, raids and border feuds were brought to an end. The greatest gifts of Europe to Africa are the peace and security of life and property which are indispensable to the exercise of all human rights, for, as Dr. Schweitzer says, "The power to safeguard the right varies in direct relation with the social order. If the social order is normal the rights can be complete; but if it is abnormal, they are menaced and limited."

The Fundamental Rights.

Having acquired the territories, the European Powers have come to find themselves faced with the dilemma stated by Dr. Schweitzer. At first there was no realisation of the problems that had been raised, nor of their responsibilities towards the peoples over whom they had assumed rule. To-day the problems have been realised, and the task has been taken up of securing to the peoples of the European possessions in Africa—whether they are called Colonies or Protectorates is trivial—the fundamental rights of men. These Dr. Schweitzer discusses under seven heads:—

1. The right to habitation.
2. The right to circulate freely.
3. The right to the soil and its development and use.
4. The right to free work and exchange.
5. The right to justice to and for the native.
6. The right to natural, national organisation.
7. The right to education.

All these are discussed with the insight and sympathy which we expect from the writer. He suggests methods for reconciling the needs of the colonising power for commercial and agricultural development with these fundamental rights of the natives, which, however, he claims must take the first place when considering the solution of any conflict between them. Removals of tribes or villages should be carried out only after "long foresight, careful planning, and adequate warning," and without violence. The State may force labour (if fully paid for) for public works which will produce benefit to the workers, but it is better to leave certain areas undeveloped than to permit forced labour for private enterprise, which "has desperately dangerous tendencies in it." The maintenance of the peoples' rights depends on the development of a new social organisation in which "the native can flourish face to face with Western commerce."

Justice and Education.

These, the doctor insists, must not only be real, but must also be adapted to native conditions and psychology. "Primitive tribal justice has the great quality that it is justice for everybody face to face with his adversary, administered locally and swiftly by the Chief," and the aim should be "to secure the great need for a settlement on the spot at a man's own door." Therefore, administrators must be carefully selected and experienced men who know the land and the folk, for "the greatest bar set up between the races on the spot comes less from the big spectacular injustices that appear in the Press than from the little repeated acts of violence on the part of immature, untested and inexperienced white men."

Education must be a blend of the intellectual and the manual, for the African tends to eliminate the stages of agriculture and handicrafts, and "is in danger of cutting out the stage between primitive life and professional." The African must be trained to produce the essentials of life—food and habitations, "for all independence, and, therefore, all capacity to face economic stress and to secure justice is rooted therein." The whole article is full of interesting reflections and lights on the problems dealt with. Its greatest surprise is in what it does not contain. Dr. Schweitzer has not written a word about the thing which he is spending his life to bring to Africans—health. W.F.H.

WHITE ENVOY ASSIGNED TO AFRICAN POST

American Investment Plays Large Part

Addis Ababa, Abyssinia.—The recent appointment of Addison E. Southard (white) as minister resident of the United States government in Abyssinia renewed the diplomatic relations between the African kingdom and America which were discontinued with the exception of several temporary consuls general during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. The new appointee of the American government has been transferred from Singapore, where he served as consul general. The first diplomat from the United States to this country was Robert P. Skinner (white), now American minister to Greece, who in 1908 negotiated a treaty with the famous Emperor Menelik, late husband of the present Empress Waizeru Zaudita and father of the present prince regent, Ras Taffari.

RAW MATERIALS WON BY AMERICA

The appointment of a minister resident from the United States to this country followed closely on the heels of an announcement recently made by Dr. Wargneh C. Martin, agent of the African kingdom, who is in America, that negotiations had been completed with a New York engineering corporation for the erection of a $20,000,000 dam project on Lake Lsana. The appeal for American capital for the development of Abyssinia's vast wealth of raw material also played a large part in securing the recognition of the American government. European nations have been actively engaged in competition for the friendship of the age-old empire. The fear that these powers would attempt to endanger Abyssinia's sovereignty by colonization and armed forces under mandateships prevented the welcoming of European capital and industrial aid.

COUNTRY LACKS MONEY STANDARD

The chief commercial interests of the United States at the present time consist in the sale of cotton sheets, which the Abyssinians use almost entirely for the manufacture of their garments. For a number of years very little real money has been in circulation here, and the retail business of the country has been based on the barter system of exchange, the value of a horse or an ox being expressed in terms of American bed sheets.

Mr. Skinner, who inaugurate Abyssinian-American relations, recently stated that the Abyssinians believe themselves to be the possessors of the original Mosaic tablets of the law, which passed into the possession of the first Emperor Menelik, said to be the son of the queen of Sheba and Solomon, reared at Solomon's court.

When he left Jerusalem he took with him the stone tablet, according to tradition, and it was deposited in a temple in the holy city of Axum, where it has been guarded night and day ever since. It is doubtful if any western eyes have ever been permitted to see the stone.

The empress of Abyssinia wears a precious necklace which has been worn by the Abyssinian empresses since the time of King Solomon, for, tradition says, it was presented by King Solomon to the queen of Sheba.

250,000 'SLAVES' FREED IN AFRICA

Freetown, Sierra Leone, Africa, January 2.—(AP)—The Negroes of the Sierra Leone protectorate could all call their bodies their own today as they began work with the opening of the new year.

Nearly 250,000 domestic slaves were delivered from bondage yesterday by decree and today were on a basis of political equality with their former masters. Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, the distinguished British liberal statesman, is given credit for disclosing to the outside world conditions existing in the protectorate and making an ardent plea which resulted in the emancipation of the slaves.

Constitution Jan 3, 1928

Atlanta Ga.

Demonstration Lacking.

Many of the older freed men and women won't live to know much of the fruits of freedom. But thousands of others, young and just beginning life, have new vistas opened to them.

Emancipation did not evoke any demonstration. Indeed, their release is not yet fully understood by many of these simple and ignorant blacks. They are rather bewildered by the sudden change.

Comparatively few of the former slaves have left their former masters and it is probable that many of them never will depart unless they are subjected to cruelty, but will continue to work as free men and women for those who formerly claimed their labor without pay.

May Get Land Grants.

It is said that in many cases the former slaves will have little difficulty in getting grants of land from their old masters. In some districts, however, numerous applicants already have been received from new employment by slaves who are dissatisfied or feel the urge to tackle the world on their account.

The question of what; if anything, will be done in regard to compensation of the former slave holders is not yet settled.

250,000 AFRICAN SLAVES LIBERATED

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, Africa, Jan. 2.—(A. P.)—The negroes of the Sierra Leone protectorate could all call their bodies their own today as they began work with the opening of the new year. Nearly 250,000 domestic slaves were delivered from bondage yesterday by decree and today were on a basis of political equality with their former masters.

Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, the distinguished British liberal statesman, is given credit for disclosing to the outside world conditions existing in the protectorate and making an ardent plea which resulted in the emancipation of the slaves.

Many of the older freed men and women won't live to know much of the fruits of freedom, but thousands of others, young and just beginning life, have new vistas opened to them. Emancipation did not evoke any demonstration. Indeed, their release is not yet fully understood by many of these simple and ignorant blacks. They are rather bewildered by the sudden change.

Comparatively few of the former slaves have left their former masters and it is probable that many of them never will depart unless they are subjected to cruelty, but will continue to work as free men and women for those who formerly claimed their labor without pay.

THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATION ORDINANCE, 1927 (GOLD COAST COLONY).

ADDRESS IN LONDON BY MR. J. W. DE GRAFT JOHNSON.

Mr. J. W. de Graft Johnson, of the Union of Students of African Descent, gave an address on Monday evening at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C., on "The Native Administration Ordinance, 1927" (Gold Coast Colony). Mr. John P. Fletcher, of the Society of Friends, presided. Among those present was Mr. J. E. Anfam (Gold Coast), who assisted subsequently to clear up one or two points.

Mr. de Graft Johnson, at the outset of the address, which was able, critical and, as far as possible, constructive, explained that he had hesitated to accept the invitation to speak firstly because the Ordinance had been the subject of much public discussion on the Gold Coast and had created in the African mind suspicions as to the ultimate intentions and policy of the Government; and secondly because as a student he could not give to the subject that thorough survey and critical analysis that it deserved. It was particularly interesting to note that the public of Great Britain was gradually awakening to its responsibilities in the Colonies. They all had the earnest hope that by such interest it would be possible to co-operate in Africa and so make safe the British connection.

The speaker outlined the history of the Gold Coast Colony showing the basis of British jurisdiction there. In the Order in Council of 1874, the different States and Settlements were created into a Colony and in 1901 the various States were annexed together, except in the Northern Territories. Each of these States was independent and had its own constitution, with the Omanhene at the head and other officers of State, so that what it really amounted to was a gradual federation of the States and the common jurisdiction exercised by the British over them all. The speaker referred to the formation of the "Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society," when the Government made attempts to convert the lands of the people into Crown lands. The movement succeeded in delivering the country from the bondage of foreign exploitation. He dealt next with the statement reported in WEST AFRICA of December 3, 1927, to have been made by Sir Ransford Slater, who asked why, if the Aborigines Society could call Chiefs together to discuss their common problems, it should be wrong for the Chiefs themselves to come together for this purpose? "It is clear here," said the speaker, "that some of the officials of the Gold Coast have not yet made themselves acquainted with the internal history of the country." He went on to examine the position and place of the Native Administration Ordinance, which was brought forward as the result of an opinion expressed by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in his address to Legislative Council, February 3, 1925. "Here," said the lecturer, "is the greatest confusion of thought that could enter the head of any officer administering the affairs of the Africans of the Gold Coast. Apparently Sir Gordon thought that the Government's duty was to strengthen Native authority, but in so vitalising Native authority the question arises as to who it is intended should be affected thereby, for in the African mind the idea of the Omanhene is inseparable from that of the Oman Council. In fact, the African system of government is more democratic than the British. When it is remembered that it is the people, or Oman, who exercise jurisdiction over the Chief, by reserving to themselves through their representatives, the Councillors, the right to elect, reject, and eject Chiefs, and not vice versa, it will be seen that the creation of an electoral body, set up under the provisions of the new Constitution, is the danger signal for the annihilation of African democratic government." The idea of setting up the Chiefs as against the people was both in theory and in practice anything but sound.

The points the speaker next emphasised were:—First, that there was a Native Government purely democratic in character, at the head of which was an Omanhene, the executive officer of the State, but not the Executive Council of the State; secondly, that sovereignty in the African State system lies with the people, through their representatives, the Oman Council; and thirdly, that the British connection at the Gold Coast did not confer jurisdiction on Native Governments, but the jurisdiction exercised by these is inherent in the system.

Continuing, Mr. de Graft Johnson said the preambles to the Ordinances of 1883, 1904 and 1910 definitely show that the jurisdiction of Native authorities was already existent and that all that was necessary was to facilitate its exercise. What was the nature of the controversy that was ranging round the Ordinance of 1927? He summed it up, thus: "It is the first and only attempt so far in history of any Native ruler or rulers promulgating laws and regulations on their own initiative, though it comes to the general body of the people as on Ordinance from the Government." From the nature of the Native Constitution it was easily evident that the idea was impossible and impracticable, for while "the King (or Omanhene) is the President of the Legislative Board (Native) he seldom, if ever, initiates any legislative act. It is the province of the people, through their representatives, the Councillors, to introduce legislation and say what law shall direct their conduct" (Casely Hayford in "Gold Coast Native Institutions.") The question of destoolment was particularly provocative of much thought at the present time, for it had been assumed by the Government that the Chiefs have power of their own to rule their several States and that the people have no authority over them. This view was easily proved false by reference to the judicial archives of the Supreme Court. Strangely enough, he said, this encroachment on the "Rights of the family and the people respectively in relation to the dismissal of the stoolholder and the election and installation of his successor" was rescinded in the present Ordinance.

The Ordinance of 1927 recognised Provincial Councils, an innovation introduced by Governor Guggisberg and a development of the policy of Sir Hugh Clifford, which received severe criticism from the people and was viewed with apprehension. It was foreign to the Native Constitution and an unnecessary cog in the machinery of Native government. It was sad to reflect that at the tail end of Sir Gordon Guggisberg's admirable administration he should have left behind for his successor and the people such a confused state in the internal affairs of the country, because the moment the Government seriously attempted to encroach upon any rights of the people, directly or indirectly, by supporting the Chiefs as a class, as had been done by the Ordinance, a reaction set in to disorganise the Native State and disturb the peaceful and friendly relations subsisting between the Chief and his people. To grant the franchise to the people of the Gold Coast by means of creating the Chiefs an electoral body and limiting the choice to themselves was most detrimental to Native thought and progress. There had never existed in the Gold Coast, such a system as the feudal system of English history. The Gold Coast reached the stage of representative government before intimate contact with Britain. To revert to the policy of having Chiefs in the Legislative Council would be putting back for 74 years the hands of the clock that indicated the progress of the peoples of the Gold Coast towards nationhood. The chief objection to the Ordinance was one of principle—that is, the promoters of the Ordinance had no status to bring forward, or to initiate any legislation according to the Native Constitution.

The Provincial Council in the Eastern Province, the greatest stronghold of the Ordinance, had failed. Only Akimabuakwa, Manyo, Krobo, Osudoku and Shai identified themselves with it now. In the Central Province out of 28 Paramount States 13 accepted the Ordinance, and of this 13 only Akimbusumi, Eguafo, Bomoagimmako and Mankessim could openly attend and it might be difficult to elect a successor to the late Otu Ababio of Abura. The Western Province at the outset stood solidly out of the matter and would have nothing to do with the establishment of a Provincial Council. Up to the present its attitude had not altered. A number of Chiefs, to avoid destoolment, had abdicated, such as Essandoh of Nkusukum, and others, such as the Chiefs of Kwaman and Ayanmain, were fugitives in hiding.

"The country is awakening rapidly, but revolution must be avoided at all costs," the speaker concluded. The Rev. Robert Fisher, of the Education Department, had been sent on a tour right through the country to educate the various teachers, 900, in all, as to the benefits of the Native Administration Ordinance. "Much good will his mission result in if the teachers themselves understand their Native Constitutions, Institutions and customs," the lecturer commented. The best way to bring order out of this confusion was to withdraw temporarily, or suspend, the Ordinance, to reconstitute the Provincial Councils, and to make the people the electorate for representatives to the Legislative Councils.

His peroration was: "In the same way that the British House of Commons will not bow and submit to be deprived of their personal liberties by any other body claiming sovereignty, so do the people of the Gold Coast respectfully submit that they cannot be treated as they have been by the action of the Gold Coast Government. On the British sense of justice and fair play the people pin their faith, and on that we stand, and await the issue."

The address made a deep impression on the gathering and the subsequent proceedings were not so much a discussion as a further explanation of the Gold Coast Constitution. The meeting was pleasantly surprised to hear that families are the basis of the State, not the individual; that descent is traced through the female; and that women wield great influence, though not on the surface, and are taught the art of mothercraft

65th Anniversary Of Lincoln's Proclamation Fittingly Celebrated

Woman Is Given Credit For Inaugurating Movement

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone. Africa, Jan. 5.—Abraham Lincoln's spirit tonight is smiling upon the little Negro cabins of Sierra Leone's hinterland. It is the joyful eve of the great emancipation of more than 250,000 Negro domestic slaves in the protectorate, and with the coming of another day Sierra Leone will record, as Lincoln did by proclamation just sixty-five years ago Sunday, the equality of human rights.

To a woman is given the credit for inaugurating the movement which has resulted in the abolition of slavery in this isolated region of darkest Africa—one of the last of its strongholds in the world January 1st.

It was Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, distinguished Liberal leader in England, who was responsible for making known to the outside world that domestic slavery still existed in the protectorate, with the result that legislative action was taken to abolish it. The slaves were owned only by natives and not by Europeans. Slavery never has existed in the British colony along the coast, but in the protectorate with its 1,250,000 people, nearly one-fifth of the population has been in bondage.

The rather vague term of "domestic slavery" has been applied to conditions existing here, to differentiate from slavery in the generally accepted sense of the word. There is, for example, no right of sale and no right to manhandle vested in the owners.

The status of domestic slavery was somewhat similar to the conditions of serfdom which existed in European countries a few centuries ago.

The slaves are principally people captured in the intertribal or internecine wars before establishment of the proctetorate, and the descendants of such persons. Since the proclamation of the protectorate in 1896 these wars have ceased.

The domestic slaves are kept in the family and are distributed like other property. The number between six and eight in an ordinary family, though some families have many more, and some families have none at all. The slaves are engaged in farm work mostly and perform duties similar to those done by members of the family. Indeed, it would be hard for a casual onlooker to tell who is a slave and who a freeman.

There will be little difficulty in providing the emancipated slaves with lands.

Race Problem—1928

Liberia.

Africa.

Writer Tells of Laziness in Liberia

By special arrangement with G. Snowden Lamar, well known foreign newspaper correspondent, The Chicago Defender presents the first of a series of articles on Liberia. Mr. Lamar has made a careful study of the many phases of life in that republic and will give an impartial report of his findings.

By G. SNOWDEN LAMAR

Since the Firestone Rubber company has entered Liberia all the world has its eyes upon that little black republic. Strange as it may appear, many people I found even in England who do not know just where Liberia is, simply that it is in Africa. President Charles King's visit to Europe last year brought his country strikingly before the people of those countries and now they are trying to compete with America in their manifestations of friendly interest.

My commisison was to carefully look into the present conditions of the country, economically, socially, religiously and politically, and to give my impressions concerning the future of the little republic. In order that I might get at the real facts, I did not let it be known that I was a newspaper correspondent, but merely a prospector. In fact, I found the people to be shy of newspaper writers. They think that they are inclined to make light of them and do not give them proper credit for their efforts to establish a black government. "The "High-Hatting It in Liberia" article by John W. Vandercook gave much offense, while Mable Carney failed to say a good word for them in her numerous letters.

Climate Is Warm

And let me say just here that it is a mistake to compare conditions in Liberia with those in countries which have been developing for hundreds of years. It is also a fact to be remembered that no country in the tropics is as progressive as those in the temperate zones. Liberia lies very near the equator; Monrovia, the capital, being but four degrees north. That warm climate takes the pep out of any person, even white people from the north. What then can be expected of those people who have been for generations under that de-energizing heat? Lack of industry, the disposition to take life easy and work as little as possible. And that brings us to consider industrial conditions.

Monrovia is a city of between four and six thousand population. They never take a census and hence it is only estimated. Here we find some very good dwelling houses, but we notice that most of them are very old and in need of repair. Further study of the situation reveals the fact that it is the custom to allow a house to rot down and move out instead of keeping it up. Since the Firestones have gone in there they have purchased or leased a number of these old houses and are repairing them, which makes a decided improvement in the general appearance of the city. Some of the streets are quite broad, but few were passable for vehicles until recently. Now they are clearing out the rocks, giving autos a chance to get around town.

Get 24 Cents Pay

But you should see these men working on the streets. They are natives and receive the great wage of a shilling a day. (A shilling is equivalent to 24 cents.) That is the regular wage of the common laborer, no matter how hard the work. I was told that when Firestone first entered there they proposed to pay four shillings per day, but those in authority objected as such exorbitant wages would disrupt the labor situation of the country, and assurance was given that all the labor needed could be obtained at that price. Straw bosses some times receive six shillings. Boss carpenters some times as high as eight shillings, and their helpers two and three shillings.

All this could be better if those in authority would demand it, but there is no desire to improve the economic condition of the native. They seem rather to prefer to keep him in poverty and ignorance. True, he lives cheaply, wearing almost no clothing. Even on the streets of the capita men are working with less than a yard of cloth drawn around the middle of their bodies, and some with merely a goo string about the waist.

Under the Firestone contract roads are being built all over the country hundreds of natives being thus engaged. These workers come from different tribes by requisition of the government, each chief furnishing a number for a stated time. The laborers come to their post, bringing their own rice and tools for work. The latter consist of pails made of grass and sharp sticks. They dig the dirt up with the sticks, put it into the pails with their hands, then carry it upon their heads to the place of deposit. This is the work for which he is supposed to receive 24 cents a day and board himself. I say "supposed" because I am informed that the money is paid to the chief and the native receives very little if any of it. In one county the natives refused to work under such conditions and the troops were called upon to force the labor. But the soldiers, being natives also, would not coerce their brethren, and other troops were summoned from the capital. At last, however, a compromise was reached and the work proceeded without bloodshed. This little incident was something new and was quite significant, manifesting the awakening consciousness of the native.

Laborers Very Slow

But there is another phase to this labor situation. No laborer works like he would do in other countries. He works very slowly, idles away much time in talking and playing. He thinks strangely of the Europeans and Americans for working so fast. "Don't worry yourself" is his motto; there is plenty of time. As a result of this idea, I was shown a number of houses that have been in course of construction for several years. They do not think of building a house of six or eight rooms in a year. They work a while on it and then go to another job. Thus passing from job to job, and finally come back to this one and work a few more weeks. This is the common practice among the Liberians. Of course these Americans who have gone over there will not stand for that practice, but the white bosses must keep constantly on the job if he expects a half day's work accomplished in 10 hours.

In domestic service men are generally employed instead of women. A native is glad to work for you as cook or housekeeper for one pound ($4.84) a month, or a pound and half if he boards himself.

Of course you generally have to teach him how to cook and to do your housework as you want it, but he learns quite readily and is very faithful. I was glad to see that they do not want their women to work in white families. They are guarding the purity of the Race. Mulattoes, however, are beginning to appear.

As we said, there are some good houses, but it is also surprising to see many huts made of grass and mud right in Monrovia. There seems to be no pride to regulate the construction of buildings, hence mud huts stand within a stone's throw of the executive mansion.

But the most surprising thing of all to me was to find all of the business of this city in this republic of black men in the hands of white men. The bank is owned by an English firm, and the principal stores and exporting houses are English, German and French. But they tell me that there was a time when the business was in the hands of black men, but somehow the Europeans supplanted them. Why and how I will explain in my next article, and also reveal some other signs of retrograding.

WHITES TAKE OVER MAJOR COMMISSIONS

Duplication of Haiti's Conquest Seen

By special arrangement with G. Snowden Lamar, well known foreign newspaper correspondent, The Chicago Defender presents the third of a series of articles on Liberia. Mr. Lamar has made a careful study of the many phases of life in that republic and will give an impartial report of his findings.

His Excellency Charles D. B. King, who is now serving his third term as president of Liberia, has a great desire to bring his country to a respectable standing among the nations of the earth. He has taken it into the league of nations and last summer made an extended tour of the principal European countries.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the development of the country is the lack of docks for loading and unloading of ships, and of highways. Ships must stand far out at sea in some ports, a mile or two and unload pasengers and cargo into surf boats, even though the heavy tropical rain may be falling or the torrid sun may be blistering. This is true of every port in the country.

Then there were no roads for vehicles. Having no horses, oxen or even donkeys in the country, they really had no need for roads. All burdens were carried on the heads of natives and hence only paths winding through the bush were the ways of communication between all parts of the land. President King wanted docks for the ships and roads that autos and trucks might pass through the country. But there was no money and the nation already owed England $1,800,000 and a receiver was sitting over the finances of the government. He therefore determined to borrow $5,000,000 from the United States government. A commisison was sent over here to secure the loan, and you will remember that President Wilson and President Harding favored the loan, but the senate rejected it for some reason.

King Curbs Congress

Then the Firestone corporation of Akron, Ohio, came forward with a proposal to make the loan under certain conditions, among which was the leasing of one million acres of land for the cultivation of rubber. The commission looked favorably upon the proposition and carried such a report back home. But you will remember that it took over two years to put that concesison over. The terms in favor of Firestone were so drastic that the people unanimously opposed it, I am told. It was modified greatly, but even then was at one time supposed to be dead. It is said, however, that only the president and the secretary of state, Mr. Barclay, conducted the last negotiations and hence are the only ones who know all of the terms of the concession.

I was told that when the legislature (their national congress) was given the matter to pass upon the opposition was almost unanimous, but the friends of the administration prevented the vote being taken, and the president called an executive session at the executive mansion at night to consider the question. Here he allowed each one to state his objections to the concession while he patiently listened.

White Inspectors Rule

When they had spoken freely, his excellency firmly reminded them that he was a statesman and that they were not; that he understood the needs of the country while they were ignorant of its needs, and finally that each of them held his membership in that body by virtue of his indorsement; that not one of them was nominated until he had approved of the selection; therefore, those who desired to retain their seats in the legislature would vote to sustain the administration. The vote was then taken and passed unanimously.

This sounded so autocratic that I was slow to believe it until I heard the same story several times. Oh, yes, they assured me that no one holds any office in Liberia, no matter how insignificant, without the indorsement of the president. It's a one-man affair.

Perhaps this is all right in a country where the majority of the people are uncivilized and yet have the right to vote. Think about that.

Soon work was begun on the dock at Monrovia, but when I was there it had ceased for some reason.

But road building is making great progress and more than two hundred autos and trucks are running through the country. But I have mentioned the fact before that these roads are built by the enforced labor of the natives, according to their statement. A shilling a day (24 cents) is supposed to be their wage, while they board themselves and furnish their own tools. They are drawn from the tribes by orders of the chief. At the end of the term the latter is paid the wages for his tribe and it is generally said that the native receives none of it. This is excused on the ground of tribal custom, but the natives are not enjoying it very much.

Things were running pretty smoothly when several months after the legislature had adjourned five American whites arrived and announced themselves as inspectors to oversee the various departments of the government. A circular was gotten out by some person, who dare not sign it, declaring that Liberia had been sold to American whites and now the overseers had come to take possession. The president was then in Europe and all manner of ugly things were said about him and the secretary of state. The legislators declared that they did not know anything about these inspectors; in fact that they knew very little about the terms of the concession. That was true, for I talked with several who admitted that they did not know the terms and that no one else did. These facts are well known, however, that the general receiver receives a much larger salary than does the president; that each of these inspectors receives a larger salary than any of the cabinet officers, and that these salaries are to be paid by the Liberian government.

Politics Disastrous

I learned that they had a particular reason for wishing to secure that loan from Uncle Sam or some of his white citizens. England on one side and France on the other have been encroaching upon Liberian territory for years, each taking a slice as suited their needs. The government of Liberia was impotent to help herself. Now they thought that if they could secure a loan from the United States that government would be bound to protect the integrity of Liberian territory. If they could not get the money directly from the government a great corporation, like the Firestone, would have influence enough to secure the money. Now they feel that they are not developing their natural resources? The political situation is such that the government is gaining ground rapidly.

What have the misisonaries done for Liberia? will be my next subject

Race Problem—1928

Africa.

Liberia.

Writer Tells of Laziness in Liberia

By special arrangement with G. Snowden Lamar, well known foreign newspaper correspondent, The Chicago Defender presents the first of a series of articles on Liberia. Mr. Lamar has made a careful study of the many phases of life in that republic and will give an impartial report of his findings.

By G. SNOWDEN LAMAR

Since the Firestone Rubber company has entered Liberia all the world has its eyes upon that little black republic. Strange as it may appear, many people found even in England who did not know just where Liberia is, simply that it is in Africa. President Charles King's visit to Europe last year brought his country strikingly before the people of those countries and now they are trying to compete with America in their manifestations of friendly interest.

My commisison was to carefully look into the present conditions of the country, economically, socially, religiously and politically, and to give my impressions concerning the future of the little republic. In order that I might get at the real facts, I did not let it be known that I was a newspaper correspondent, but merely a prospector. In fact, I found the people to be shy of newspaper writers. They think that they are inclined to make light of them and do not give them proper credit for their efforts to establish a black government. "The "High-Hatting It in Liberia" article by John W. Vandercook gave much offense, while Mable Carney failed to say a good word for them in her numerous letters.

Climate Is Warm

And let me say just here that it is a mistake to compare conditions in Liberia with those in countries which have been developing for hundreds of years. It is also a fact to be remembered that no country in the tropics is as progressive as those in the temperate zones. Liberia lies very near the equator; Monrovia, the capital, being but four degrees north. That warm climate takes the pep out of any person, even white people from the north. What then can be expected of those people who have been for generations under that de-energizing heat? Lack of industry, the disposition to take life easy and work as little as possible. And that brings us to consider industrial conditions.

Monrovia is a city of between four and six thousand population. They never take a census and hence it is only estimated. Here we find some very good dwelling houses, but we notice that most of them are very old and in need of repair. Further study of the situation reveals the fact that it is the custom to allow a house to rot down and move out instead of keeping it up. Since the Firestones have gone in there they have purchased or leased a number of these old houses and are repairing them, which makes a decided improvement in the general appearance of the city. Some of the streets are quite broad, but few were passable for vehicles until recently. Now they are clearing out the rocks, giving autos a chance to get around town.

Get 24 Cents Pay

But you should see these men working on the streets. They are natives and receive the great wage of a shilling a day. (A shilling is equivalent to 24 cents.) That is the regular wage of the common laborer, no matter how hard the work. I was told that when Firestone first entered there they proposed to pay four shillings per day, but those in authority objected as such exorbitant wages would disrupt the labor situation of the country, and assurance was given that all the labor needed could be obtained at that price. Straw bosses some times receive six shillings. Boss carpenters some times as high as eight shillings, and their helpers two and three shillings.

All this could be better if those in authority would demand it, but there is no desire to improve the economic condition of the native. They seem rather to prefer to keep him in poverty and ignorance. True, he lives cheaply, wearing almost no clothing. Even on the streets of the capital men are working with less than a yard of cloth drawn around the middle of their bodies, and some with merely a g[illegible] about the waist.

Under the Firestone contract roads are being built all over the country hundreds of natives being thus engaged. These workers come from different tribes by requisition of the government, each chief furnishing a number for a stated time. The laborers come to their post, bringing their own rice and tools for work. The latter consist of pails made of grass and sharp sticks. They dig the dirt up with the sticks, put it into the pails with their hands, then carry it upon their heads to the place of deposit. This is the work for which he is supposed to receive 24 cents a day and board himself. I say "supposed" because I am informed that the money is paid to the chief and the native receives very little if any of it. In one county the natives refused to work under such conditions and the troops were called upon to force the labor. But the soldiers, being natives also, would not coerce their brethren, and other troops were summoned from the capital. At last, however, a compromise was reached and the work proceeded without bloodshed. This little incident was something new and was quite significant, manifesting the awakening consciousness of the native.

Laborers Very Slow

But there is another phase to this labor situation. No laborer works like he would do in other countries. He works very slowly, idles away much time in talking and playing. He thinks strangely of the Europeans and Americans for working so fast. "Don't worry yourself" is his motto; there is plenty of time. As a result of this idea, I was shown a number of houses that have been in course of construction for several years. They do not think of building a house of six or eight rooms in a year. They work a while on it and then go to another job. Thus passing from job to job, and finally come back to this one and work a few more weeks. This is the common practice among the Liberians. Of course these Americans who have gone over there will not stand for that practice, but the white bosses must keep constantly on the job if he expects a half day's work accomplished in 10 hours.

In domestic service men are generally employed instead of women. A native is glad to work for you as cook or housekeeper for one pound ($4.84) a month, or a pound and half if he boards himself.

Of course you generally have to teach him how to cook and to do your housework as you want it, but he learns quite readily and is very faithful. I was glad to see that they do not want their women to work in white families. They are guarding the purity of the Race. Mulattoes, however, are beginning to appear.

As we said, there are some good houses, but it is also surprising to see many huts made of grass and mud right in Monrovia. There seems to be no pride to regulate the construction of buildings, hence mud huts stand within a stone's throw of the executive mansion.

But the most surprising thing of all to me was to find all of the business of this city in this republic of black men in the hands of white men. The bank is owned by an English firm, and the principal stores and exporting houses are English, German and French. But they tell me that there was a time when the business was in the hands of black men, but somehow the Europeans supplanted them. Why and how I will explain in my next article, and also reveal some other signs of retrograding.

WHITES TAKE OVER MAJOR COMMISSIONS

Duplication of Haiti's Conquest Seen

By special arrangement with G. Snowden Lamar, well known foreign newspaper correspondent, The Chicago Defender presents the third of a series of articles on Liberia. Mr. Lamar has made a careful study of the many phases of life in that republic and will give an impartial report of his findings.

His Excellency Charles D. B. King, who is now serving his third term as president of Liberia, has a great desire to bring his country to a respectable standing among the nations of the earth. He has taken it into the league of nations and last summer made an extended tour of the principal European countries.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the development of the country is the lack of docks for loading and unloading of ships, and of highways. Ships must stand far out at sea in some ports, a mile or two and unload pasengers and cargo into surf boats, even though the heavy tropical rain may be falling or the torrid sun may be blistering. This is true of every port in the country.

Then there were no roads for vehicles. Having no horses, oxen or even donkeys in the country, they really had no need for roads. All burdens were carried on the heads of natives and hence only paths winding through the bush were the ways of communication between all parts of the land. President King wanted docks for the ships and roads that autos and trucks might pass through the country. But there was no money and the nation already owed England $1,800,000 and a receiver was sitting over the finances of the government. He therefore determined to borrow $5,000,000 from the United States government. A commisison was sent over here to secure the loan, and you will remember that President Wilson and President Harding favored the loan, but the senate rejected it for some reason.

King Curbs Congress

Then the Firestone corporation of Akron, Ohio, came forward with a proposal to make the loan under certain conditions, among which was the leasing of one million acres of land for the cultivation of rubber. The commission looked favorably upon the proposition and carried such a report back home. But you will remember that it took over two years to put that concesison over. The terms in favor of Firestone were so drastic that the people unanimously opposed it, I am told. It was modified greatly, but even then was it one time supposed to be dead. It is said, however, that only the president and the secretary of state, Mr. Barclay, conducted the last negotiations and hence are the only ones who know all of the terms of the concession.

I was told that when the legislature (their national congress) was given the matter to pass upon the opposition was almost unanimous, but the friends of the administration prevented the vote being taken, and the president called an executive session at the executive mansion at night to consider the question. Here he allowed each one to state his objections to the concession while he patiently listened.

White Inspectors Rule

When they had spoken freely, his excellency firmly reminded them that he was a statesman and that they were not; that he understood the needs of the country while they were ignorant of its needs, and finally that each of them held his membership in that body by virtue of his indorsement; that not one of them was nominated until he had approved of the selection; therefore, those who desired to retain their seats in the legislature would vote to sustain the administration. The vote was then taken and passed unanimously.

This sounded so autocratic that I was slow to believe it until I heard the same story several times. Oh, yes, they assured me that no one holds any office in Liberia, no matter how insignificant, without the indorsement of the president. It's a one-man affair.

Perhaps this is all right in a country where the majority of the people are uncivilized and yet have the right to vote. Think about that.

Soon work was begun on the dock at Monrovia, but when I was there it had ceased for some reason.

But road building is making great progress and more than two hundred autos and trucks are running through the country. But I have mentioned the fact before that these roads are built by the forced labor of the natives, according to their statement. A shilling a day (24 cents) is supposed to be the wage, while they board themselves and furnish their own tools. They are drawn from the tribes by orders of the chief. At the end of the term the latter is paid the wages for his tribe and it is generally said that the native receives none of it. This is excused on the ground of tribal custom, but the natives are not enjoying it very much.

Things were running pretty smoothly when several months after the legislature had adjourned five American whites arrived and announced themselves as inspectors to oversee the various departments of the government. A circular was gotten out by some person, who dare not sign it, declaring that Liberia had been sold to American whites and now the overseers had come to take possession. The president was then in Europe and all manner of ugly things were said about him and the secretary of state. The legislators declared that they did not know anything about these inspectors; in fact that they knew very little about the terms of the concession. That was true, for I talked with several who admitted that they did not know the terms and that no one else did. These facts are well known, however, that the general receiver receives a much larger salary than does the president; that each of these inspectors receives a larger salary than any of the cabinet officers, and that these salaries are to be paid by the Liberian government.

Politics Disastrous

I learned that they had a particular reason for wishing to secure that loan from Uncle Sam or some of his white citizens. England on one side and France on the other have been encroaching upon Liberian territory for years, each taking a slice as suited their needs. The government of Liberia was impotent to help herself. Now they thought that if they could secure a loan from the United States that government would be bound to protect the integrity of Liberian territory. If they could not get the money directly from the government, like the Fire-stone corporation, would have influence enough to secure the natural resources? The political situation is such that the government is gaining ground rapidly.

What have the misisonaries done for Liberia? will be my next subject.

President King Says U.S. True Friend

Monrovia, Liberia, Nov. 21.—A tribute to American friendship for Liberia was a feature of the annual message of President Charles D. B. King of Liberia to the Legislature. Speaking of the friendly relations that had at all times existed between the United States and Liberia, he said:

"From the foundation of this republic the attitude of the United States has been that of a true friend and protector to this country in many difficulties, and in the hour of need she has declared through her statesmen that she felt it to be her moral right to see the independence of this country maintained and would never allow Liberia to be despoiled or restrained. The United States has loyally kept her word, and Liberia brings her today gratitude and warm friendship for this unceasing good will."

President King pictured the progress of the country during the past year as "phenomenal," with revenues steadily rising, passing the million dollar mark per month during the summer and continuing to rise. Road building would be an important part of public activities during the year, he indicated adding to many miles of new roads built the past year.

Republic of Liberia.

U.S. AND THE FIRESTONE CONCESSION.

President King Replies to Prof. Buell's Allegations.

The following statement by President King was sent to the Associated Press in response to a request for comment on Professor Buell's speech at the Williamstown Institute of Politics on August 29 (reproduced last week), charging the United States State Department with forcing Liberia to accept the terms of the Firestone Rubber concession.

"I have noted with surprise alleged statements made in an address delivered at the Williamstown Institute of Politics by Professor Raymond D. Buell, particularly the suggestion made therein that the Liberian Government was coerced by the United States Department of State in the matter of the Firestone Rubber concession and the 7 per cent. loan of 1927.

"This suggestion is without foundation in fact. The approach to the agreement was made by the private enterprise of Mr. Firestone, and neither directly nor indirectly was any influence brought to bear on the Government of Liberia by the Department of State or any other department or official of the United States.

"The fact that the negotiations between Mr. Firestone and the Liberian Government were protracted over a period of two and a half years should show conclusively there was no coercion, but rather full consideration was given to the views of each party by the other.

"In respect to the loan of 1927, internal economic conditions growing out of the World War dictated to the Government of Liberia the propriety and necessity of funding its indebtedness and reorganising its finances. It was this which led to the offer of the United States Government in 1921 to make available funds, which in the Wilson Administration had been allocated to Liberia during the war.

"This proposal did not meet with the approval of Congress, and the tentative agreement which had been reached by the two Governments lapsed. Nevertheless, the need for reorganising Liberian finances still existed and Liberia, like other States in similar circumstances, took advantage of the opportunity offered by the American money market.

"There have been crises in our relations with the French Government, growing out of undetermined frontiers, but these have never been represented to us by the United States Department of State as a 'menace,' nor was the Firestone project represented to the Government of Liberia by that department as the means by which the menace could be removed. On the contrary, the Secretary of State took occasion formally to notify Liberia the Administration was neither directly nor indirectly behind Firestone.

"The statement of Professor Buell that the scheme involves the control of Liberia by American officials is untrue and mischievous. Liberia, like every other country, has suffered from unemployment. The Firestone operation was an opportunity seized with alacrity by the Liberian labouring classes."

Republic of Liberia.

U.S. POLICY IN LIBERIA.

Mr. Buell's Charge of "Forced" Concessions.

WASHINGTON, August 30.

A question referring to economic policy was raised to-day, when Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell, before the general conference of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, made an attack upon the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia and the share of the State Department in the negotiations which led up to it. Mr. Buell has spent some time in Africa and has investigated the Liberian question on the spot. He condemns the plantation system, which Mr. Firestone is establishing, on the ground that it has been disastrous to the African natives wherever it has been used. He makes the charge that the spectre of French designs upon the Liberian hinterland was evoked in order to force the granting of a million-acre concession and the acceptance of a loan upon terms which hand the country over to the control of an American financial commission, and which, in the stipulation that it cannot be refunded for twenty years without Mr. Firestone's consent, make it "iniquitous."

More generally, Mr. Buell criticises all those features of a governmental policy of supporting business men abroad, "which offers the amazing spectacle of a Government closing the American market to all foreign competitors, and yet attempting to capture foreign markets for merchants and business men, and establishing a Government-fed and artificially supported merchant marine to take away business from foreigners who have no other way of earning a living." He called this "not a policy of terminal co-operation, but a policy of domination."

The attack has created some disturbance here, and an official of the State Department this morning discussed it. The discussion took the form of a general denial that any pressure had been exerted upon the Liberian Government, of an explanation that the Department had no concern with the loan, save to convey an assurance to those interested that it was not open to political objections, and that personal contact with Mr. Firestone had convinced representatives of the Government of his beneficent and humanitarian intentions. More interesting, however, was the official reply to Mr. Buell's statement that Mr. Firestone had gone to Liberia "with the blessings of Mr. Herbert Hoover and of many millions of American automobile owners who had been led by Mr. Hoover to believe that the British rubber monopoly was charging them exorbitant prices for tyres."

This, it was said, could only find favour with those who favoured "A British rubber monopoly," as against the attempt to find an independent source of rubber supply. Thus, in spite of all the facts and all the figures published on the subject by the United States Department of Commerce itself, it will be observed that the British rubber "monopoly" is still something in the existence of which popular belief must be encouraged. The creation of this belief was Mr. Hoover's most considerable, and least excusable, contribution to the discussion of the rubber question, when that was acute, and the probability that he will be the next President of the United States takes on a new significance when this is remembered. Those who call themselves "Liberals" in the United States profess to be alarmed lest Mr. Hoover, as President, should prove to be no more than an infinitely more powerful Secretary of Commerce, and, if this were indeed so, Mr. Buell's reference to a "policy of domination" would deserve close examination.—"The Times."

Republic of Liberia.

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE.

All-Round Progress Recorded—Record Revenue.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, October 18.

The President of Liberia, Hon. Charles D. B. King, delivered his annual message to the Legislature this afternoon at the Hall of Representatives to the assembled House, the Cabinet, the Foreign Diplomatic Corps, and representatives from all parts of the Republic.

The President spoke of the friendly relations existing between Liberia and the foreign Powers, of the staunch friendship that the United States has shown this Republic from the day of its foundation, of the American statesmen who have at all times considered it their moral duty to protect the young sister Republic from unwarranted attacks and despoilation and secure her independence. Liberia brings the United States warm feelings of friendship and gratitude for these ever-friendly services.

The financial progress of this country in the past year has been very great: the million-dollar mark was passed in the early summer, and the past month showed a revenue of 1,276,000 dols. All outstanding debts have been paid. President King advises the establishment of a National Reserve Fund.

A revenue cutter has been acquired for the control of the various ports of the coast. Travellers and transients are not subject to duty on the goods that they carry with them.

The Post Office Department has paid its pre-war indebtedness to England, France, and Germany. Its postal order business with the U.S. amounted to 18,000 dols. during the past nine months. Stamp collectors and museums have acquired for 11,000 dols. the very beautiful Liberian stamps designed and engraved in the United States. The Department has done five times the volume of business of the preceding year.

The radio stations at Monrovia and Cape Palmas have established connection with the world, and before this year closes the stations of Grand Bassa and Sinoe will be opened.

Public Works and Education.

In the Department of Public Works great progress has been made. Many miles of roads have been built as well as a large number of bridges and culverts. A new custom house and a large city wharf have been erected in Monrovia. Five thousand dollars have been paid as the first instalment on the purchase of the Executive Mansion. One hundred and forty-six thousand dollars will be expended in the coming year, and will include the erection of public buildings, the extension of roads, and the building of bridges and culverts.

The Educational Department under Secretary of Education Payne and the educational adviser, Mr. James Sibley, is making rapid progress. A new and original series of textbooks especially designed for the Liberian schools will be rady before the year closes. The Teachers' Conventions were attended as never before. Educational work is being rapidly extended to the interior.

Attorney-General Grimes, who has the co-operation of the President in the matter, is establishing many reforms in the courts and legal circles. The presence of foreigners and their investments in Liberia demands that justice be strictly and impartially rendered. Candidates for admission to the Bar must be in possession of the necessary legal education and be men whose morals and integrity are above reproach.

The Frontier Force has been entirely reorganised, and the soldiers will be provided with new and suitable uniforms and modern firearms and ammunition.

The natives in the interior are living quietly and are most loyal to the Government. President King requires that the natives receive good and just treatment, and that no unnecessary burdens be laid upon them. Their interests are being advanced by the opening of schools and instruction in agriculture and the trades.

Firestone's Operations.

The Firestone plantations are rapidly developing; large tracts of land have been cleared, many miles of good roads constructed, and bungalows built. On the plantations many stores have been opened, and electric lighting and ice machines placed wherever needed.

Thirty thousand acres are under cultivation and 10,000 Liberian labourers with a pay roll of 1,024,000 dols. per year are employed. Six million young rubber trees may be seen stretching for miles along the well-kept roads.

From the East over 100,000 young rubber trees have been sent during the last three months. After making a journey of 12,000 miles these have been planted in Liberian soil, so eminently suited to the rubber tree, and are to-day growing better and faster than in their native soil.

It will be seen that the Republic of Liberia promises a steady advancement.

D. M.

President King Says U.S. True Friend

Monrovia, Liberia, Nov. 21.—A tribute to American friendship for Liberia was a feature of the annual message of President Charles D. B. King of Liberia to the Legislature. Speaking of the friendly relations that had at all times existed between the United States and Liberia, he said:

"From the foundation of this republic the attitude of the United States has been that of a true friend and protector to this country in many difficulties, and in the hour of need she has declared through her statesmen that she felt it to be her moral right to see the independence of this country maintained and would never allow Liberia to be despoiled or restrained. The United States has loyally kept her word, and Liberia brings her today gratitude and warm friendship for this unceasing good will."

President King pictured the progress of the country during the past year as "phenomenal," with revenues steadily rising, passing the million dollar mark per month during the summer and continuing to rise. Road building would be an important part of public activities during the year, he indicated adding to many miles of new roads built the past year.

Republic of Liberia.

U.S. AND THE FIRESTONE CONCESSION.

President King Replies to Prof. Buell's Allegations.

The following statement by President King was sent to the Associated Press in response to a request for comment on Professor Buell's speech at the Williamstown Institute of Politics on August 29 (reproduced last week), charging the United States State Department with forcing Liberia to accept the terms of the Firestone Rubber concession.

"I have noted with surprise alleged statements made in an address delivered at the Williamstown Institute of Politics by Professor Raymond D. Buell, particularly the suggestion made therein that the Liberian Government was coerced by the United States Department of State in the matter of the Firestone Rubber concession and the 7 per cent. loan of 1927.

"This suggestion is without foundation in fact. The approach to the agreement was made by the private enterprise of Mr. Firestone, and neither directly nor indirectly was any influence brought to bear on the Government of Liberia by the Department of State or any other department or official of the United States.

"The fact that the negotiations between Mr. Firestone and the Liberian Government were protracted over a period of two and a half years should show conclusively there was no coercion, but rather full consideration was given to the views of each party by the other.

"In respect to the loan of 1927, internal economic conditions growing out of the World War dictated to the Government of Liberia the propriety and necessity of funding its indebtedness and reorganising its finances. It was this which led to the offer of the United States Government in 1921 to make available funds, which in the Wilson Administration had been allocated to Liberia during the war.

"This proposal did not meet with the approval of Congress, and the tentative agreement which had been reached by the two Governments lapsed. Nevertheless, the need for reorganising Liberian finances still existed, and Liberia, like other States in similar circumstances, took advantage of the opportunity offered by the American money market.

"There have been crises in our relations with the French Government, growing out of undetermined frontiers, but these have never been represented to us by the United States Department of State as a 'menace,' nor was the Firestone project represented to the Government of Liberia by that department as the means by which the menace could be removed. On the contrary, the Secretary of State took occasion formally to notify Liberia the Administration was neither directly nor indirectly behind Firestone.

"The statement of Professor Buell that the scheme involves the control of Liberia by American officials is untrue and mischievous. Liberia, like every other country, has suffered from unemployment. The Firestone operation was an opportunity seized with alacrity by the Liberian labouring classes."

Republic of Liberia.

U.S. POLICY IN LIBERIA.

Mr. Buell's Charge of "Forced" Concessions.

WASHINGTON, August 30.

A question referring to economic policy was raised to-day, when Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell, before the general conference of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, made an attack upon the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia and the share of the State Department in the negotiations which led up to it. Mr. Buell has spent some time in Africa and has investigated the Liberian question on the spot. He condemns the plantation system, which Mr. Firestone is establishing, on the ground that it has been disastrous to the African natives wherever it has been used. He makes the charge that the spectre of French designs upon the Liberian hinterland was evoked in order to force the granting of a million-acre concession and the acceptance of a loan upon terms which hand the country over to the control of an American financial commission, and which, in the stipulation that it cannot be refunded for twenty years without Mr. Firestone's consent, make it "iniquitous."

More generally, Mr. Buell criticises all those features of a governmental policy of supporting business men abroad, "which offers the amazing spectacle of a Government closing the American market to all foreign competitors, and yet attempting to capture foreign markets for merchants and business men, and establishing a Government-fed and artificially supported merchant marine to take away business from foreigners who have no other way of earning a living." He called this "not a policy of terminal co-operation, but a policy of domination."

The attack has created some disturbance here, and an official of the State Department this morning discussed it. The discussion took the form of a general denial that any pressure had been exerted upon the Liberian Government, of an explanation that the Department had no concern with the loan, save to convey an assurance to those interested that it was not open to political objections, and that personal contact with Mr. Firestone had convinced representatives of the Government of his beneficent and humanitarian intentions. More interesting, however, was the official reply to Mr. Buell's statement that Mr. Firestone had gone to Liberia "with the blessings of Mr. Herbert Hoover and of many millions of American automobile owners," [illegible] Hoover to believe that the British rubber monopoly was charging them exorbitant prices for tyres."

This, it was said, could only find favour with those who favoured "A British rubber monopoly," as against the attempt to find an independent source of rubber supply. Thus, in spite of all the facts and all the figures published on the subject by the United States Department of Commerce itself, it will be observed that the British rubber "monopoly" is still something in the existence of which popular belief must be encouraged. The creation of this belief was Mr. Hoover's most considerable, and least excusable, contribution to the discussion of the rubber question, when that was acute, and the probability that he will be the next President of the United States takes on a new significance when this is remembered. Those who call themselves "Liberals" in the United States profess to be alarmed lest Mr. Hoover, as President, should prove to be no more than an infinitely more powerful Secretary of Commerce, and, if this were indeed so, Mr. Buell's reference to a "policy of domination" would deserve close examination.—"The Times."

Republic of Liberia.

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE.

All-Round Progress Recorded—Record Revenue.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, October 18.

The President of Liberia, Hon. Charles D. B. King, delivered his annual message to the Legislature this afternoon at the Hall of Representatives to the assembled House, the Cabinet, the Foreign Diplomatic Corps, and representatives from all parts of the Republic.

The President spoke of the friendly relations existing between Liberia and the foreign Powers, of the staunch friendship that the United States has shown this Republic from the day of its foundation, of the public from the day of its foundation, of the American statesmen who have all times considered it their moral duty to protect the young sister Republic from unwarranted attacks and despoilation and secure her independence. Liberia brings the United States warm feelings of friendship and gratitude for these ever-friendly services.

The financial progress of this country in the past year has been very great: the million-dollar mark was passed in the early summer, and the past month showed a revenue of 1,276,000 dols. All outstanding debts have been paid. President King advises the establishment of a National Reserve Fund.

A revenue cutter has been acquired for the control of the various ports of the coast. Travellers and transients are not subject to duty on the goods that they carry with them.

The Post Office Department has paid its pre-war indebtedness to England, France, and Germany. Its postal order business with the U.S. amounted to 18,000 dols. during the past nine months. Stamp collectors and museums have acquired for 11,000 dols. the very beautiful Liberian stamps designed and engraved in the United States. The Department has done five times the volume of business of the preceding year.

The radio stations at Monrovia and Cape Palmas have established connection with the world, and before this year closes the stations of Grand Bassa and Sinoe will be opened.

Public Works and Education.

In the Department of Public Works great progress has been made. Many miles of roads have been built as well as a large number of bridges and culverts. A new custom house and a large city wharf have been erected in Monrovia. Five thousand dollars have been paid as the first instalment on the purchase of the Executive Mansion. One hundred and forty-six thousand dollars will be expended in the coming year, and will include the erection of public buildings, the extension of roads, and the building of bridges and culverts.

The Educational Department under Secretary of Education Payne and the educational adviser, Mr. James Sibley, is making rapid progress. A new and original series of text-books especially designed for the Liberian schools will be rady before the year closes. The Teachers' Conventions were attended as never before. Educational work is being rapidly extended to the interior.

Attorney-General Grimes, who has the co-operation of the President in the matter, is establishing many reforms in the courts and legal circles. The presence of foreigners and their investments in Liberia demands that justice be strictly and impartially rendered. Candidates for admission to the Bar must be in possession of the necessary legal education and be men whose morals and integrity are above reproach.

The Frontier Force has been entirely reorganised, and the soldiers will be provided with new and suitable uniforms and modern firearms and ammunition.

The natives in the interior are living quietly and are most loyal to the Government. President King requires that the natives receive good and just treatment, and that no unnecessary burdens be laid upon them. Their interests are being advanced by the opening of schools and instruction in agriculture and the trades.

Firestone's Operations.

The Firestone plantations are rapidly developing; large tracts of land have been cleared, many miles of good roads constructed, and bungalows built. On the plantations many stores have been opened, and electric lighting and ice machines placed wherever needed.

Thirty thousand acres are under cultivation and 10,000 Liberian labourers with a pay roll of 1,024,000 dols. per year are employed. Six million young rubber trees may be seen stretching for miles along the well-kept roads.

From the East over 100,000 young rubber trees have been sent during the last three months. After making a journey of 12,000 miles these have been planted in Liberian soil, so eminently suited to the rubber tree, and are to-day growing better and faster than in their native soil.

It will be seen that the Republic of Liberia promises a steady advancement.

D. M.

Race Problem - 1928

Liberia.

Africa

THE TRUTH ABOUT LIBERIA

The great mystery of Liberia is no mystery at all. To people interested in that little republic located on the west coast of Africa the facts are now being made clear in a series of articles prepared by a journalist who has spent many years there studying conditions and appearing weekly in the Defender. Just a glance at these articles should convince the reader that Liberians have only themselves to thank for their plight.

Liberia, according to G. Snowden Lamar, the author of these enlightening articles, is the richest republic, from the standpoint of natural resources, known to the civilized world. In that country are grown the very materials and foodstuffs that civilization values. The climate is best suited for production of coffee, rubber and minerals of any country. Yet Liberia imports most of her foods, and her exports do not begin to equal her consumption in the things that she grows and could produce.

Natives of Liberia "acknowledge frankly that Americo-Liberians have left the farms and gone to the city to work at government jobs. They want to be gentlemen. Farming is left entirely to the natives, who do just as litle work as possible. His only aim is to get enough to eat for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. What little sugar cane is raised is made into gin, the native drink, instead of sugar, and the old sugar mills are now to be seen rotting down along the St. Paul river and elsewhere."

Commenting on the coffee market and the production of coffee in Liberia, Mr. Lamar says:

There is no finer coffee in the world than the Liberian, when properly cultivated and prepared; but the native will not take pains to cultivate it, allowing his coffee farm to be overgrown with bushes and weeds and using no machinrry whatever to hull it out. In consequence it loses its fine aroma and is broken up in the hulling process, which is done about as the American boy would hull walnuts. I asked some men of means why they did not secure coffee mills such as those used in Brazil and other coffee countries, and prepare their coffee properly. They did not think it would pay. And so, here is a great opportunity going to waste just because no one has the business enterprise to improve it. The same is true of sugar. And remember, the original colonists did use these opportunities, but their sons refuse them because they are too proud to farm.

According to the ethics of the Liberian, no man can be a gentleman who works at any kind of manual labor. A gentleman must not be seen carrying so much as a book through the streets. A lady will not carry even her purse through the streets, but has a boy along carrying it. All manual labor is done by the natives.

These are some of the reasons, as set forth by this observer, why Liberia is fast falling into the hands of imperialistic nations. If that country abounds in natural resources which can be transformed into wealth, then there is no reason to expect that the civilization of the white man will ignore it. Already the process of disintegration of Liberia as a nation has set in. It will spread more and more rapidly as the seasons pass and, if she continues in her present trend, there will be a time when that country will be reduced to a tribal state under European or American "protectorate." Liberia should see this—it is quite obvious to the rest of the world.

Mr. Lamar's articles are worth reading and studying. Since we are so closely bound with Liberia's fortunes, we should know about them.

BANKING IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In the interest of historical accuracy, might I be allowed to make some corrections in regard to the article "Banking in West Africa" appearing in a recent issue of the "Times." West Africa

After some years' residence in Nigeria, and particularly Lagos, I was much impressed by the primitive conditions of trade prevailing—the barter system being general, and what currency there was in circulation was imported by Germans direct from the British Mint. 11-10-28

On returning to England in 1891, I interviewed the late Mr., afterwards Sir, Alfred Jones and strongly advised the establishment of a bank. He replied he had too many things in hand and could not deal with such a big question. I said I would see what I could do in London, and ultimately obtained an introduction to the African Banking Corporation, who, being impressed by my views as to the prospects of banking in West Africa, agreed to my opening a branch at Lagos. They gave me entire liberty as to the necessary capital required and selection of staff (accountant and cashier), and the first bank in West Africa was opened in my house.

The "Times" correspondent's statement, that "results apparently were not encouraging," is not correct. Notwithstanding the interruption of trade owing to the Jebu Punitive Expedition, the business at my suggestion handed over to the Bank of British West Africa, and continued under my management, was such as to enable the formation under the new title to pay a dividend of 8 per cent. in the first year.

The managing director of the African Corporation informed me that the main reason of their retiring was the objection of their representative in South Africa, owing to his inability to visit so remote a branch, transport not being available other than via England, and he expressed regret at retiring from what afterwards proved a promising and successful field.

Yours faithfully,
GEO. W. NEVILLE.

November 5.

Views of Other Editors

Liberian Rubber—Two Sides
(From the New York World)

Dr. Thomas J. Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and author of important first-hand studies of African conditions, had rebutted in advance some of Dr. Raymond L. Buell's charges regarding the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia. According to Dr. Buell, the size of the rubber plantations and the terms of the $5,000,000 loan Liberia was forced to accept will combine to establish virtual American control. According to Dr. Jones, the lease of 1,000,000 acres in a nation covering 29,000,000 is a small risk, and the terms of the loan—which is to be used largely for overdue internal improvements—are just and liberal. Dr. Jones certainly offers a reassuring argument when he points to the agencies which have approved the Firestone plans. Besides our State Department, they include three colonization societies, all the missionary boards and an American advisory committee on education representing seven organizations long interested in Liberian development. On the other hand, Dr. Buell's statement on the difficulties of labor recruiting may point to a real future danger. When tribal chiefs are asked to send in men, some may come rather as virtual slaves than as free agents.

If it is wise to keep a careful eye on Liberian developments—and both Drs. Jones and Buell would agree that it is—one American group is particularly fitted to do so. Many American Negro leaders are especially interested in Liberia. Negro organizations can and should keep conditions in the little Negro republic under scrutiny. They will have the full confidence of Liberians, and if any tendency toward exploitation appears they can register their protest powerfully in America

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, Oct. 29.

Brussels-Congo Air Service.

Mr. Willems de Leria, the Paris correspondent of the Antwerp "Neptune," has interviewed General Boucabeille, General-Director of the French Aeronautical Committee, who gave him the following particulars regarding the Brussels-Congo air line, at present being prepared. Congo

The itinerary of 7,925 kilometres will be as follows:—Brussels, Perpignan, Valence, Oran, the "Sud Oranais," the Niger, Gao, Niamey, Zinder, Fort Lamy, Fort Archambault, Bangui, Libenge (Belgian Congo), Coquilhatville, Léopoldville, Brazzaville.

Brussels-Oran will be maintained by the Brussels Sabena, Oran-Libenge by a French company, and Libenge-Léopoldville-Brazzaville by the Sabena. 11-3-28

There will be a weekly service both ways, and each way the flights will be performed by two planes for security.

The service will be started in 1930, and Brussels-Léopoldville-Brazzaville, or the reverse, will be performed in seven days maximum, and in five days when lights have been established on the route, so as to allow night flights.

Paris to Madagascar by Air.

Flight-Lieutenants Boulmer and Marie and Petty-Officer Demeaux, French Army, left Villacoublay (Paris) on Thursday last, October 25, at 10.45 a.m., bound to Tananarive, on board the "General Laperrine," a 450 h.p. biplane.

Their itinerary is Lyons, Montélimar, Perpignan, Oran, Tamrit, Gao, Zinder, Fort Archambault, Coquilhatville, Luluabourg, Elisabethville, Tête, Quilimane, Tananarive.

Yesterday, Sunday afternoon, they signalled their safe arrival at Niamey, on the Niger, at 4 p.m., on that day. They have thus successfully crossed the Sahara.

Lady Bailey.

According to the Elisabethville "Essor Du Congo" of September 25, Lady Bailey, the daring airwoman, arrived at Elisabethville on Sunday, September 23, on board her Moth aero. During her stay at Elisabethville she was the guest of Colonel Heenen, Governor of Katanga, and of Mrs. Heenen.

Benguela-Congo Railway.

In order to build the railway Angola border-Tenké, which is to connect the Benguela Railway with the Katanga Railway, the Léopoldville-Katanga-Dilolo Raliway Company will, from November 19 to November 24, issue 400,000 further preference shares of 500 frs. 7 per cent. Four shares will entitle to subscribe three at 800 frs. apiece.

The line will be some 525 kilometres long, and the country offers few difficulties to overcome—not many earthworks, easy ground, and other works of small importance and not numerous. So the line can be built cheaply and, as the curves and the gradients will be favourable, the line will be worked at a most advantageous cost.

The new line will cross fertile lands and some thickly populated centres. It will also cross important copper mines, notably the Western Mines, which the Union Minière has up to now been unable to work, on account of the lack of transport.

The building of the line will also enable the important falls of the Luajaba River at Nzilo to be harnessed.

Apropos the coming completion of the Lobito route, the German paper "Die

Metallbörse" stated on the 20th inst.: "From Panda to Lobito Bay the distance by rail will be about 2,000 kilometres, against 2,750 kilometres by the Beira route. The sea freight from Lobito Bay to Antwerp must be considerably lower than from Beira to Antwerp. According to carefully prepared estimates, the transport charges by the new routes ('Die Metallbörse' was dealing also in its article with the B.C.K. or Ma Mtadi route) will be reduced by 25 per cent."

Copper Going Up.

On Friday last, October 26, copper fetched in London £67 the ton of standard copper cash and, next day, the pound of electrolytic copper for American consumption was raised in New York to 16 cents.—the quotation for export only.

The 1927 averages were, for standard copper, £55 13s. 10 13-20d. ("Quin's Metal Handbook and Statistics," 1928), and for electrolytic copper, 13.048 cents. ("American Metal Market" Metal Statistics, 1928).

As the New York "American Metal Market" remarked on October 16: "Production of copper was never so high as it is to-day, but consumption is equally impressive, there being a close balance between output and consumption."

J. POUSSEAUX

LIBELING LIBERIA

IN replying to the recent charges of Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, director of the Foreign Policy Association, against the Firestone Company and the United States State Department uniting to exploit Liberia, Mr. Harvey S. Firestone Jr., son of the big rubber man, exaggerates. He is quoted as saying that

> **"Liberia, a republic since 1847, never had schools, churches, a money system or a smokestack, up to the time that we investigated rubber possibilities there in 1925."**

Here the younger Firestone errs. Liberia has had all of the above, except a money system, for many, many years. True, she has only had a few schools and churches (a large number of her inhabitants are Mohammedans) and her smokestacks have been very few; but there have been some.

It seems to us that nothing is to be gained by trying to make out that Liberia was worse off than she actually was before Firestone came on the scene. The little country has done well to exist at all and not go the way of so many other weak governments.

Possibly gentlemen like Mr. Firestone are anxious to add to the belief that Negroes are incapable of developing a country, and thus gladly point to Liberia as Horrible Example No. 1. They forget that the situation of Liberia is without precedent. Whereas, every other colony that has flourished has been assisted with capital and emigrants, the Americans just dumped a handful of Negroes on an unhealthful coast inhabited by hostile natives and practically left them to their own devices. If the same thing had been done by the English, French, Spanish and Dutch in the Western Hemisphere, it would still belong to the Indians.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

Liberia.

THE REAL ROLE OF FIRESTONE IN LIBERIA

By Robert W. Dunn

"A new world is in the making at the western edge of Africa," Mr. James C. Young, who specializes on publicity for the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., informs us in the November number of Opportunity, official organ of the National Urban League.

Mr. Young's article is a typical apology for American white imperialists. It sounds strangely like the writings of British, French and Belgian publicity men painting the older imperialism, of these countries in rosy colors some years ago. It tells us about the wonderful roads and houses and sanitary improvements made in the little Negro Republic during the two years since Firestone started work on his lease of 1,000,000 acres for the growing of rubber. ing up to the civilizers from Akron, Ohio, with "eagerness" in their faces. It also informs us that the Americans of the Firestone "staff" in Liberia "form a pleasant social circle on the edge of the primitive." Those who have seen the great Soviet film, "A Shanghai Document," will appreciate this touch—the "superior" white man with his cocktails, his American bar, his sports and—unlimited authority. The article is illustrated with a picture of the vassal President King sitting beside Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., "on the veranda of the Executive Mansion." And Mr. Firestone is quoted as the Savior of the country, the white industrial Jesus who has come to save the poor Africans from their ignorance and sloth.

This is the picture as we got in "a journal of Negro life" that ought to know better than to print the official publicity hand-outs of a rubber company. In contrast to this servile and misleading account we may place unimpeachable evidence on the real situation in Liberia as presented by Ralmond L. Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, ad leading American specialist on African colonial problems.

Dr. Buell made an address before the Institute of Policies at Williamstown, Mass., last August. The state department and the Firestone Company are still trying to answer and deny the charges he made, but without success. Briefly his charges, backed by documents and statements of fact were as follows:

1. The Firestone company is exploiting the workers of Liberia by a system that is equivalent to the worst form of colonial slavery. Money is paid to chiefs of native tribes who in turn force their people to work for the Firestone company. Mr. Firestone pays to the native government and the chiefs each a cent a man per day. As Dr. Buell put it: "It is one of the ironies of history that the government of the United States should cast the weight of its influence in favor of system which the French and British have discarded as harmful to native interests."

2. The U. S. government, and specifically Herbert Hoover, encouraged the Firestone Company to go concession-hunting and to engage in economic imperialism in Africa. The state department helped to force a loan on the Liberian government which was made by Mr. Firestone's new mysterious company, the Finance Corporation of America, specially formed for the purpose.

3. That this loan to the Liberian government, accepted under duress, compelled that government to borrow $5,000,000 at 7 per cent from Mr. Firestone's dummy company, and to make no other loans for 20 years even though it might be able to borrow elsewhere for less interest. Furthermore, as is customary with such loans made by American companies to weak foreign governments, the customs of the country are pledged to the service of the loan. And, also as usual, revenues whether external or internal are to be collected under the "supervision" of an American financial advisor, a supervisor of customs and a supervisor of internal revenue. All of these American officials, over which the Liberian government has no control, will live on the fat of the land, "under a system that is not only expensive but irresponsible," according to Dr. Buell.

4. The state department refuses to give out the text of these agreements which it has made with the Firestone company, the National City Bank of New York and the Liberian government. As Dr. Buell puts it, "it is another case of 'secret diplomacy' in which the American people are becoming involved in committments which will hardly be to their liking when known."

All of which is putting it very mildly. For what all this means is that a large American rubber company is engaging in a piece of economic imperialism, backed by full authority of the American government, and all in the interest of furthering Herbert Hoover's rubber campaign against the British Empire. This and the oil rivalry and other sources of conflict are leading to the next great war between the United States and Great Britain.

Meanwhile the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., which controls the Firestone Plantation Co. of Liberia can report net income for dividends of nearly $14,000,000 in 1927. These profits have been piled up from the exploitation of native-born Americans, foreign-born workers and some Negro workers in the Open Shop mills of Akron, Ohio. This company has fought all unions without gloves. It has used labor spies; it has discriminated against workers talking unionism and dismissed them from the employ of the company; it has played off one nationality against another; it has provided no protection against the frightfully unhealthy conditions in its plants.

This is how the Firestone Company treats its workers in "civilized" Ohio. In primitive Liberia, with a slave system of labor, the workrs are feeling the same iron heel of these merciless rubber barons.

The interests of the Akron workers, and the interests of the 350,000 who are required to develop this workers, in the jungles of Liberia $100,000,000 Firestone domains are really identical. They face the same exploiter.

But, says Mr. Young, in Opportuity: "Mr. Firestone is optimistic about the future of western Africa."

Republic of Liberia.

LIBERIAN COFFEE.

Electric Cleaning and Grading Plant Installed.

("African World" Correspondent.)

The coming coffee season, beginning in December, will be one of the busiest that Liberia has ever known, and the output will exceed that of any preceding year; the farmers estimate that not less than 6,000,000 lb. will be put on the market this year. The Liberian farmers are now sending perfectly cleaned and graded coffee to the ports, and their goods command the highest market prices. This has been made possible through the efforts of President King, who has established at White Plains, the St. Paul River, the centre of the coffee district, machines run by electric power for the grading and cleaning of coffee. The machines include a hot-air heater with a 10-in. blower, a huller, a polisher, a separator, two classifiers, and a bagger; these machines have a capacity of 2,000 lb. per hour. Liberian coffee is of an excellent quality and taste, but it has not commanded the full market price hitherto because the hulling has been done by hand in so crude a way that the appearance of the berries was destroyed, and the native farmer had no means of grading or cleaning his coffee. With the advent of these new machines this has been made possible, and the coffee farms, now on the increase, promise to be a good investment. Great care is now being given to the use of fertilisers, that have in many cases during the past year increased the crop by 80 per cent. Attention is given to pruning and the removal of the parasites, especially that of the orchid, one of the most destructive enemies of the coffee tree. In all parts of the Republic the farmers are paying great attention to their crops, so that they come up to the market standards.

B.B.W.A. in Liberia.

A large circle of his friends in this city welcomed the return of Mr. W. L. James, the courteous manager of the Bank of British West Africa, Ltd., who arrived on October 8 from a six months' furlough spent in England.

Under the capable management of Mr. James the volume of business has so increased that structural alterations to the bank buildings must be carried out to give room to the larger staff now employed. Ever mindful of the welfare of their staff, the Bank of British West Africa, Ltd., have acquired a five acre lot on the Seashore Drive, just within the city limits, and will erect during the coming year two bungalows, fitted with all modern sanitary improvements, for the use of their employees. The location is one of the best in Monrovia; its height precludes the malaria mosquito; it has an unceasing sea breeze, and one of the finest views on the West Coast.

Mr. R. G. Maclean, the present cashier, has been transferred to Freetown, to the great regret of the business men of this city. Mr Woodley and Mr. Sorrell are leaving shortly on furlough. D. M.

Liberians to Study U.S. Postal System.

In order to cement more firmly the relationship between Liberia and the United States, Postmaster-General Harry S. New has announced that every courtesy will be accorded Liberian representatives who are to come to America to make a study of the American postal system, states the "Afro-American."

Liberian Consul, Ernest Lyon Declares Word 'Negro' Mistake

The Native African Union of America and friends to the number of several hundred that thronged St. Mark's M. E. Church Monday night rapturously applauded the masterly addresses of Chief Amoah, Prince Eket Ernest Lyon, Liberian consul general in the United States. Dr. Frank A. Cullen of Salem M. E. Church presided and Mr. Nyrumbolo made announcement of the beginning of the Union's school at their Harlem offices. Dr. Lyons added to the pleasure of those preceding him with a strong, scholarly address on the past, present and future. He urged the Africans everywhere to learn and treasure the mighty historic past of Africa and to gird their loins for the coming economic and intellectual struggle for racial equality. One of the hurtful and vicious influences in the progress of the African race is the inveterate use of the word "Negro," he declared amidst a burst of applause from his African hearers. The word is as vicious in its applied uses as it is incorrect in its historical derivation, he concluded.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa

THE REAL ROLE OF FIRESTONE IN LIBERIA

By Robert W. Dunn

"A new world is in the making at the western edge of Africa," Mr. James C. Young, who specializes on publicity for the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., informs us in the November number of Opportunity, official organ of the National Urban League.

Mr. Young's article is a typical apology for American white imperialists. It sounds strangely like the writings of British, French and Belgian publicity men painting the older imperialism, of these countries in rosy colors some years ago. It tells about the wonderful roads and houses and sanitary improvements made in the little Negro Republic during the two years since Firestone started work on his lease of 1,000,000 acres for the growing of rubber. ing up to the civilizers from Akron, Ohio, with "eagerness" in their faces. It also informs us that the Americans of the Firestone "staff" in Liberia "form a pleasant social circle on the edge of the primitive." Those who have seen the great Soviet film, "A Shanghai Document," will appreciate this touch—the "superior" white man with his cocktails, his American bar, his sports and—unlimited authority. The article is illustrated with a picture of the vassal President King sitting beside Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., "on the veranda of the Executive Mansion." And Mr. Firestone is quoted as the Savior of the country, the white industrial Jesus who has come to save the poor Africans from their ignorance and sloth.

This is the picture as we got in "a journal of Negro life" that ought to know better than to print the official publicity hand-outs of a rubber company. In contrast to this servile and misleading account we may place unimpeachable evidence on the real situation in Liberia as presented by Ralmond L. Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, ad leading American specialist on African colonial problems.

Dr. Buell made an address before the Institute of Policies at Williamstown, Mass., last August. The state department and the Firestone Company are still trying to answer and deny the charges he made, but without success. Briefly his charges, backed by documents and statements of fact were as follows:

1. The Firestone company is exploiting the workers of Liberia by a system that is equivalent to the worst form of colonial slavery. Money is paid to chiefs of native tribes who in turn force their people to work for the Firestone company. Mr. Firestone pays to the native government and the chiefs each a cent a man per day. As Dr. Buell put it: "It is one of the ironies of history that the government of the United States should cast the weight of its influence in favor of system which the French and British have discarded as harmful to native interests."

2. The U. S. government, and specifically Herbert Hoover, encouraged the Firestone Company to go concession-hunting and to engage in economic imperialism in Africa. The state department helped to force a loan on the Liberian government which was made by Mr. Firestone's new mysterious company, the Finance Corporation of America, specially formed for the purpose.

3. That this loan to the Liberian government, accepted under duress, compelled that government to borrow $5,000,000 at 7 per cent from Mr. Firestone's dummy company, and to make no other loans for 20 years even though it might be able to borrow elsewhere for less interest. Furthermore, as is customary with such loans made by American companies to weak foreign governments, the customs of the country are pledged to the service of the loan. And, also as usual, revenues whether external or internal are to be collected under the "supervision" of an American financial advisor, a supervisor of customs and a supervisor of internal revenue. All of these American officials, over which the Liberian government has no control, will live on the fat of the land, "under a system that is not only expensive but irresponsible," according to Dr. Buell.

4. The state department refuses to give out the text of these agreements which it has made with the Firestone company, the National City Bank of New York and the Liberian government. As Dr. Buell puts it, "it is another case of 'secret diplomacy' in which the American people are becoming involved in committments which will hardly be to their liking when known."

All of which is putting it very mildly. For what all this means is that a large American rubber company is engaging in a piece of economic imperialism, backed by full authority of the American government, and all in the interest of furthering Herbert Hoover's rubber campaign against the British Empire. This and the oil rivalry and other sources of conflict are leading to the next great war between the United States and Great Britain.

Meanwhile the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., which controls the Firestone Plantation Co. of Liberia can report net income for dividends of nearly $14,000,000 in 1927. These profits have been piled up from the exploitation of native-born Americans, foreign-born workers and some Negro workers in the Open Shop mills of Akron, Ohio. This company has fought all unions without gloves. It has used labor spies; it has discriminated against workers talking unionism and dismissed them from the employ of the company; it has played off one nationality against another; it has provided no protection against the frightfully unhealthy conditions in its plants.

This is how the Firestone Company treats its workers in "civilized" Ohio. In primitive Liberia, with a slave system of labor, the workrs are feeling the same iron heel of these merciless rubber barons.

Liberia.

The interests of the Akron workers, and the interests of the 350,000 who are required to develop this workers, in the jungles of Liberia $100,000,000 Firestone domains are really identical. They face the same exploiter.

But, says Mr. Young, in Opportuity: "Mr. Firestone is optimistic about the future of western Africa."

Republic of Liberia.

LIBERIAN COFFEE.

Electric Cleaning and Grading Plant Installed.

("African World" Correspondent.)

The coming coffee season, beginning in December, will be one of the busiest that Liberia has ever known, and the output will exceed that of any preceding year; the farmers estimate that not less than 6,000,000 lb. will be put on the market this year. The Liberian farmers are now sending perfectly cleaned and graded coffee to the ports, and their goods command the highest market prices. This has been made possible through the efforts of President King, who has established at White Plains, the St. Paul River, the centre of the coffee district, machines run by electric power for the grading and cleaning of coffee. The machines include a hot-air heater with a 10-in. blower, a huller, a polisher, a separator, two classifiers, and a bagger; these machines have a capacity of 2,000 lb. per hour. Liberian coffee is of an excellent quality and taste, but it has not commanded the full market price hitherto because the hulling has been done by hand in so crude a way that the appearance of the berries was destroyed, and the native farmer had no means of grading or cleaning his coffee. With the advent of these new machines this has been made possible, and the coffee farmis, now on the increase, promise to be a good investment. Great care is now being given to the use of fertilisers, that have in many cases during the past year increased the crop by 80 per cent. Attention is given to pruning and the removal of the parasites, especially that of the orchid, one of the most destructive enemies of the coffee tree. In all parts of the Republic the farmers are paying great attention to their crops, so that they come up to the market standards.

Clipped 11-17-29

B.B.W.A. in Liberia.

A large circle of his friends in this city welcomed the return of Mr. W. L. James, the courteous manager of the Bank of British West Africa, Ltd., who arrived on October 8 from a six months' furlough spent in England.

Under the capable management of Mr. James the volume of business has so increased that structural alterations to the bank buildings must be carried out to give room to the larger staff now employed. Ever mindful of the welfare of their staff, the Bank of British West Africa, Ltd., have acquired a five-acre lot on the Seashore Drive, just within the city limits, and will erect during the coming year two bungalows, fitted with all modern sanitary improvements, for the use of their employees. The location is one of the best in Monrovia; its height precludes the malaria mosquito; it has an unceasing sea breeze, and one of the finest views on the West Coast.

Mr. R. G. Maclean, the present cashier, has been transferred to Freetown, to the great regret of the business men of this city. Mr. Woodley and Mr. Sorrell are leaving shortly on furlough.

D. M.

Liberians to Study U.S. Postal System.

In order to cement more firmly the relationship between Liberia and the United States, Postmaster-General Harry S. New has announced that every courtesy will be accorded Liberian representatives who are to come to America to make a study of the American postal system, states the "Afro-American."

Liberian Consul, Ernest Lyon Declares Word 'Negro' Mistake

The Native African Union of America and friends to the number of several hundred that thronged St. Marks M. E. Church Monday night rapturously applauded the masterly addresses of Chief Amoah, Prince Aketi and Ernest Lyon, Liberian consul general in the United States. Dr. Frank A. Cullen of Salem M. E. Church presided and M. Nyrumbolo made announcement of the beginning of the Union's school at their Harlem offices. Dr. Lyons added to the pleasure of those preceding him with a strong, scholarly address on the past, present and future. He urged the Africans everywhere to learn and treasure the mighty historic past of Africa and to gird their loins for the coming economic and intellectual struggle for racial equality. One of the hurtful and vicious influences in the progress of the African race is the inveterate use of the word "Negro," he declared amidst a burst of applause from his African hearers. The word is as vicious in its applied uses as it is incorrect in its historical derivation, he concluded.

Race Problem 1923

1. Liberia.

Africa

AMERICAN DEMAND FOR RUBBER OPENS AFRICAN EMPIRE

Progress of Plan to Create Our Own Source of Supply in Liberia Foreshadows Freedom from Foreign Control

The business of building a new empire in Africa is well advanced. American energy and American methods are converting one corner of that primitive world into something like a miniature America. Before long the far land of Liberia will have modern schools, power plants, motor roads, chain stores and other familiar institutions of American life. Already out movies afford the natives a glimpse of us at home. Engineers, agricultural specialists, medical men and more of many crafts make up this army of empire builders. All of this is possible because, for the first time in the march of the centuries, organized progress has come to a land that endures almost as it was in the beginning.

Even the name of Liberia falls strangely upon the ear in this hurrying world of ours. But the man with a smattering of his geography still in mind will recall that the country lies a degree or two above the equator, almost at the western tip of Africa. If his history is as clear as his geography he will remember that Liberia was the first and continues to be the greatest of the negro republics. Colonized a hundred years ago by some of our freed slaves, it was soon to become the scene of the black man's original experiment in self government.

Reporter

That he has justified many hopes is proved by the position of Liberia today, a country stirred by the touch of Western progress. Its resources are a guarantee of future development. Politically it is well established. When the League of Nations convenes Liberia has a seat at the round table. Relations with our own country have been especially close; in fact Liberia looks to America as its best friend. But in spite of old ties and natural friendship, we never took an active part in Liberian development until the last year or two.

2-11-28

Thus the little republic founded under such stress has gone along its way, doing as best it might. Beginning with nothing, a great deal has been accomplished. Descendants of the colonizers have brought a measure of civilization to the 2,000,000 natives. But the task was a huge one indeed and progress limited to the means at hand. Doubtless the history of Liberia, of all western Africa, would have continued its slow evolution if the needs of modern America had not turned interest that way.

Birmingham, Ala.

Indirectly the automobile was destined to alter the course of history. With the automobile came the world need for rubber. Although this precious substance was first found in the Amazon valley, control and development long since passed to the Middle East, where British and Dutch planters now raise practically the whole supply. In an effort to "corner" this supply the British government passed a restrictive measure that has cost the American automobilist untold millions since 1922.

Apparently there was no means of relief; certainly no early relief. It takes five years for a rubber tree to become productive and such trees can be cultivated only within a few degrees of the equator. Seemingly the American consumer could do nothing but pay the bill. Yet there was something that might be done. Harvey S. Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, sat down in his private office at Akron, Ohio, and wondered how he should undertake the job.

Mr. Firestone was one of the pioneers in tire manufacture. He probably knows as much about the subject as any other man. And he reasoned that the increasing need for rubber meant complete surrender to foreign growers unless a new source could be found. But how

:d it The answer involved
orld search of more than two
rs, which ended in Liberia.
Climate, soil, government, people—everything invited to the biggest industrial enterprise known to western Africa. It really is much more than that—the conversion of the primitive.

In this way the empire builders turned eastward, instead of westward, as the course of empire has been said to travel. They were a force of young men, carrying surveyors' chains; of young doctors, bearing their instruments; of experts in soils, digging everywhere; of trained "rubber men" and every trade needed to hew the empire from its pristine fastness. Surely American business never knew a richer romance. Not since the winning of the west have we engaged in such an enterprise. Where the west was won by many men, a generation of men engaged in a national effort, the new empire is to be the creation of a single organization.

Once convinced Liberia met American needs Mr. Firestone launched the undertaking with a vigor that has accomplished much in a short time. The beginning was not made without ominous predictions. Voices overseas and at home pronounced the climate "impossible," the labor supply undependable, the plan visionary. Yet the facts were plain enough. Climate, soil, government, people, were friendly. Only that long five years lay between the first planting and the first rubber.

Then the Firestone plantations would be a whole month nearer to New York than the Middle East rubber ports. An American-owned, American-raised supply would replace one arbitrarily controlled, subject to foreign dictation at any time.

It is now almost two years since the rubber pioneers went into Africa. They took over 2,000 acres of trees planted some years before, a plantation that has yielded well. This small acreage merely proved the possibilities of the Liberian concession, granting 1,000,000 acres anywhere in the republic's boundaries. The real task was to locate suitable plantations and get them started toward cultivation.

The statement conveys no hint of the difficulties. We must think of a country without railroads, highways or river craft big enough to serve any worth while purpose. A few miles from the coast lies the jungle; the jungle that was in the beginning of time, a place of mystery, vast depths, unknown things. It even encroaches down to the coast, awaiting the white man, ready to mock him.

Into this jungle went the "rubber men." They ventured two years ago, but the span of their effort is hardly longer than a year. And a monumental year it has been, filled with achievement, golden in promise. So far they have established two plantations. One of them includes 50,000 acres about forty miles from the Liberian capital of Monrovia, a city named for our own President, James Monroe. This plantation on the Du River has a flourishing American town as its center.

The visitor might think himself in any typical western camp of the "boom" days. But it is arther better than a "boom" camp. A central power plant supplies light and current and operates a refrigeration and pumping system for the community. The American staff has a recreation field and comfortable quarters, living in the counterpart of American bungalows transplanted to Africa. A hospital serves American and native workers; hygiene goes hand in hand with industry.

Here it is that the American staff comes in the evening to read last month's papers and talk about home. But their new home is not so very different from those left behind in America. It is not hard to foresee gravel streets and traffic policemen for this town by the Du. Already a system of chain stores operated in connection with the larger enterprise supplies every need that one may have in a far land. Things like American soap, tooth paste, matches that really strike, with hundreds of other incidentals necessary to the art of living, can be bought over the counter on the Du as easily as on Main Street. In the past Liberia's cost of living has been somewhat high. English and Dutch traders have set the prices just about as they pleased and always with a libera. profit to themselves. The new stores will soon make it possible to buy almost any ordinary article at American prices. This intervention has been of wide benefit to the Liberian population.

Laying out a rubber plantation involves more human effort than any simple description could convey. First the land must be cleared of its great old trees and undergrowth. Then comes the burning and the stumping—just as a farmer clears new ground. Next the ground must be levelled and prepared for planting. After overcoming these varied difficulties the American forces have planted 15,000 acres within the year, a record for any organization in any country.

Five years from this writing the rubber seedlings will be sizable trees, and the rubber fluid (latex) will soon be converted into tires for the American automobilist, right from his own farm, so to speak. Next year it is hoped to raise the record several notches higher. But how many years will be required to plant 1,000,000 acres is a matter that nobody guesses about. The point of importance was planting the first 15,000—a long step toward the greater goal.

About 150 miles from the Du plantation is the second big field of operation, at Cape Palmas, twenty-five miles inland on the Cavalla River. Although the average cleared and the organization engaged is somewhat smaller this operation practically duplicates the other. Additional plantations will be established and each time there must be stores, power plants, hospitals and all the other essentials of life—created in the wilderness.

With both of the new plantations on rivers, but considerably removed from one another, it became necessary to join their activities by water transportation. The first of the Firestone fleet is the Duvalla, a hundred-foot schooner to ply along the coast. Others will follow as needed and the day seems not far distant when a trans-Atlantic service must be opened. Progress has arrived in Liberia; the past gives way rapidly to the present.

The staff of Americans carrying on this empire building has direction of 15,000 natives, a number certain to be largely increased as the work has hardly begun. Every article used in development up to this time has been transported thousands of miles. Scarcely a tool could be bought in the country. Each nail and screw had to be brought from home. In the work of hygiene these problems are multiplied and intensified. Everyone knows that tropical countries have a large quota of diseases. Liberia is more fortunate than many, though beset by common ailments. A Firestone endowment fund granted to Harvard University has made it possible for Dr. A. W. Sellards of the Tropical School of Medicine to study the Liberian problem. Instruction in hygiene, fever control, adequate hospitals are in prospect.

For some time American missionaries have contributed largely to education, as their funds and workers made it possible. But a comprehensive plan was needed, beginning with the youngest youngster and advancing to the adult. Representative educators and organizations are co-operating to that end. Meanwhile the Firestone interests have sent an experienced vocational instructor to Liberia for the purpose of establishing such education. The present year should see the first of the trade schools founded.

All observers agree that the Liberian native is reliable in character and quick to learn the white man's ways. The possibilities of uplifting the native population are considered exceptionally favorable. Each step lays its own special burden on the pioneers. Text books have been prepared for elementary instruction, covering the principles of physiology, arithmetic, geology and a suggestion of history. This instruction must be fitted to the native mind. Suppose we should tell a native child that Jack Frost came in the night and blew his breath on the window pane. That would be a meaningless bit of pleasantry as the Liberian youngster never heard of Jack Frost or saw his breath frosted on the glass or even a window pane itself.

One by one these difficulties are being overcome. Hardly any other enterprise of this scope ever advanced so far with such good fortune. We may instantly recall the first failure at the Panama Canal, followed by the struggle of later years to complete "the big ditch." Or we may think of the first tunnel under the Alps. We have yet fresh in mind our difficulties in the Philippines, in Porto Rico. Never before has an American industry undertaken foreign pioneering on anything like this scale. It is empire building in the first person singular.

This latter day pioneering goes forward in the way of a big business enterprise. It is just another department of the industry. One of these days radio communication will be opened between the Liberian plantations and the Akron factory. Then the head of the business may well say to his operator, "Just get Mr. Jones for me if he is in his office down on the Du." If Mr. Jones himself cannot be transported by any sort of magic we know, yet his words, his thoughts, his personality can be whisked across those thousands of miles by the magic of the speaking wave.

It is interesting to note that the Liberian government has embarked upon a series of improvements, along with those of private enterprise. The pioneers, having laid miles of good roads and planning many more, are encouraged to find the government working upon a system of its own. Then we may expect the busy motor car to flit along African roads in the way that we see it on our own. This public and private co-operation extends to education and public works of many kinds. The leaven is at work, Liberia is on the move.

Here, then, behold the miracle that rubber wrought. If it had not been for the automobile there would have been no need of tires. Without tires there could have been no vast store of wealth in Eastern rubber. Then we should have no British restriction act and no occasion to open the latest empire. But since each of these things had to be in the course of progress

Race Problem - 1928

2. Liberia.

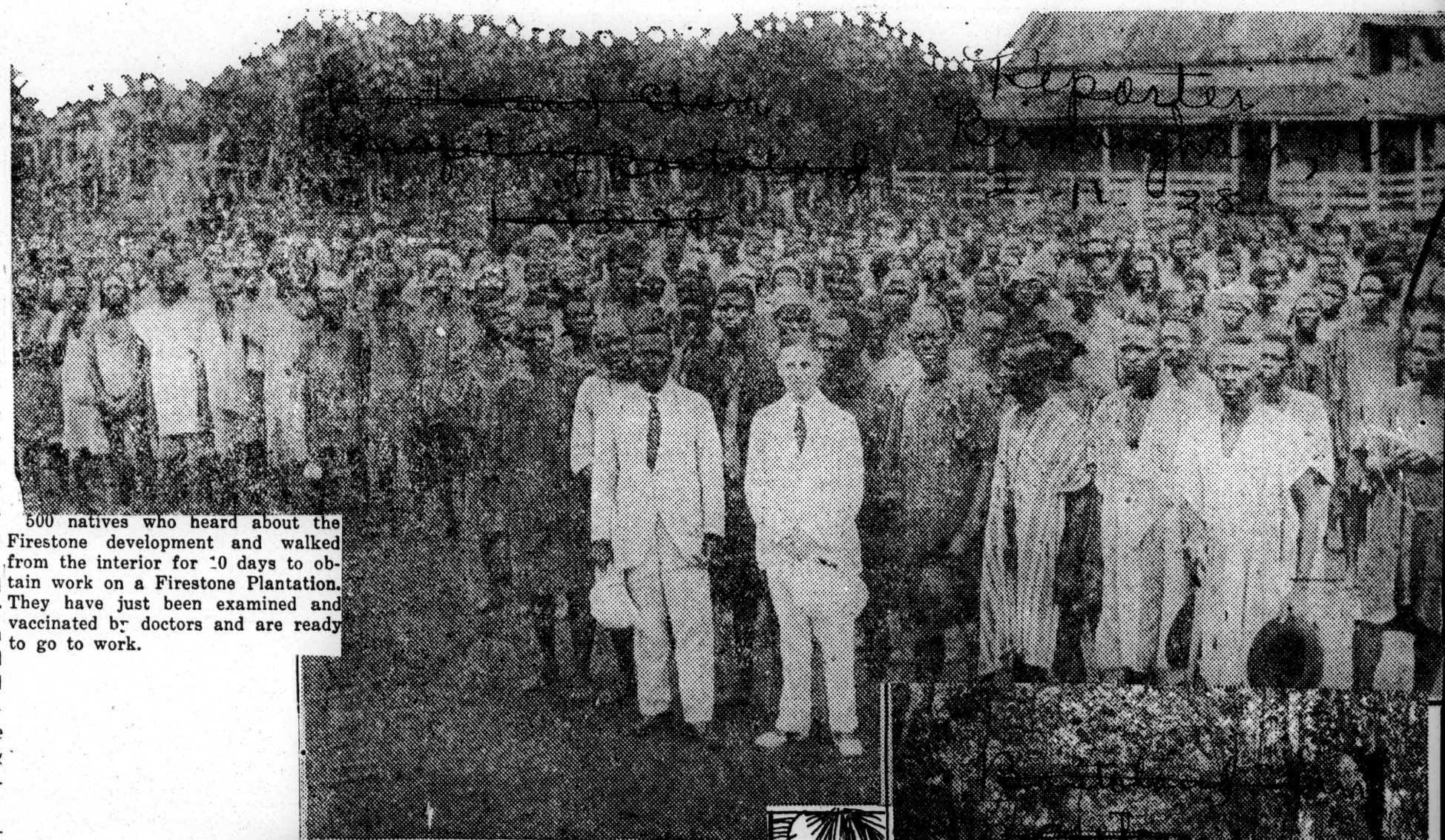
Africa.

it has brought much good, of light, of the new day to a far land.

During the week Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., who has personal direction of the Liberian development, sailed for Monrovia on a tour of inspection. Mr. Firestone expects to return in about two months, ready to carry on and broaden the undertaking.

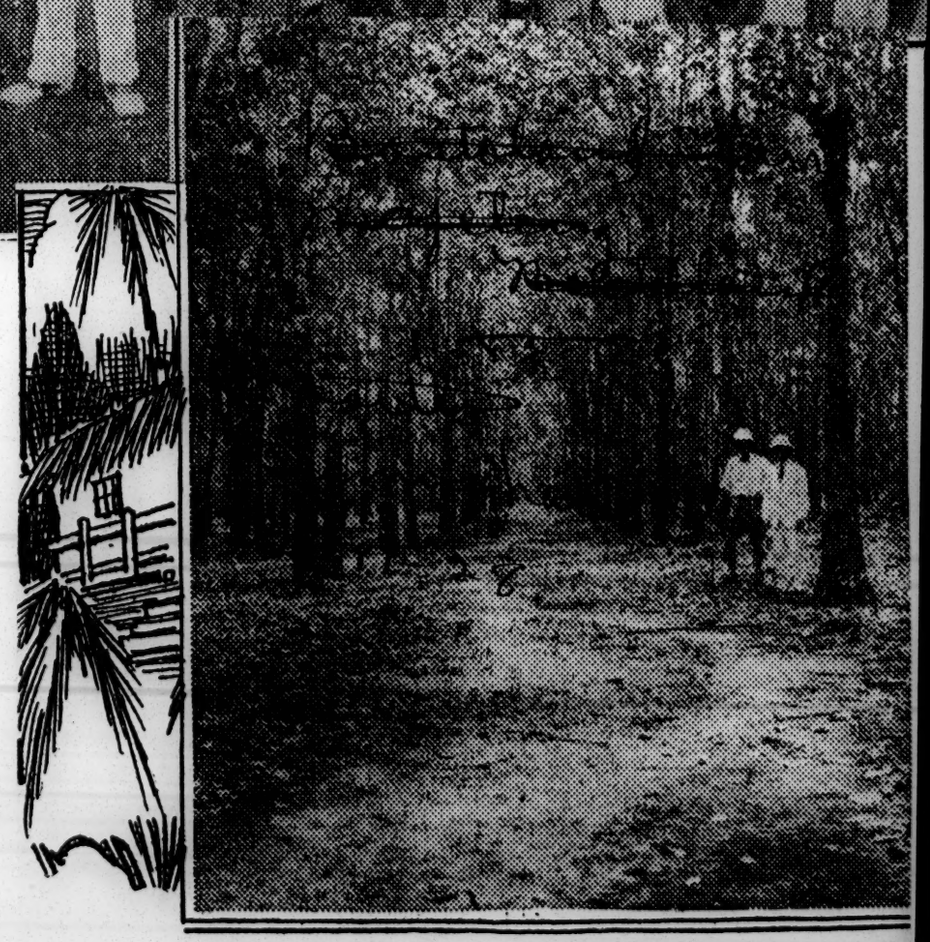
While in Liberia, Mr. Firestone will travel by the company's own ship, visiting the several plantations and other sites considered favorable for planting. It is hoped to improve upon the record of 1927 in the year to come. Rubber trees already set out in the first stage of operation are reported as making rapid progress, which encourages the belief that production from the trees will easily begin within the 5-year period. The area cleared in 1927 was about 20,000 acres and the 5,000 acres yet to be planted will soon come under cultivation. Other extensive areas are to be cleared during the coming season and planting pushed forward with all possible speed.

Mr. Firestone will not only inspect and organize the field force, but expects to give special attention to the task of supplying this force through the stores now being established. This later enterprise presents enough problems to keep any man busy. It takes a nice judgment to know what sorts of commodities should be ordered for the Liberian trade.

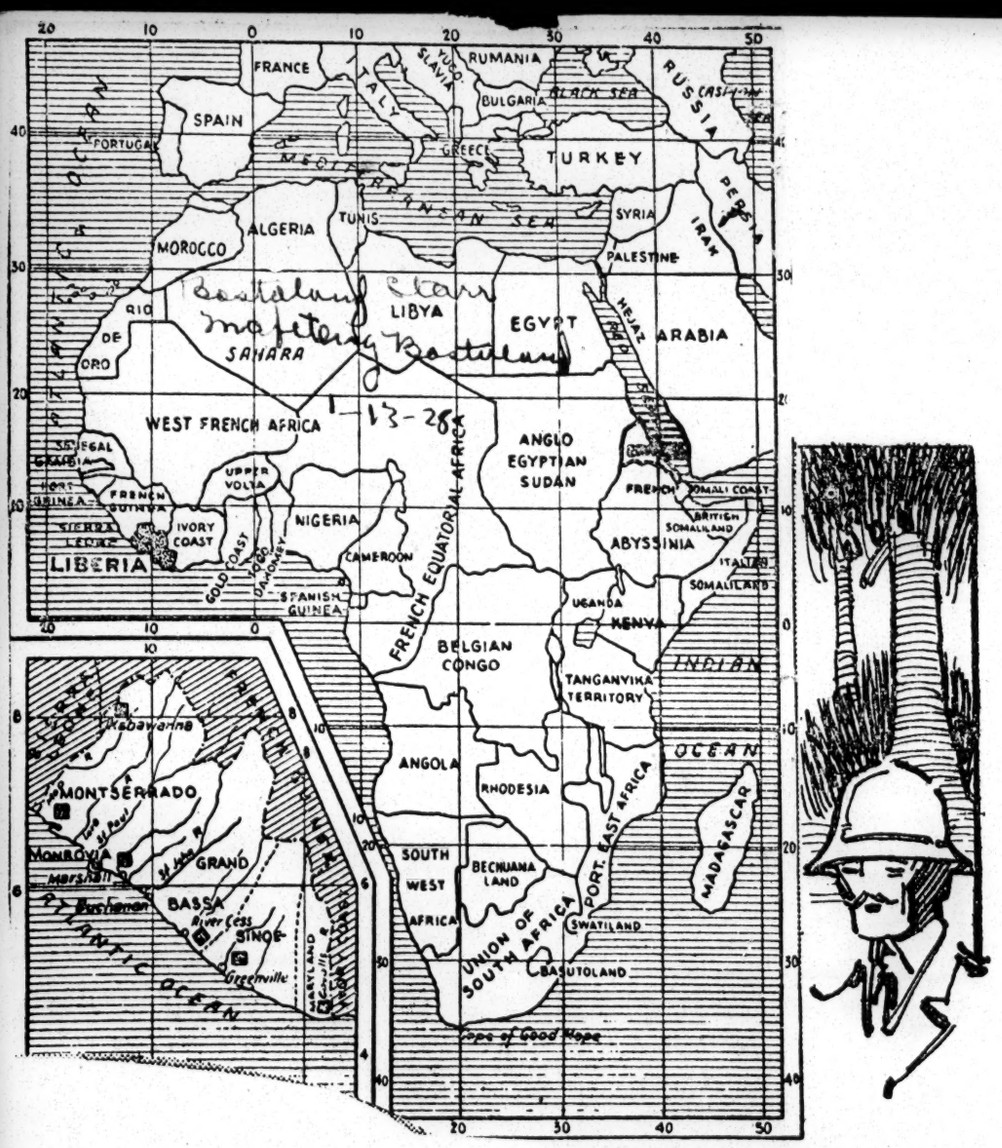


500 natives who heard about the Firestone development and walked from the interior for 10 days to obtain work on a Firestone Plantation. They have just been examined and vaccinated by doctors and are ready to go to work.

Inspecting opening up of groove in rubber tree to facilitate flow of Latex.



Mature rubber trees on Firestone Plantations in Liberia.



Liberia's place in Africa and (in the smaller map) the Firestone concessions, which are indicated by the black areas.

PALE NEGROES OF PONDOLAND.

DESCENDANTS OF ENGLISH CASTAWAYS.

(Specially written for "The African World" by ANTHONY CLYNE)

An eminent Danish ethnologist, Dr. C. Redsted Pederson, has made a most interesting discovery in Pondoland, a strip of territory on the east coast of South Africa, in the north-east corner of Cape Province.

About 150 miles distant from the coast he has found a little community of pale-skinned negroes, who hold themselves aloof from the natives around, and differ from them strikingly in their characteristics, being more industrious and free from their gross superstitions. There seems to be no reason to doubt that these mysterious people are descendants of the survivors of the "Grosvenor," the Indiaman wrecked on the coast 145 years ago. The mystery of the fate of those that were not found by the rescuing expedition is thus partly solved.

The wreck of the "Grosvenor" is a well-known tragedy of the sea. In 1782 the big sailing ship set out from India, laden with a rich cargo of Eastern wares and with officials of the East India Company, army officers, and traders as her passengers. A number were accompanied by their wives and children. The "Grosvenor" crossed the Indian Ocean, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope—nearly a century before the opening of the Suez Canal—encountered a terrible storm. She was forced to change her course, and was driven along the east coast of Africa. Eventually she went crashing on the rocks near where Port Grosvenor now is situated—a small settlement on the coast.

Desperate Castaways.

The passengers and crew saved themselves from the sea, to find themselves in a remote land, inhabited by tribes then wholly uncivilised, with little food and water. The nearest white men were the Dutch at Port Elizabeth, some 300 miles away to the south. The castaways were in a desperate situation. A council of the leaders was held, and after considering every proposal, they decided that the men of the party should be divided into two sections. A group of the strongest was to travel south along the coast, until they came to the first white settlement, and could obtain help for the others. Such a journey was impossible for the women and children. These were to march inland with the other men to protect them, until they reached some place where food and water were available. There they were to establish themselves, defending themselves if necessary against the Kaffirs until succour arrived.

Into the Dutch settlement there crawled, 117 days after the party had started, four emaciated survivors. These were all that had survived the hardships and perils. Their chief food had been the flesh of whales stranded on the shore. Often they had been compelled to drink foul water. They had many encounters with hostile natives. Immediately a rescue expedition was organised, well armed and carrying provisions. The expedition made its way as quickly as possible to the place where the second group of survivors were supposed to be. Traces of them were found, but they had disappeared. Detachments of the expedition searched far and wide through the jungle for three months.

Then 12 of the survivors were found, three English sailors, two Indian women who had been ayahs or nurses of English children, and seven lascars. It was learned that the second group after some time had divided again into two parties, and that these 12 persons were the remnant of one party. All the English women and children were in the other party, which was never found. The jungle had swallowed them up. The expedition was forced to come to the conclusion that they had perished.

About 10 years later, when the tragedy had been almost forgotten except by the relatives and friends of those who had been lost, Colonel Gordon was in the vicinity. He heard from natives of a white woman in a kraal, living with the chief of a tribe. According to one report, she kept herself apart from the other members of the tribe, but had often been seen weeping over a black baby. Colonel Gordon sent a message by a trustworthy native that he would come to her rescue if she wished, but he received no reply.

Natives' English Wives.

A few years afterwards a company of Dutch officials returned from an expedition of exploration in the direction of Pondoland with the information that they had received reports from natives of several English women living in the jungle with a Kaffir tribe. These women could have been rescued, but the officials heard from friendly natives that they refused because of their love for the children they had borne to their native husbands. They had no desire to return to civilisation, to a world which would be strange to them, and in which, whatever the compassion they inspired, they could have no happy and assured position.

After that there was silence concerning the survivors of the "Grosvenor" for more than a century, until the Danish scientist in his investigations came across their descendants in the hinterland of Pondoland, described as "sad-eyed, curiously aloof, pale-skinned negroes." They live less than 150 miles from the scene of the wreck, and it seems practically certain that the natives, having killed the men of the party, concealed the women during the search of the Dutch expedition and managed to hide all traces of them. They were taken, doubtless, by some of the chiefs as wives.

Several of the romances of Rider Haggard tell of some mysterious white people living in Central Africa, with a strange civilisation of their own. The story of the survivors of the wreck of the "Grosvenor" is not so romantic as the conception of the novelist, but it is infinitely more pathetic. Imagine those few ill-fated women, after their terrible experiences, rejecting rescue and resigning themselves to remain buried in the jungle with their children instead of returning to the world.

Obituary.

The death has occurred at Bloemfontein in a private nursing home, following an operation, of L. E. H. Gericke, the organising secretary of the South African Party in the Free State. He was 38 years of age. Early last year he was appointed organiser for the South African Party in this Province. As a platform speaker he did splendid work, and General Smuts, Senator F. S. Malan, Colonel Mentz, and other leaders held him in high esteem. During the rebellion he fought with the Government forces. He was the first to advocate and launch a "Burger School" in the Free State during the directorship of Dr W. J. Viljoen.

Africa.

Liberia.

THE PLACE OF THE VERNACULAR IN NATIVE EDUCATION.

Memorandum by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa.

Gold Coast leader.

The Advisory Committee issued in July, 1925, a tentative Memorandum on the Place of the Vernacular in African Education and invited observations from those who had knowledge of local conditions. Replies have been received from the Governments of the Gambia, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone in West Africa, and of Kenya, Somaliland, Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Zanzibar in East Africa. These replies include in nearly all cases, in addition to an expression of the views of the Government, memoranda by the Director of education, by missionaries, and by other experts whose advice was sought by the Government. The information contained in these various documents and the opinions expressed are of the highest interest and value. The Committee desire to thank most cordially those who have contributed to the study of this important subject.

1. The Aims of Education.

The Committee in their Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa have defined the type of education which they believe to be needed in Africa in the following terms:—

'Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her conditions of life, whatever they may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability, and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education."

2. Object of Memorandum.

The object of this Memorandum is to suggest, in the light of the opinions received from Africa, some of the main lines of policy for adoption in the present phase of education in Africa. This policy will no doubt need modification in the future as experience is gained, and in any case adaptation to different conditions in defferent parts of Africa.

3. Value of the Vernacular.

It was recognised by the Imperial Education Conference, which met in London in 1923, that "the language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life is, from the educational point of view, the most effective medium for his instruction in the preliminary stages of school education."

The same point is touched upon, with special reference to a corresponding problem in India, in the report of the Calcutta University Commission (1919), Volume 1, Part 1, pp. 2445, Sections 86-87.

'By means of languages learnt at school or later, an educated man or woman should hold at least the chief keys to the world's culture. In his hand should be the passport which will admit him through words written and spoken, to the society of thinkers and writers, dead or living, near at hand or far off. For the scholar of the Middle Ages in Europe the master key was Latin. For the man of affairs in Europe in the eighteenth century the master key was French. For the educated Indian of to-day the master key is English. English, then, is indispensable to the higher education of India at this time. It cannot be forgone. The instinct of the people is right It is not merely that for the Indian student English is an instrument of livelihood. It is more than that. It is a pathway leading into wider intellectual life.

"But, on the other hand, the mother tongue is of primary importance. The mother tongue is the true vehicle of mother wit. Another medium of speech may bring with it, as English brings with it, a current of new ideas. But the mother tongue is one with the air in which a man is born. It is through the vernacular (refined, though not weakened, by scholarship and taste) that the new conceptions of the mind should press their way to birth in speech. This is almost universally true, except in cases so rare (like that of Joseph Conrad) as to be the general rule. A man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality. In our way of speech we must each, as the old saying runs, drink water out of our own cistern. For each one of us is a member of a community. We share its energy and its instincts; its memories, however dim, of old and far-off things. And it is through our vernacular, through our folk-speech, whether actually uttered or harboured in our unspoken thoughts, that most of us attain to the characteristic expression of our nature and of what our nature allows us to be or to discern. Through its mother tongue the infant first learns to name the things it sees or feels tastes or hears, as well as the ties of kindred and the colours of good and evil. It is the mother tongue which gives to the adult mind the relief and illumination of utterance, as it clutches after the aid of words when new ideas or judgments spring from the wordless recesses of thought or feeling under the stimulus of physical experience of emotion. Hence in all education the primary place should be given to training in the exact and free use of the mother tongue."

Gold coast leader

Professor Westermann, one of the foremost authorities African languages, says:—

"Mental life has evolved in each people an individual shape and a proper mode of expression; in this sense we speak of the soul of a people and the most immediate, the most adequate exponent of the soul of a people is its language. By taking away a people's language we cripple or destroy its soul and kill its mental individuality. A people without a language and a tradition of its own is individually dead; it has become part of a mass instead of being a living personality. The same principle is valid in education generally. Language and mental life are so closely connected that any educational work which does not take into consideration the inseparable unity between African language and African thinking is based on false principles and must lead to an alienation of the individual from his own self, his past, his traditions, and his people. If the African is to keep and to develop his own soul is to become a separate personality, his education must not begin by inoculating him with a foreign civilisation, but it must be based on the civilisation of each people, it must teach him to love his country and tribe as gifts given by God. One of these gifts is the vernacular. It is the vessel in which the whole national life is contained and through which it finds expression."

The Phelps-Stokes Commission, having pointed out that the vernacular "is one of the chief means of preserving what is more important than all else, namely, native self-respect," go on to say:—

"This emphatic belief in the value of the native languages is not to be interpreted to justify the indiscriminate adoption of all African dialects as claiming encouragement and continuous use. While many African languages are rich in words with delicate shades of meaning, others, on the contrary, are merely dialects with only unimportant differentiations from the parent tongue. In many colonies there is a multiplicity of dialects spoken by small groups who are thus estranged from one another to the point of hostility. The process of selecting the native languages of greatest value to the native people is therefore extremely difficult. The comparative merits of several dialects in a colony may require years of scientific study. The testimony of Europeans of natives who speak a particular dialect is likely to be prejudiced favourably by that knowledge. The ability to weigh the value of testimony as to languages must be based on real knowledge of the dialects under consideration. There are also geographical elements that influence the value of a dialect, such as the number of people who speak it, the status and potentiality of the people as compared with others of a different dialect, and territorial proximity."

The clearness of thought, independence of judgment, and sense of individual responsibility which are developed through the wise educational use of the language in which a pupil has learned from infancy to name the things he sees, hears, and handles are the best and surest guarantees of success and progress in the later stages of education. Further, our policy should guard against the creation of new classes of African society, separated from the vast mass of their fellow countrymen by loss of contact and ready communication with those who have not received the advantages of modern education.

KNOXVILLE TENNESSEE TRIBUNE
JANUARY 1, 1928

... future.

NEGRO BISHOP NOTES LIBERIA PROGRESS

African Country Being Transformed, He Says.

CHICAGO, (AP).—Liberia is being transformed, economicaly, educationally and in a religious sense, reports Bishop Matthew W. Clair, of Covington, Ky., one of two negro bishops in the Methodist Episcopal church.

Bishop Clair will preside at the Liberian annual conference of the church in that country January 26.

Liberia was confided to Bishop Clair eight years ago. He co-ordinates his efforts with those of Bishop W. Simpson of the African Methodist Episcopal church

The Firestone rubber development has done much to revitalize the country industrially, Bishop Clair says, and educational and religious activities are keeping pace.

He is attempting to establish an industrial school in Liberia on the Hampton-Tuskegee plan and said that educational work has progressed greatly under a unification plan which is bringing together the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes fund, the American, New York and Massachusetts Colonization Societies and missionary bodies of the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran churches.

[illegible]
SATURDAY, [illegible] 1928.

NEGRO BISHOP NOTES PROGRESS IN LIBERIA

Chicago.—(AP)—Liberia is being transformed, economically, educationally and in a religious sense, reports Bishop Matthew W. Clair of Covington, Ky., one of two negro bishops in the Methodist Episcopal church.

Bishop Clair will preside at the Liberian annual conference of the church in that country Jan. 26.

Liberia was confided to Bishop Clair eight years ago.

He is attempting to establish an industrial school in Liberia on the Hampton-Tuskegee plan.

More than 350,000 children of school age at present must forego an education because there are no educational facilities to care for them, he said.

DURANGO, COLO., DEMOCRAT
JANUARY 2, 1928

NEGRO BISHOP NOTES PROGRESS IN LIBERIA

Chicago, Dec. 29.—Liberia is being transformed, economically, educationally and in a religious sense, reports Bishop Matthew W. Clair of Covington, Ky., one of 2 negro bishops in the Methodist Episcopal church at that southern town.

Bishop Clair will preside at the Liberian annual conference of the church in that country on the 26th of January.

Liberia was confided to Bishop Clair eight years ago. He co-ordinates his efforts with those of Bishop W. Simpson of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

The Firestone rubber development has done much to revitalize the country industrially, Bishop Clair states, and educational and religious activities are keeping pace.

He is attempting to establish an industrial school in Liberia on the Hampton-Tuskegee plan and said that educational work has progressed greatly under a unification plan that is bringing together the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes fund, the American, New York and Massachusetts Colonization Socities and missionary bodies of the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran churches.

More than 350,000 children of school age at present must forego an education because there are no educational facilities to care for them, he said.

Liberia Plans Large-Scale Cultivation Of Tropical Crops

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, June 30.—(AP)—With a 1,000-acre experimental farm as a nucleus, the Liberian government under President King is vigorously pushing plans to create an African Eden in the jungles of the Negro republic.

Seeds and plants from all tropical and semi-tropical regions of the world are being brought to the farm. Preliminary experiments have already demonstrated that the soil and climate of Liberia can produce excellent crops, chiefly rubber, pineapples, cotton, coffee, bananas, ginger, rice, cocoanuts, sugar cane and cacao.

"There is the promise of powerful backing from American financial and industrial interests if the tests are satisfactory, and the inhabitants of Liberia are already pointing to signs of an approaching "boom."

The experimental farm is about an hour's ride from Monrovia, the capital, and not especially favored as a location. The reason for this is that President King wanted to find out just what could be done working under conditions of average climate and cultivation.

As one enters the grounds the first object that the eye sees is the 25 acre pineapple plantation. In even rows, free from all grass and vegetation destructive to tropical farms, stand the pineapple plants that have been imported, and adjoining, the wild pineapple stems taken from the jungle. Under cultivation the fruit of the latter rival in size, taste and shipping qualities those grown upon plants imported from the Hawaiian Islands, many samples weighing over eight pounds, none less than four.

A field of ginger imported from China and planted next to a field of native ginger had produced profusely ginger of a high grade. Stretches of beans of various varieties, carefully trained on poles, the pods of large size and well filled, are flanked by 9,000 hills of cabbage ready for the market, of good size and free from all insects. A field of yams, eddoes and cassavas are in the best of condition. These replace the Irish potato in the kitchen of the inhabitants of the tropical zone. To the left lay the cotton fields. The soil and climate of Liberia are eminently suited to the production of cotton.

From seeds imported from the United States cotton was grown last year of such size and quality that samples sent to cotton brokers in Manchester were designated as the finest long staple cotton ever submitted for the firm's inspection. Wild cotton is grown everywhere in great profusion, the seeds carried by the wind that take root wherever they fall. The natives clean it by hand and bleach it carefully when spun. The yarn is dyed with native dyes—blue from the indigo plant, orange red from the juice of the Orleans plant and brown from various grasses.

The yarn is woven into native or country cloth on primitive hand looms, usually in blue and white stripes, as the looms permit only the weaving of narrow strips. The cloth is used by the native for his clothing and such articles as are necessary in the home. In the northwestern part of Liberia cotton is fairly extensively grown, although up to the present the natives have grown cotton only along the edge of the streams, as these are the only means of transportation. Cotton plantations in Liberia would be a good investment for any one who desired a fair profit within a short time.

Durham, N. C., Herald
Sunday, July 1, 1928

Liberia Plans Large-Scale Cultivation Tropical Crops

Monrovia, Liberia June 30.—(AP)—With a 1,000-acre experimental farm as a nucleus, the Liberian government under President King is vigorously pushing plans to create an African Eden in the jungles of the Negro republic.

Seeds and plants from all tropical and semi-tropical regions of the world are being brought to the farm. Preliminary experiments have already demonstrated that the soil and climate of Liberia can produce excellent crops, chiefly rubber, pineapples, cotton, coffee, bananas, ginger, rice, cocoanuts, sugar cane and cacao.

There is the promise of powerful backing from American financial and industrial interests if the tests are satisfactory, and the inhabitants of Liberia are already pointing to signs of an approaching "boom."

The experimental farm is about an hour's ride from Monrovia, the capital, and not especially favored as to location. The reason for this is that President King wanted to find out just what could be done working under conditions of average climate and cultivation.

As one enters the grounds the first object that the eye sees is the 25 acre pineapple plantation. In even rows, free from all grass and vegetation destructive to tropical farms, stand the pineapple plants that have been imported, and adjoining, the wild pineapple stems taken from the jungle. Under cultivation the fruit of the latter rival in size, taste and shipping qualities those grown upon plants imported from the Hawaiian Islands, many samples weighing over eight pounds, none less than four.

A field of ginger imported from China and planted next to a field of native ginger had produced profusely ginger of a high grade. Stretches of beans of various varieties, carefully trained on poles, the pods of large size and well filled, are flanked by 9,000 hills of cabbage ready for the market, of good size and free from all insects. A field of yams, eddoes and cassavas are in the best of condition. These replace the Irish potato in the kitchen of the inhabitants of the tropical zone. To the left lay the cotton fields. The soil and climate of Liberia are eminently suited to the production of cotton.

From seeds imported from the United States cotton was grown last year of such size and quality that samples sent to cotton brokers in Manchester were designated as the finest long staple cotton ever submitted for the firm's inspection. Wild cotton is grown everywhere in great profusion, the seeds carried by the wind take root wherever they fall. The natives clean it by hand and bleach it carefully when spun. The yarn is dyed with native dyes—blue from the indigo plant, orange red from the juice of the Orleans plant and brown from various grasses.

The yarn is woven into native or country cloth on primitive hand looms, usually in blue and white stripes, as the looms permit only the weaving of narrow strips. The cloth is used by the native for his clothing and such articles as are necessary in his home. In the northwestern part of Liberia cotton is fairly extensively grown, although up to the present the natives have grown cotton only along the edge of the streams, as these are the only means of transportation. Cotton plantations in Liberia would be a good investment for any one who desired a fair profit within a short time.

Race Problem - 1928.

Liberia.

Africa.

The Story of Liberia

EVERYBODY interested in Africa's awakening, in which the Liberian republic is to figure so largely as a base of operations, will be eager to read the forthcoming volume, "Liberia—Old and New," by Dr. J. L. Sibley. Because of its past eventful history and its present status on the threshold of one of the most promising epochs of development in the life of any country, Liberia is being watched with unusual solicitude in all sections of the industrial and religious world. Its position as the nexus between the Negro American and the millions of his ebony kinsmen is likewise significant for the future political alignment of the nations and races of the earth.

Southwestern Christian

Liberia's development and career is meaningful for the future. Herein lies the challenge for more comprehensive knowledge of the country, its peoples, its natural resources, its institutions, and customs. Despite the century-old career of this Negro republic, strangely there has not yet appeared such a readable, informing, and authoritative history of the country as the public has desired. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sibley's book will fill this much-felt need. Mr. Sibley is a Southerner of the United States by birth, training, and years of service. Whether he can sufficiently detach himself from the traditions and mental complexes characterizing this section, to write judicially rather than prejudicially concerning the black republic and its peoples remains to be seen. It is worthy of note in this connection that he is American adviser to the republic in educational matters. He was sent to Liberia by a dozen or more missionary, educational, and philanthropic societies interested in the school problems of that nation. For more than a year he has been in conference with missionary leaders, school principals, educational and government authorities, with a view to solving the problem of setting up an educational system and technique for Liberia.

The first of its kind, this volume to appear about January 15, should prove of the highest value, looking toward the awakening of an intelligent interest in and effort for Africa's permanent social advancement. "Liberia—Old and New," will be issued by Doubleday, Doran & Company.

OTHER PAPERS SAY

AMERICAN NEGROES AND LIBERIA

[Chicago Tribune]

Arthur Sewell, a Negro of Chicago, recently visited Liberia, the Negro republic on the African west coast. He had gone there in the belief that the solution of the race problem in America lay in the return of his people to Africa. An interview with him disclosed his disappointment. He found Liberia primitive not only materially but also in the structure of its society. Slavery, he found, had been left behind there, but not far behind.

Liberia

3-31-28

Mr. Sewell's testimony must be discouraging to those who have cherished the notion that a solution of the race problem in America is at hand at any time the Negro people choose to take advantage of it. Colonization seems to offer much, but in reality it offers little or nothing. The Negro population of the United States does not want to move to Africa. It never did, even in the days of slavery.

Colonization

The American Colonization society began sending free Negroes from the United States to Liberia as early as 1820. In the next 25 years only 4,500 colonists could be found who would leave the United States for Liberia, where they could hope for equality as well as liberty. Currently it is estimated that in a total Liberian population exceeding 1,500,000, only 20,000 are colonists or the descendants of colonists from America. There are at least 10 times that many Negroes in Chicago.

The fact must be faced that the Negro population of America is here and is going to stay here, and with it the Negro problem, because the lot of the American Negro, though it leaves much to be desired, is preferable to anything else he is likely to find elsewhere. He is securely rooted in America and to talk of his "return" to Africa as if he had just arrived is mere sentimentality. It is well over a century since the last Negro immigrant from Africa came to our shores. The Negroes of this country rightly pay no attention to those who advise them to move en masse somewhere else. They will not go willingly and the government of the United States has neither the power nor the will to force them to leave.

American Negroes suffer many discriminations. There are many things in this country they may not do, places they may not go, positions they may not hold. The fact must be faced that these discriminations are, for the most part, not being removed. The race problem in America, like many other problems, appears to have no ideal solution and no end. What hope there is in the situation lies in the power of both races to face the facts honestly and with as much good will as they can command. Frankness and good will will not solve the problem, but can ameliorate some of the symptoms.

SIOUX CITY IOWA JOUR
MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1928

NEGRO BISHOP NOTES PROGRESS IN LIBERIA

Chicago.—(AP)—Liberia is being transformed, economically, educationally and in a religious sense, reports Bishop Matthew W. Clair, of Covington, Ky., one of two negro bishops in the Methodist Episcopal church.

Bishop Clair will preside at the Liberian annual conference of the church in that country January 26.

Liberia was confided to Bishop Clair eight years ago. He co-ordinates his efforts with those of Bishop W. Simpson of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

The Firestone rubber development has done much to revitalize the country industrially, Bishop Clair says and educational and religious activities are keeping pace.

He is attempting to establish an industrial school in Liberia on the Hampton-Tuskegee plan and said that educational work has progressed greatly under a unification plan which is bringing together the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes fund, the American, New York and Massachusetts Colonization societies and missionary bodies of the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran churches.

More than 350,000 children of school age at present must forego an education because there are no educational facilities to care for them, he said.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 27 1928

AMERICAN NEGROES AND LIBERIA.

Arthur Sewell, a Negro of Chicago, recently visited Liberia, the Negro republic on the African west coast. He had gone there in the belief that the solution of the race problem in America lay in the return of his people to Africa. An interview with him disclosed his disappointment. He found Liberia primitive not only materially but also in the structure of its society. Slavery, he found, had been left behind there, but not far behind.

Mr. Sewell's testimony must be discouraging to those who have cherished the notion that a solution of the race problem in America is at hand at any time the Negro people choose to take advantage of it. Colonization seems to offer much, but in reality it offers little or nothing. The Negro population of the United States does not want to move to Africa. It never did, even in the days of slavery.

The American Colonization society began sending free Negroes from the United States to Liberia as early as 1820. In the next twenty-five years only 4,500 colonists could be found who would leave the United States for Liberia, where they could hope for equality as well as liberty. Currently it is estimated that in a total Liberian population exceeding 1,500,000, only 20,000 are colonists or the descendants of colonists from America. There are at least ten times that many Negroes in Chicago.

The fact must be faced that the Negro population of America is here and is going to stay here, and with it the Negro problem, because the lot of the American Negro, though it leaves much to be desired, is preferable to anything else he is likely to find elsewhere. He is securely rooted in America and to talk of his "return" to Africa as if he had just arrived is mere sentimentality. It is well over a century since the last Negro immigrant from Africa came to our shores. The Negroes of this country rightly pay no attention to those who advise them to move en masse somewhere else. They will not go willingly and the government of the United States has neither the power nor the will to force them to leave.

American Negroes suffer many discriminations. There are many things in this country they may not do, places they may not go, positions they may not hold. The fact must be faced that these discriminations are, for the most part, not being removed. The race problem in America, like many other problems, appears to have no ideal solution and no end. What hope there is in the situation lies in the power of both races to face the facts honestly and with as much good will as they can command. Frankness and good will will not solve the problem, but can ameliorate some of the symptoms.

Herald
Ithaca-Mich

MAR 29 1928

Opinions of the Day

AMERICAN NEGROES AND LIBERIA

Arthur Sewell, a Negro of Chicago, recently visited Liberia, the Negro republic on the African west coast. He had gone there in the belief that the solution of the race problem in America lay in the return of his people to Africa. An interview with him disclosed his disappointment. He found Liberia primitive not only materially but also in the structure of its society. Slavery, he found, had been left behind there, but not far behind.

Mr. Sewell's testimony must be discouraging to those those who have cherished the notion that a solution of the race problem in America is at hand at any time the Negro people choose to take advantage of it. Colonization seems to offer much, but in reality it offers little or nothing. The Negro population of the United States does not want to move to Africa. It never did, even in the days of slavery.

The American Colonization society began sending free Negroes from the United States to Liberia as early as 1820. In the next twenty-five years only 4,500 colonists could be found who would leave the United States for Liberia, where they could hope for equality as well as liberty. Currently it is estimated that in a total Liberian population exceeding 1,500,000, only 20,000 are colonists or the descendants of colonists from America. There are at least ten times that many Negroes in Chicago.

The fact must be faced that the Negro population of America is here and is going to stay here, and with it the Negro problem, because the lot of the American Negro, though it leaves much to be desired, is preferable, to anything else he is likely to find elsewhere. He is securely rooted in America and to talk of his "return" to Africa as if he had just arrived is mere sentimentality. It is well over a century since the last Negro immigrant from Africa came to our shores. The Negroes of this country rightly pay no attention to those who advise them to move en masse somewhere else. They will not go willingly and the government of the United States has neither the power nor the will to force them to leave.

American Negroes suffer many discriminations. There are many things in this country they may not do, places they may not go, positions they may not hold. The fact must be faced that these discriminations are, for the most part, not being removed. The race problem in America, like many other problems, appears to have no ideal solution and no end. What hope there is in the situation lies in the power of both races to face the facts honestly and with as much good will as they can command. Frankness and good will will not solve the problem, but can ameliorate some of the symptoms.—The Chicago Tribune.

Race Problem - 1928

Africa.

LIBERIA PRESIDENT SAYS BUELL ERRED

No Coercion in Firestone Rubber Concession, C. D. B. King Cables to State Department.

LOAN CHARGE ALSO DENIED

Executive Asserts Research Director Was Wrong at Williamstown in Alleging Domination.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.—Denial of the coercion of Liberia by the United States Government in connection with the Firestone rubber concession and the 7 per cent. Liberian loan of last year is made today in a note to Secretary of State Kellogg from C. D. B. King, the President of Liberia.

President King's cablegram was in reply to charges made by Raymond L. Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, who charged on Aug. 29, before the Williamstown Institute of Politics that the United States Government was following a policy of attempted domination and that the State Department had caused Liberia to accept the Firestone Rubber concession.

William R. Castle Jr., as Acting Secretary of State, yesterday denied the Buell charges.

The text of President King's cablegram was made public by the State Department today as follows:

MONROVIA, August 30.

Secretary of State, Washington:

I have noted with surprise the alleged statements made in an address delivered yesterday at Williamstown Political Institute by Professor Raymond D. Buell, particularly the suggestion therein made that the Liberan Government was coerced by the United States Department of State in the matter of the Firestone rubber concession and the 7 per cent. loan of 1927. This suggestion is without any foundation in fact.

He Denies Any Influences.

The approach to the agreement was made by the private enterprise of Mr. Firestone and neither directly nor indirectly was any influence broubht to bear upon the Government of Liberia by the Department of State, or any other department or official of the United States, compelling the granting of the Firestone concession.

The fact that the negotiations between Firestone and the Liberian Governement were protracted over a period of two and a half years should conclusively show that there was no coercion, but rather that full consideration was given to the views of each party by the other.

In respect to the loan of 1927, internal economic conditions growing out of the World War dictated to the Government of Liberia the propriety and necessity of funding its indebtedness and reorganizing its finances.

It was this which led to the offer of the United States Government in 1921 to make available funds which, in the Wilson Administration, had been allocated to Liberia during the war. This proposal did not meet with the approval of Congress and the tentative agreement which had been reached by the two Governments lapsed.

Up to the present, the effect of this loan, in addition to stabilizing our finances, has been to give greater internal strength to the Government of Liberia and to avert alien intervention in our domestic affairs upon grounds which imperialists usually advance for this purpose. The country generally is satisfied with the policy which has been pursued by the Administration.

Besides this, there would seem to be historical fitness in a financial project which links up Liberia with the United States. There have been crises in our relations with the French Government growing out of undetermined frontiers.

Came to America for Loan.

Nevertheless, the need for reorganizing Liberian finances still existed and Liberia, like other States in similar circumstnaces, took advantage of the opportunity offered by the American money market.

In the negotiations between the Government of Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America there was no participation by the Department of State and the only reference in the agreement to the Government of the United States is th provision for the designation by the President of the United States of a financial advisor.

No Word on "Menace."

But these have never been represented to us as a "menace" by the United States Department of State nor was the Firestone project represented to the Government of Liberia by that department as the means by which the menace could be removed.

On the contrary, when, in certain quarters opposed to the Firestone scheme, it was suggested that the United States Department of State was behind the Firestone proposals the Secretary of State of the United States took occasion formally to notify the Government of Liberia that the Administration was neither directly nor indirectly behind Firestone.

The statement of Professor Buell that the scheme involves the control of Liberia by American officials is untrue and mischievous. There is under the loan agreement, as has already been pointed out, but one official, the financial advisor designated by the President of the United States upon the request of the Government of Liberia, and even this designation is not final unless acceptable to the President of Liberia. Liberia, like every other country, has suffered from an unemployment problem.

Boon to Laboring Classes.

The Firestone operation was an opportunity seized with alacrity by the Liberian laboring classes. The Government has had no occasion whatever to coerce labor and reports seem to indicate that far from suffering from a dearth of laborers, the Firestone plantations are suffering from an embarrassment of riches in this respect.

Nothing in the Firestone agreement obligates the Government of Liberia to impress labor for the company, even should an occasion to do so present itself. On this point the Government of Liberia would welcome an investigation on the spot by an impartial commission.

This apparent attempt to bring Liberian affairs in an unfavorable light before the American people as a factor in the present political controversy is much to be regretted. Most interesting to me is the fact that Professor Buell is able to predict Liberia's future and impugn the soundness and integrity of its statesmen after a visit of only fifteen days, during which he could have seen but a few of our high officials and leading citizens.

(Signed) C. D. B. King, President.

(Signed) C. D. B. KING,
President.

DEVELOPING LIBERIA.

A keen sense of the wrong done the natives of Africa by the slave traders of past centuries makes it natural that Americans should be sensitive about charges that American business interests are planning to follow in Liberia the worst examples of European nations in darker Africa. Since some of these charges have been garbled, for use in our political campaign, it is all the more gratifying that the entire subject has had a full airing at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. Dr. RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, whose report had been twisted for partisan purposes to imply that not only the Department of State but also the Secretary of Commerce had countenanced the virtual enslavement of the Liberian people and the injury of their Government by extortionate loans forced upon them by rapacious American bankers, has now made it clear that he meant no such thing. His contention, boiled down to its essence, is that the American Government backed the Firestone interests in obtaining concessions which would virtually exclude European Powers from obtaining a dominant interest in Liberia. He explained that he had found on "subsequent investigation" that the State Department had never attempted to force Liberia to accept the projected loan, but had merely advised that it believed such a course was expedient.

This bears out the statements of Dr. THOMAS J. JONES, who made an extensive study of Liberian conditions as director of the Phelps Stokes Fund and of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia. He commended the State Department for its patience and wisdom during the negotiations of the Firestone interests for the control of a large area of Liberian territory for the production of rubber, and credited the department with having prevented Liberia from falling a prey to the inroads of powerful neighbors. He pointed out that the loan of $5,000,000 at 7 per cent. was a reasonable arrangement in view of the benefits to be derived from it by the Liberian people. He might have added that at the time the loan was made the market for foreign bonds in this country was such that countries of much larger resources than Liberia had to pay fully as high a rate for their money.

It is only fair to the critics of the Firestone interests to state that their fears about the oppression of native African labor would be shared by the entire nation if the facts now or later were to show that they were justified. The American people would never countenance this sort of exploitation of backward peoples. But it is regrettable that such accusations as those originally imputed to Dr. BUELL are bandied about without verification. They serve to discredit legitimate American enterprise and to play into the hands of foreign interests anxious to discourage American efforts to obtain rubber supplies from sources controlled by American capital. Until the Firestone or any other American company operating in Liberia is conclusively proved to be enslaving the natives and oppressing the Liberian State it is unfair to intimate that such things are happening. Dr. JONES has rendered a service to this country by stating fully and clearly the purposes and effects of America's latest effort to help Liberia develop her economic resources.

Firestone In Liberia

IN view of the conflicting opinions of eminent students of African affairs as to the most likely ultimate result the Firestone concessions will have upon the future of the Liberian Republic, the advice of the New York World that Negroes in this country "should keep conditions in the little Negro republic under scrutiny" is temperate and wise. One school of thought, of which Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, arises as the most recent outstanding exponent, leans to the apprehension that the vast industrial exploitation undertaken in Liberia by the American rubber magnate with the good will of the American Government will eventually lead to human exploitation upon a scale that will shear the republic of its sovereignty and reduce it to an American vassal with a native system of involuntary servitude. The other school of thought, of which Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, who has devoted eight years resident study to Africa, is the most recent outstanding exponent, is of the opinion that the Firestone concessions will lift "Liberia from the hopeless economic condition in which she has been for a decade."

Dr. Buell criticizes the financial arrangements which form the basis of the concessions, seeing them as a stranglehold upon the finances of the native government for practically a half century—the loan advanced to Liberia by the National City Bank of New York and Harvey Firestone amounts to $5,000,000 and is to run for 40 years at 7 per cent. The loan is virtually guaranteed by the sovereignty of the United States in that a financial adviser, a supervisor of customs and a supervisor of internal revenue are established under tutelage of the American government, and Dr. Buell stated that the Liberian army is placed under Americans. Mr. Firestone gets a 99-year lease on a million acres and he pays the native chieftains one cent per head per day for recruiting the necessary 300,000 laborers for working this vast acreage. All of this may turn out to prove a gigantic benevolent economic arrangement, but Dr. Buell's fears are certainly tenable, to say the least.

On the other hand, Dr. Jones believes that the loan will in itself so assist in reshaping Liberia's finances that the republic will breathe freer. He also believes that the high purposes of Mr. Firestone himself, and that the watchfulness of the missionary organizations, along with the economic, educational and spiritual awakening that will come with the vast industrial project will serve to bring unprecedented prosperity and progress to Liberia. Dr. Jones' opinions on this matter are not to be taken lightly. He is a sincere man, and has the best interests of the Africans at heart. His contradictions of Dr. Buell must be given due weight.

To the credit of both Dr. Buell and Dr. Jones, it must be said, however, that neither expresses

dogmatic views on the subject. Neither excludes the possibilities of what the other foresees. Both bring to the discussion of Liberia a penetrating knowledge of the physical and fiscal situation of the republic which leaves, they both inferentially concede, its future status more a matter of conjecture. Hence the advice of the New York World would appear to constitute the most fitting course for the African descendants in America to pursue in regard to the vast venture projected in the little republic of our ancestors.

MISUNDERSTOOD HIS STAND SAYS BUELL

Research Director Thinks State Department Didn't Comprehend Position

RICHMOND, MASS., Sept. 2.—(AP)—Prof. Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the foreign policy association, said today that after reading the reply of the State Department and President King to his address on Liberia before the Williamstown, Mass., Institute of Politics, he was of the opinion they had failed "to comprehend my position."

"My fundamental contentions," Prof. Buell said, "were:

"1—That if Mr. Firestone carries out his announced plan of developing 1,000,000 acres of rubber land in Liberia and of employing 3,000,000 men, it is inevitable that despite his good intentions, compulsory labor and native demoralization will result. This has happened whenever the plantation system upon a large scale has been introduced elsewhere in Africa.

"2—That the new 7 per cent loan, upon which Mr. Firestone insisted, fulfills no productive purpose since the larger part of its proceeds merely refunds a 5 per cent loan which would have expired in 1952. The new 7 per cent loan does not expire until 1967 and Liberia cannot refund it during 20 years without the consent of the finance corporation, that is Mr. Firestone.

"3—That the State Department was actively connected with the negotiations. It is difficult to understand Mr. Castle's statement that the department took 'no more part in the loan that it does in any foreign loan' when in the loan agreement, the text of which remains unpublished, the president of the United States is authorized to 'designate' the financial adviser of Liberia and the State Department is authorized to arrange with Liberia for the arbitration of disputes. Obviously the finance corporation and the Liberian government, the parties to the loan agreement, would not have inserted these provisions without the active cooperation and assistance of the State Department which the department does not give in the case of ordinary foreign loans. The participation of the department in the negotiations for the concession, as distinct from the loan, is proved by Mr. Castle's statement that the department proposed amendments to the agreement and by the fact that it agreed to arrange for arbitration of disputes.

"Mr. Castle asserts that there was no connection between the loan and the boundry dispute. President King would seem to support the contrary position when he states that the effect of the loan has been 'to avert foreign intervention' and that 'there have been crisis in our relations with the French government growing out of undetermined frontiers.' That many Liberians believed that in accepting the loan they were obtaining the diplomatic support of the United States is proved by quotations from the Liberian press.

"All of the statements made at Williamstown were based on my report to the Harvard bureau of international research, entitled 'The Native Problem in Africa,' published in May 1928. Before publication the Liberia manuscript was submitted to the State Department. While dissenting vigorously from the conclusion and interpretation, the department representative specifically challenged only one pact, which I therefore omitted. The manuscript was also checked by three other persons in first hand touch with Liberia.

"The only reason that I enter into these details is that Mr. Castle and President King have challenged my accuracy and disinterestedness. Despite the length of their statements, neither Mr. Castle nor President King meet any of my fundamental contentions. In fact their statements contradict each other. If the public is to form a judgment, the State Department should publish not only the text of the loan agreement but all correspondence and cables in regard to Liberia during the last five years."

FIRESTONE DENIES LIBERIA CHARGES

Declares in Answer to Buell That Trade Door Remains Open in Republic.

EMPLOYS 15,000 NATIVES

Rubber Manufacturer States That They Are Hired and Paid Directly by Company.

AKRON, Ohio, Sept. 1 (AP).—Harvey S. Firestone, President of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, in a statement today reviewing the Firestone rubber project in Liberia, said in part:

"There is no closed door in Liberia. The door is open today the same as it has been for over seventy-five years, but opposition to the development of the Firestone concession there in the form of foreign propaganda has raised the closed door issue and still seeks by persistent efforts to place obstacles in the way of legitimate American enterprise and play into the hands of foreign interests."

Mr. Firestone's statement was in answer to an address delivered at the Williams Institute of Politics by Professor Raymond Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, who declared that Herbert Hoover assisted the Firestone concession in Liberia while Secretary of Commerce, and attacked the rubber project of the Firestone company. The State Department denied that Mr. Hoover had any connection with the concession.

Likeness to Foreign Propaganda.

"There is really little need for me to make any comment on the situation," said Mr. Firestone, "as the statement of President King of Liberia, William R. Castle Jr., Acting Secretary of State, and Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, have completely exposed the charges of Professor Buell, which closely resemble foreign propaganda attempting to discredit our rubber development in Liberia.

"This consistent effort to prevent Americans from producing their own rubber free from the foreign rubber monopoly simply serves to bring the necessity of doing so more forcibly to the minds of the American people."

"Linking the name of Herbert Hoover with our enterprise in Liberia is wholly without cause," Mr. Firestone declared. "While Mr. Hoover was one of the first to expose the ramifications of the British rubber monopoly and recognize the necessity of America producing her own rubber, he never has had any connection with our undertaking in Liberia. His views on foreign policy may not be exactly the views of many European nations, but it is my opinion that he is, without question, outstanding among statesmen as to his knowledge and experience of foreign relations."

British Papers Ridiculed Project.

The Firestone Company first went into Liberia in 1923 to open negotiations for an immense rubber plantation project. Announcements of Firestone's intentions brought ridicule from British newspapers. After two and a half years of negotiations, the Firestone company obtained a lease on 1,000,000 acres of land. This lease was approved by the Legislature of Liberia in 1926 and work started under the lease to prepare the land for the planting of rubber trees.

Mr. Firestone also helped to arrange a loan for Liberia in 1927 in which the Government obtained $5,000,000 at 7 per cent. interest. The loan was necessary to fund the country's debt and reorganize its finances.

In the short time the Firestone company has been in Liberia it has given employment to 15,000 natives, employing them direct and paying them direct, Mr. Firestone said. There are 30,000 acres under cultivation. The trees will produce rubber in five years from planting.

HOOVER AND LIBERIA.

Considerable effort has been made by Democratic papers to connect Herbert Hoover with the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia in a manner that would discredit the Republican candidate for the Presidency. This criticism was based on a report made by Prof. Raymond Buell, which was first given publicity in the English and West African press. Mr. Hoover was charged with forcing the Firestone concession upon Liberia, while Secretary of Commerce, and the Firestone concern was accused of using forced labor to work its rubber plantations. Prof. Buell recently repeated his charges before the Williamstown Institute of Politics, which were refuted by a statement made by President C. D. B King of Liberia, sent to the New York Herald Tribune.

President King flatly denied that the Liberian government was coerced by the United States officials into accepting the Firestone concession and related the negotiations which lasted over a space of two and a half years. He branded the statement of Prof. Buell that the scheme involves the control of Liberia by American officials as "untrue and mischievous." He said that the opportunity offered by the Firestone operation was seized with alacrity by the Liberian laboring classes and the government has had no occasion to coerce labor.

Mr. Firestone, in a statement given to the Associated Press, at Akron, Ohio, likewise absolved Mr. Hoover from any connection with the Liberian rubber enterprise. It was admitted that Mr. Hoover was one of the first to expose the ramifications of the British rubber monopoly and recognize the necessity of America producing her own rubber. This is probably the reason why the English papers have sought to connect Mr. Hoover with the Liberian enterrise, which threatens to destroy their monopoly. Certain Democratic papers in this country thought they had found campaign material in Prof. Buell's criticisms which could be used to discredit the Republican candidate, but the statements by President King of Liberia, the acting head of our State Department and other authorities have shown these charges to be unfounded.

It is a queer state of affairs that brings English rubber monopolists to combine with American Democrats in an attempt to discredit a Republican candidate for the Presidency. We never thought that genuine Democracy could stop twisting the tail of the British Lion long enough to repeat his roar over rubber losses.

dogmatic views on the subject. Neither excludes the possibilities of what the other foresees. Both bring to the discussion of Liberia a penetrating knowledge of the physical and fiscal situation of the republic which leaves, they both inferentially concede, its future status more a matter of conjecture. Hence the advice of the New York World would appear to constitute the most fitting course for the African descendants in America to pursue in regard to the vast venture projected in the little republic of our ancestors.

MISUNDERSTOOD HIS STAND SAYS BUELL

Research Director Thinks State Department Didn't Comprehend Position

RICHMOND, MASS., Sept. 2.—(AP)—Prof. Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the foreign policy association, said today that after reading the reply of the State Department and President King to his address on Liberia before the Williamstown, Mass., Institute of Politics, he was of the opinion they had failed "to comprehend my position."

"My fundamental contentions," Prof. Buell said, "were:

"1—That if Mr. Firestone carries out his announced plan of developing 1,000,000 acres of rubber land in Liberia and of employing 3,000,000 men, it is inevitable that despite his good intentions, compulsory labor and native demoralization will result. This has happened wherever the plantation system upon a large scale has been introduced elsewhere in Africa.

"2—That the new 7 per cent loan, upon which Mr. Firestone insisted, fulfills no productive purpose since the larger part of its proceeds merely refunds a 5 per cent loan which would have expired in 1952. The new 7 per cent loan does not expire until 1967 and Liberia cannot refund during 20 years without the consent of the finance corporation, that is Mr. Firestone.

"3—That the State Department was actively connected with the negotiations. It is difficult to understand Mr. Castle's statement that the department took 'no more part in the loan that it does in any foreign loan' when in the loan agreement, the text of which remains unpublished, the president of the United States is authorized to 'designate' the financial adviser of Liberia and the State Department is authorized to arrange with Liberia for the arbitration of disputes. Obviously the finance corporation and the Liberian government, the parties to the loan agreement, would not have inserted these provisions without the active cooperation and assistance of the State Department which the department does not give in the case of ordinary foreign loans. The participation of the department in the negotiations for the concession, as distinct from the loan, is proved by Mr. Castle's statement that the department proposed amendments to the agreement and by the fact that it agreed to arrange for arbitration of disputes.

"Mr. Castle asserts that there was no connection between the loan and the boundry dispute. President King would seem to support the contrary position when he states that the effect of the loan has been 'to avert foreign intervention' and that 'there have been crisis in our relations with the French government growing out of undetermined frontiers.' That many Liberians believed that in accepting the loan they were obtaining the diplomatic support of the United States is proved by quotations from the Liberian press.

"All of the statements made at Williamstown were based on my report to the Harvard bureau of international research, entitled 'The Native Problem in Africa,' published in May 1928. Before publication the Liberia manuscript was submitted to the State Department. While dissenting vigorously from the conclusion and interpretation, the department representative specifically challenged only one pact, which I therefore omitted. The manuscript was also checked by three other persons in first hand touch with Liberia.

"The only reason that I enter into these details is that Mr. Castle and President King have challenged my accuracy and disinterestedness. Despite the length of their statements, neither Mr. Castle nor President King meet any of my fundamental contentions. In fact their statements contradict each other. If the public is to form a judgment, the State Department should publish not only the text of the loan agreement but all correspondence and cables in regard to Liberia during the last five years."

FIRESTONE DENIES LIBERIA CHARGES

Declares in Answer to Buell That Trade Door Remains Open in Republic.

EMPLOYS 15,000 NATIVES

Rubber Manufacturer States That They Are Hired and Paid Directly by Company.

AKRON, Ohio, Sept. 1 (AP).—Harvey S. Firestone, President of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, in a statement today reviewing the Firestone rubber project in Liberia, said in part:

"There is no closed door in Liberia. The door is open today the same as it has been for over seventy-five years, but opposition to the development of the Firestone concession there in the form of foreign propaganda has raised the closed door issue and still seeks by persistent efforts to place obstacles in the way of legitimate American enterprise and play into the hands of foreign interests."

Mr. Firestone's statement was in answer to an address delivered at the Williams Institute of Politics by Professor Raymond Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, who declared that Herbert Hoover assisted the Firestone concession in Liberia while Secretary of Commerce, and attacked the rubber project of the Firestone company. The State Department denied that Mr. Hoover had any connection with the concession.

Likeness to Foreign Propaganda.

"There is really little need for me to make any comment on the situation," said Mr. Firestone, "as the statement of President King of Liberia, William R. Castle Jr., Acting Secretary of State, and Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, have completely exposed the charges of Professor Buell, which closely resemble foreign propaganda attempting to discredit our rubber development in Liberia.

"This consistent effort to prevent Americans from producing their own rubber free from the foreign rubber monopoly simply serves to bring the necessity of doing so more forcibly to the minds of the American people."

"Linking the name of Herbert Hoover with our enterprise in Liberia is wholly without cause," Mr. Firestone declared. "While Mr. Hoover was one of the first to expose the ramifications of the British rubber monopoly and recognize the necessity of America producing her own rubber, he never has had any connection with our undertaking in Liberia. His views on foreign policy may not be exactly the views of many European nations, but it is my opinion that he is, without question, outstanding among statesmen as to his knowledge and experience of foreign relations."

British Papers Ridiculed Project.

The Firestone Company first went into Liberia in 1923 to open negotiations for an immense rubber plantation project. Announcements of Firestone's intentions brought ridicule from British newspapers. After two and a half years of negotiations, the Firestone company obtained a lease on 1,000,000 acres of land. This lease was approved by the Legislature of Liberia in 1926 and work started under the lease to prepare the land for the planting of rubber trees.

Mr. Firestone also helped to arrange a loan for Liberia in 1927 in which the Government obtained $5,000,000 at 7 per cent. interest. The loan was necessary to fund the country's debt and reorganize its finances.

In the short time the Firestone company has been in Liberia it has given employment to 15,000 natives, employing them direct and paying them direct, Mr. Firestone said. There are 30,000 acres under cultivation. The trees will produce rubber in five years from planting.

HOOVER AND LIBERIA.

Considerable effort has been made by Democratic papers to connect Herbert Hoover with the Firestone rubber concession in Liberia in a manner that would discredit the Republican candidate for the Presidency. This criticism was based on a report made by Prof. Raymond Buell, which was first given publicity in the English and West African press. Mr. Hoover was charged with forcing the Firestone concession upon Liberia, while Secretary of Commerce, and the Firestone concern was accused of using forced labor to work its rubber plantations. Prof. Buell recently repeated his charges before the Williamstown Institute of Politics, which were refuted by a statement made by President C. D. B King of Liberia, sent to the New York Herald Tribune

President King flatly denied that the Liberian government was coerced by the United States officials into accepting the Firestone concession and related the negotiations which lasted over a space of two and a half years He branded the statement of Prof. Buell that the scheme involves the control of Liberia by American officials as "untrue and mischievous." He said that the opportunity offered by the Firestone operation was seized with alacrity by the Liberian laboring classes and the government has had no occasion to coerce labor.

Mr. Firestone, in a statement given to the Associated Press, at Akron, Ohio, likewise absolved Mr. Hoover from any connection with the Liberian rubber enterprise. It was admitted that Mr. Hoover was one of the first to expose the ramifications of the British rubber monopoly and recognize the necessity of America producing her own rubber. This is probably the reason why the English papers have sought to connect Mr. Hoover with the Liberian enterrise, which threatens to destroy their monopoly. Certain Democratic papers in this country thought they had found campaign material in Prof. Buell's criticisms which could be used to discredit the Republican candidate, but the statements by President King of Liberia, the acting head of our State Department and other authorities have shown these charges to be unfounded.

It is a queer state of affairs that brings English rubber monopolists to combine with American Democrats in an attempt to discredit a Republican candidate for the Presidency. We never thought that genuine Democracy could stop twisting the tail of the British Lion long enough to repeat his roar over rubber losses.

Africa.

A BLACK DISCIPLE'S TRIUMPH

THE ANGEL GABRIEL APPEARED IN 1914 to William Harris, a native of Liberia, and asked him, he says, to go into the animist country on the Ivory Coast to convert the fetish-worshipers, and to-day 120,000 natives have discarded their fetishes and remain constant to their new loyalty. It is not necessary for us, perhaps, to believe in this Liberian's vision. It is sufficient that he believed in it and in himself, and that we learn something from his story as told by Prof. Raymond Leslie Buell in his "The Native Problem of Africa" (Macmillan). For William Harris has achieved a success in conversion that might well be the envy of workers nearer home. Professor Buell was formerly Assistant Professor of Government at Harvard University. He spent a full year in travel throughout Africa, and the results of his study of the native and international problems presented by this new field of the white man's endeavor is told in two thick volumes. From them we take this rather amazing story of a gain by Christianity in Africa, entirely without the aid of European missionaries. When we remember the beginnings of Christianity, it will be less amazing, perhaps, that the story of the Gospel could so strongly appeal to and hold the hearts of a people who previously worshiped only their own hand-made gods and animals. It is William Harris's legend that the Angel Gabriel appeared to him and sent him forth on his mission. The rest of the story takes its place in the long record of missionary achievement. Professor Buell quotes from this description of William Harris by an English writer:

"He wore a long white West African gown and turban, and upon his breast was a little black St. Andrew's cross. In one hand he held a long bamboo walking staff with a small cross-piece tied near the top to make it symbolic; in the other hand he carried a Bible. Starting out with only seven shillings and six-pence, he received no money from the people, and often refused large gifts from converted chiefs. His manner of life was simple in the extreme: he ate such food as the villagers gave him, and he accepted the hospitality of their dwellings while he remained with them. He was hardened to an outdoor life, and, tho past middle age, he knew neither fatigue nor illness. He does not appear to have claimed any superiority, or attached any importance to himself. He was just God's messenger. If the superstitious people showed any inclination to regard his reed cross as a fetish, he broke it before their eyes, and made a new one to show that there was nothing magical about it. With true African eloquence he exhorted the people to repent. He proclaimed one God and one Savior; he denounced fetishes and charms as useless, and he rebuked sin. Holding up his well-worn Bible, he declared it to be God's book; raising aloft his rude cross, he proclaimed the only Savior. His fiery message was direct and as potent as that of John the Baptist—'Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' In most places the response was amazing. Fetish groves were cut down, and their priests were driven away unless they joined the popular movement, which many of them did. At one place, where the people had been in the habit of worshiping a sacred crocodile and feeding it like a fish, they killed the reptile and received baptism. Chiefs were swayed by the enthusiasm, and not a few did as Harris bade them. His fame spread far, and he was soon revered as a prophet. Great crowds followed him, and in place after place hundreds gathered to listen to his message."

Harris, writes Professor Buell, preached the dignity of labor and obedience to authority, and he condemned alcohol and robbery. He tolerated polygamy, but forbade adultery. Sunday, he taught, should be kept as a day of rest, and he insisted that all fetishes should be burned. Disturbed by the success of Harris's efforts (it is not stated why), the French administrator caused him to be expelled from the Lahou district on the Ivory Coast. But, we read:

"Despite his expulsion, Harris's influence remained behind. Moving into other districts, his success grew partly because of his conquest of a powerful witch doctor at Bonoua. When Harris, despite the efforts of natives, entered this village, he found the witch doctor dancing and gesticulating like a madman in front of the hut where his fetish was sheltered. But at the sight of Harris, he fled to the bush, and has not been seen since. Harris thereupon baptized all the people of the village, including a wife and nephew of the witch doctor. For a time, the administration sympathized with Harris's efforts, because it believed that the witch doctors had been at the bottom of the chronic rebellions on the Ivory Coast. It also supported Harris because he preached obedience to the Government, and because he attacked the abuse of alcohol. . . .

"The most remarkable feature of this movement has been its permanence. A French administrator, himself apparently unsympathetic to Harris, said that the man's influence extended over 120,000 inhabitants, that by the end of 1926 fetishes had not reappeared, and that churches were more frequented than ever before. He stated that the transformation was even more remarkable in view of the fact that Islam had been unable to make progress among these people, and that it even had begun to decline in certain areas.

"In 1924 a missionary connected with the English Wesleyan Society traveled from his station in Dahomey to the Ivory Coast to visit a small number of Fanti Methodists who had left the Gold Coast for French territory because of business reasons. To his surprize he found along the rivers and lagoons of the Ivory Coast dozens of independent churches, started by Harris in 1914. In each village the converts had appointed leaders, and in some cases twelve 'Disciples,' to manage their affairs and conduct worship. Each village containing 'Harris Christians' had also constructed churches of mud and thatch or even of stone. Despite the fact that these natives could not read, they had reverently placed the Bible on the reading desk of their churches and in their homes. At least 30,000 of these illiterate people, knowing little of the meaning of the Christian faith, clung with remarkable tenacity to Harris's religious and moral teachings, and begged for European instruction. In 1925 the Wesleyans responded to this appeal and opened work on the Ivory Coast."

DENY HOOVER PLAYED ANY ROLE IN LIBERIA

State Department Officials Call Junod Plea to League "Politics and Propaganda."

$5,000,000 LOAN DEFENDED

Charges Against Firestone Laid to Foreign Desire to Hamper American Production of Rubber.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 28.—"Politics and propaganda" was the way the report submitted by Henri A. Junod, President of the International Society for the Protection of Natives to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was characterized at the State Department today. The report charged Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce and the State Department with having forced on Liberia restrictive commercial concessions amounting to a condition of slavery.

Officials denied the charges emphatically and in detail. They also inquired as to just what authority the Mandates Commission had, contending that Liberia was as much of an independent nation as the United States.

The report, said to be based upon findings of Raymond Buell, former professor at Harvard, concerns particularly the plantation activities of the Firestone Rubber Company and the $5,000,000 loan raised in the United States for the Liberian Government. Both, it was remarked, were treated at length in a book which Professor Buell recently published.

Deny Hoover Had Any Part.

Secretary Hoover, it was stated, had had nothing to do with arranging the Firestone contracts or with the negotiation of the loan which was made by the National City Bank of New York. The bringing of Mr. Hoover's name into the controversy was seen by officials as inspired by the political campaign in this country.

Mr. Hoover's only possible connection with the charges, it was stated, was in his efforts to induce American manufacturers to develop their own sources of rubber supply and thereby combat the British monopoly. Thus his attention was attracted to the Philippines, South America and Africa, but only in a general industrial way.

Propaganda in the Junod report, it was said at the Department, is accounted by the widespread desire of some foreign countries to prevent the adequate development of American rubber supplies abroad.

The State Department, it was said, had nothing directly to do with the Firestone contract, and its course with respect to the $5,000,000 loan to Liberia, was restricted exclusively to stating that it had no objection to the loan after the details had been placed before it by the bankers, as is customary with such advances to foreign countries.

The loan, it was explained, was arranged after the failure of efforts by Liberia to obtain a similar sum from the United States Government in 1922.

Liberia had a credit of $5,000,000 placed at its disposal by the American Treasury after it entered the World War on the side of the Allies, but did not draw upon this credit. After the war it sought the money, but the Treasury ruled that the emergency had passed and it had no authority to advance it.

Loan by Bank Explained.

At the suggestion of the Liberian Government, the State Department then asked Congress for legislative authority to make the loan, but in 1922 Congress refused it because of opposition to making any more Government loans abroad.

In these circumstances Liberia turned to the National City Bank for the $5,000,000, which it sought to carry out improvements and consolidate an outstanding international loan of $1,600,000 negotiated in 1912 at 5 per cent. The bank insisted, it was stated, on continuing the arrangement for an American to supervise customs collections and other security in conformity with an agreement with the powers under the 1912 loan.

An interest rate of 7 per cent. was required, which, it was contended, was not excessive, since no foreign loan could have been floated in recent years at the 5 per cent. rate charged before the war had upset world conditions.

The Firestone Rubber Company, it was said, has been paying to native workmen in Liberia wages that are small, according to American standards, but better than obtained ordinarily in the African republic, with the result that it has had to turn away hundreds of applicants for work.

The company rejected a proposal that it make a lump sum payment to the Liberian Government, and that the latter guarantee to furnish the necessary labor, on the theory that this might lead to impressment. The company preferred to hire its own labor.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
AUG 1 1928

Modern Imperialism

Old-fashioned imperialism, the kind that built up the Roman Empire, the Spanish Empire, the British Empire and even the German Empire, boasted only one weapon. The imperialist ruled by right of conquest. He enforced his decrees by the might of his arms.

Modern imperialism, as developed in the United States, enforces its decrees by arms only as the last resource. Its ordinary conquests are accomplished by far subtler means. The United States of America, which has developed the new imperialistic technique, maintains its control over its dependents by a whole series of non-military "sanctions."

It has outright ownership, as in the case of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

It has something called the Platt Amendment, which is the leading string for the so-called Republic of Cuba.

It "supervises elections," as in the case of Nicaragua. Sometimes supervising elections involves the use of armed forces, but more often a mere hint is enough.

The most subtle means of exercising control, however, has been developed in other instances, the most recent of which is Liberia, the Negro republic on the Gulf of Guinea, in Africa. An American bank made a loan to Liberia. Liberia, in return, gave the bank control over her customs income. The man who exercises that control is appointed by the President of the United States. Thus the fisca policy of the country is controlled fron Washington, and he who control finances, of course, controls everything

There are more ways than one of get ting the golden eggs out of the goose.

Liberia Pres. Gets 3rd Term

Tiny Republic Has Made Great Progress

Washington, D. C., August 7—In a cable message to the President of Liberia July 26, President Coolidge sent "cordial greetings on that auspicious anniversary of the establishment of the Liberian Republic," and expressed "best wishes for the continued prosperity of your country, to which we are bound by ties of historic friendship and understanding."

Word reaches Washington to the effect that President King has just entered upon his third term as chief executive of this little republic which had its beginning a century ago when the primitive sailing ship Elizabeth cast anchor off this rocky, palm-covered coast.

The sturdy colored pioneers who came to Africa on this tiny craft in search for liberty sailed under a single star. They sought liberty and called their new home Liberia.

For 40 years, until the Civil War in the United States, settlers of courage and intelligence continued to join the original colonists and took up unswervingly the battle against the jungle, against suspicious natives and unscrupulous traders.

Bring Marked Changes

And it was the work done by these intrepid settlers and their immediate descendants which made it possible for President King and his cabinet, made up largely of colored men educated in the United States, to bring about such marked economic changes in Liberia of recent years.

Road building now is progressing on a large scale and transportation soon will be available to district allegedly rich in petroleum, all sorts of precious and semi-precious minerals and even diamonds. More than 200 miles of modern highways have been completed.

Of Liberias 45,000 square miles of territory virtually every acre is tillable President King has brought the capital to Liberia necessary to give agriculture and industry a start. Recently there appeared in Professor R. L. Buell's book, "The Native Problem in Africa," reference to the awakened industrial situation in Liberia. Professor Buell's statement follows:

"As a result for the entrance of the Firestine Plantation Company, Liberia has awakened from a half-century's stupor, and business has began to "hum." More hard money is in circulation than ever before. The government has already secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."

Long staple cotton seed from the United States, planted on the governmental farm established by President King, has produced cotton which experts pronounce equal to, if not superior, to the American product.

Grains Flourish

Sugar cane, coffee, rice and virtually all grains and fruits florish in Liberia. Pineapples attain a weight of 8 pounds.

Forests of mahogany, ebony, rosewood, teak and other commercial woods await the ax in the interior of the country. But railways and roads are lacking to tap the resources. Para rubber now is being produced.

The efforts of President King and his associates in the government have been more successful than previous governments in attracting capital to the undeveloped land. But only a start has been made in development.

Narrow guage roads are needed to tap the bush country. Liberia has no railways at present. There is lack of capital everywhere to develop agriculture through the adoption of modern methods which the government is disclosing through its scientific work.

Liberia has an estimated population of more than 2,000,000. Of these American Liberians are said to number about 20,000.

Savannah, Ga.
8-9-28

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA BEGINS HIS THIRD TERM

Nation 100 Years Old, Sees Vast Improvement Under President King

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President King, head official of Liberia, the little African republic, recently began his third term as chief executive, according to reports reaching here.

Founded 100 years ago by a sturdy little group of pioneers who came on the sailing ship Elizabeth in search of liberty, the country has had a steady growth and many important changes have been seen in the past few years.

For 40 years after the country's founding, until the Civil War began in the United States, settlers of courage and intelligence continued to join the original colonists and took up unswervingly the battle against the jungle, against suspicious natives and unscrupulous traders.

Changes Pronounced

And it was the work done by these intrepid settlers and their immediate descendants which made it possible for President King and his cabinet made up largely of colored men educated in the United State, to bring about such marked economic changes in Liberia of recent years.

Road building now is progressing soon will be possigle to districts alon a large scale and transportation legedly rich in petroleum, all sorts of precious and semi-precious minerals and even diamonds. More than 200 miles of modern highways have been completed.

Of Liberia's 45,000 square miles of territory virtually every acre is tillable. President King has brought the capital to Liberia necessary to give agriculture and industry a start. Recently there appeared in Professor R. L. Buell's book, "The Native Problem in Africa," reference to the awakened industrial situation in Liberia. Professor Buell's statement follows:

Business Stimulated

"As a result of the entrance of the Firestone Plantation Company, Liberia has awakened from a half-century's stupor, and business has begun to 'hum.' More hard money is in circulation than ever before. The government has already secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."

Long staple cotton seed from the United States, planted on the governmental farm established by President King, has produced cotton which experts pronounce equal to, if not superior to the American product.

Sugar cane, coffee, rice and virtually all grains and fruits flourish in Liberia. Pineapples attain a weight of eight pounds.

Rich Resources

Forests of mahogany, ebony, rosewood, teak and other commercial woods await the ax in the interior of the country. But railways and roads are lacking to tap the resources. Para rubber now is being produced.

The efforts of President King and his associates in the government have been more successful than previous governments in attracting capital to the undeveloped land. But only a start has been made in development.

Liberia has an estimated population of more than 2,000,000. Of these American Liberians are said to number about 20,000.

NEWS
WHEELING, W. VA.
JUL 8 - 1928

AFRICA STIRRED BY NEW SPIRIT

IS STATEMENT OF HARVEY S. FIRESTONE, JR., UPON HIS RETURN HOME.

RICHES OF AFRICA ARE NOW REACHING OUTER WORLD IN GREAT VOLUME.

Bringing the vision of an enlightened and progressive Africa, now in the making, Harvey S. Firestone, jr., has just returned from the West coast of what used to be called the Dark Continent. But he brings word of an Africa stirred by a new spirit. Along that famous West coast—where slave traders preyed for centuries—there is organized trade for hundreds of miles. Schools and churches are developing. Medicine and hygiene reduce tropical diseases. Contact with America, that once seemed so far away, draws nearer. Most important of all, modern ideas are taking hold in the native mind. Africans like American clothes and want to ride in our automobiles.

While this change goes forward the riches of Africa are reaching the outer world in greater volume. Yet these riches have been scarcely touched; for the most part they await development. Only the fringe of the continent yields its products in important quantities. The hinterland remains as it was in the beginning. But Mr. Firestone says that any visitor cannot fail to glimpse the future of Africa. The new day lies at hand.

This Africa is so huge a place that any general description means little. Mr. Firestone devoted eight weeks of study to the western tip of the continent, jutting out into the Atlantic ocean like an arm exended toward our American side. Although we usually think of Africa as a vague mass far away on the map, it is only a matter of 4,000 miles from New York to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, and the nearest point to our stores. This country of 2,000,000 people has old and friendly ties with the United States, because the nation was founded by freed American slaves a century ago and has always maintained close relations with the United States. It bears the distinction of being the only Negro Republic in Africa and has recently come into public attention by reason of the Firestone rubber plantations, which promises to be the largest American-controlled source of rubber.

LIBERIA OPENS MODERN HOSPITAL IN MONROVIA

Monrovia, Liberia, August 2—(AP)—The new government hospital recently opened here with elaborate ceremonies by President King and Bishop Gardiner in the presence of high officials of the Liberian government, the foreign diplomatic and consular corps and representatives from all parts of the republic, is one of the finest and most enduring works of the president during his ten years of administration.

The medical staff consists of three physicians, trained and educated in Europe, two of whom are white and one a Negro, and an efficient nursing staff headed by one who received her training in New York and Washington, D. C. Among them are three native young women who had also been trained in the United States.

The hospital is open to all patients regardless of race or color.

Herald
8-30-28

Race problem 1928

Africa.

of issuing permits, renewable after one year at the option of the Government, not only discourages the spending of capital on labour-saving machinery, but encourages a system of "shifting exploitation," by which the forest is robbed of its most valuable timbers. The journal recommends that only ten-year concessions be granted, that these be limited in area, and that a reasonable minimum annual production be insisted upon, while to prevent the "milking" of concessions, it is suggested that a definite proportion of the cheaper timbers be demanded in the minimum annual output.

COFFEE-GROWING IN UBANGI-SHARI.

The cultivation of coffee in Ubangi-Shari, introduced in 1922 by the Governor, M. Lamblin, and spread by means of model plots at all villages, has so grown that in the single District of Ombella-Mpoko there are 350,000 plants. An experimental station has been established at Bosembele, affording instruction for sixty apprentices, and another is to be established in the Eastern part of the Colony.

TRADE OF SENEGAL IN 1926.

The British Consul-General at Dakar reports that imports and exports during 1926 amounted in value to 909,998,954 francs and 885,945,699 francs, as compared with 698,926,705 francs and 588,888,276 francs respectively in 1925.

The economic situation in Senegal during 1926 was influenced by increased prices consequent on the value of the franc, which fell rapidly during the first six months, and during the second half of the year recovered over 50 per cent. of its loss, the effect being something in the nature of stabilised prices if on an increased basis. The consequent all-round rise had the effect of stimulating production, which created notable increases in quantities exported. The prosperity of Senegal is wholly dependent on ground-nuts, and the stimulus administered by a favourable market resulted in an export of 483,000 tons, 37,000 tons more than during the preceding year. The conditions described affected also such exports as gum arabic, rubber, palm-kernels, etc., all of which present notable expansion.

As a result of the improved purchasing power of the cultivators produced by these conditions, the standard of living in the hinterland has been raised, with effect on quantities of imports, notably cotton textiles, soap, tobacco, and tinned provisions, all of which display increase. Due to such growths Customs receipts swelled from 70 million francs in 1925 to 101 million francs in 1926. Of the imports it is estimated that France supplied 56.2 per cent., and, with regard to exports, absorbed 66.2 per cent., Germany, Holland, Belgium and the United Kingdom taking 13.6 per cent., 9 per cent., 4.4 per cent., and 4.3 per cent. respectively.

The annual speech day of the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos, took place on December 19, when the Bishop of Lagos occupied the chair, and Mrs. Hobson presented the prizes.

The following further areas have been constituted forest reserves in Nigeria: 16 square miles near Panyam, on the Plateau; 181 square miles in the Ibaji-Ojoko District of the Idah Division; and 85 square miles at Adoru, also in Idah.

WHAT WE THINK.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIVE PROBLEM.

Just as Nero fiddled while Rome burned, so do the majority of South Africa's politicians wrangle among themselves, eaten up with petty jealousies, while the one great problem that involves the whole future of the country—the native problem—grows ever more difficult, intricate, and dangerous for want of a solution. Happily, all are not so self-centred or shortsighted, and an outstanding figure in this small minority is Sir Abe Bailey, than whom there is no keener student of the native question, and whose many notable pronouncements on the subject have evoked widespread attention and undoubtedly proved of the greatest value to General Hertzog in his courageous effort to find some sort of solution for the problem. The Premier will shortly bring his native Bills before Parliament, and the attention not only of South Africa but of countries far further afield will be focussed on his handling of the situation. The decisions reached by the Union House of Assembly will be of the gravest moment, and it is well that before the plunge is taken the facts of the case should be faced squarely and without fear. As Sir Abe Bailey bluntly reminds us in the pronouncement which we publish on another page of this issue, South Africa is up against a grim rising spectre—the spectre of the growing power of the black races. The industrial fabric of South Africa has been built up on the basis of native labour, and now, as in the past, native labour means life or death to South Africa. But the position to-day is entirely different from what it was in the old days. Education and the rapid growth of the Trade Union spirit have completely altered the outlook of the native, and it is well that this should be fully recognised, as well as that the native is entitled to greater consideration and treatment in keeping with his educational and other advancement. An opportunity of a lifetime is presented at the present time to take a big step towards a satisfactory solution of this burning question. As Sir Abe Bailey points out, however, two vital reforms are essential—the substitution for the Cape native vote of a scheme of representation which will do justice to the black man without imperilling the status of the white; and the placing of the electoral franchise for all sections on an equal, sound, and permanent basis. Carry out these reforms and there is not the slightest doubt that many of the obstacles which at present stand in the path of a solution will disappear. Once more Sir Abe Bailey has shown the way, and it only remains for those who seek to solve the native puzzle to follow his lead.

AT LAST—A BUDGET SURPLUS.

The Union of South Africa for the fourth consecutive year reports a Budget surplus. For the 1926-27 financial year the surplus amounted to £1,150,000, while for the period just elapsed the estimated excess of revenue over national expenditure is the substantial sum of £1,500,000. It is understood that reductions in taxation are to be made which will require approximately £1,000,000. In marked contrast to this satisfactory financial position, and prospects of relief from the already substantially lower rate of taxation in the Union, this country has had to face for two years huge deficits which have necessitated raids on funds created and collected for far different objects than to make good Budget deficiencies. At last, however, the tide has turned and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has a surplus of £4,239,124. It would be ungenerous to cavil at the comparative meagreness of the sum, a paltry one-quarter of one per cent. on the national turnover, or to point out that had the returns from income-tax not been swelled by approximately £14,000,000 by the collection of three half-yearly instalments of property tax instead of the usual two, and by an increase of about £9,000,000 on the estimated revenue from estate duties, the country would have had to face once more a deficit. The fact that a surplus has at last been achieved may conceal for the time being the means by which it has been obtained, but will do nothing to remove the steadily rising impatience with a Government either unable or unwilling to cut down the burden of taxation, which is the most serious handicap under which trade at present labours. A commercial undertaking that cannot deliver the goods suffers the fate of elimination. Can a Government evade the natural law that the need will provide the remedy?

TAKORADI.

The official opening of the Gold Coast's great deep-water harbour at Takoradi by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas on Tuesday is not only a step forward in the development of the Colony whose needs it is designed to serve—it is a landmark in the history of British West Africa as a whole, emphasising in unmistakable manner the increasingly important part which these immensely rich Dependencies are destined to play in Imperial economics.

It is interesting to recall that nearly thirty years ago that far-sighted pioneer, the late Sir Alfred Jones, expressed the opinion that this was the most suitable spot on the Gold Coast littoral for the construction of a port. Twenty-five years were, however, to elapse before the first steps were taken to transform the great shipping magnate's vision into a reality; and to-day the contractors—the famous firm of Sir Robert McAlpine and Sons—have brought their efforts to a brilliant close nine months ahead of scheduled time, and Takoradi is an accomplished fact. It is needless at this time of day to recall the fierce storm of criticism to which the Takoradi project has been subjected in the past; without entering into questions of too controversial a nature, it should be obvious to all but the most prejudiced of critics that Takoradi is a vital necessity to the continued prosperity of the Gold Coast Colony, and will eventually prove to be an asset of incalculable value to her economic development.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg, in the admirable article from which we reproduce some extracts on another page, pays tribute to the foresight of the three Colonial Office chiefs—Lord Milner, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Amery—to whom much of the credit for Takoradi is due. But, as Mr. Leslie Couper has justly pointed out, his "Roll of Honour" is incomplete by the omission of his own name. Takoradi, together with Achimota, will be indissolubly linked with the name of Frederick Gordon Guggisberg. The brilliant Administrator of the Gold Coast Colony from 1919 to 1927 will deserve the gratitude of future generations in West Africa for the energy and pertinacity which, with efficient Colonial Office backing, enabled him to triumph over all obstacles in bringing so ambitious a scheme to a successful issue. *Finis coronat opus.*

WHERE MILLIONS OF SLAVES STILL SUFFER

SLAVERY, SUPPOSEDLY EXTINCT in our highly civilized modern world, is, despite popular belief, still rife in various parts of the globe, with a list of unfortunates estimated at between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000. The slave trade appears to be forbidden by law in all States which are members of the League of Nations, but we are told that in the 1925 report of a Slavery Commission, organized by the States members of the League, there is reference to some eighteen or nineteen political areas in which slave-trading, slave-raiding or similar acts still occur. These areas include Abyssinia, China, Eritrea, the Far East, Hedjaz, Kufra, Liberia, Morocco, South Morocco, Rio de Oro, East and West Sahara, and South Tripoli. The President of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Charles Roberts, in examining this report writes in the London *Daily Mail* as follows:

"In Abyssinia slave-owning is general, and altho slave-raiding and trading have been nominally forbidden by law, the Foreign Office White Paper of 1923 shows that the law has been of little effect. Abyssinian slaves not infrequently have escaped into Kenya, raising difficulties for the British authorities. Travelers in recent years have witnessed the cruelties of Abyssinian slave-raids—as one traveler has described it: 'Slavery, open, cruel, and fiendish. . . . Gangs of slaves, marching in misery, the men chained together in rows, and the women and children dragging themselves along beside the main body.'

"Quite recently papers issued by the Sudan Government show that slaves frequently escape over the frontier into British Sudan, where refugee settlements are provided by the Sudan authorities and fugitives are never, except in cases of proved crime, returned to Abyssinia, in spite of the appeals of the native rulers."

There can be little doubt that slave-dealing and slavery are still common in China on a large scale, Mr. Roberts continues, and advises us that slave-raiding in remote districts of Africa—for example, on the borders of the Sahara—still goes on, the slaves being sold in South Morocco, South Tripoli, and the Kufra Oasis. It is alleged also that slave-dealing still continues in Liberia. It seems, according to the Slavery Commission of the League, that the trade is practised openly in several Mohammedan States in Arabia, especially the Hedjaz. A clandestine traffic goes on in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, it is charged and we read then:

"The British Government has proposed that the transport of slaves by sea should be considered as an act of piracy, but this has not yet been agreed to by other Powers. It is encouraging to know that the Slavery Convention of the League of Nations, drawn up in 1926, was at once signed by twenty-six Powers, and all the Colonial Powers have agreed to ratify at an early date.

"The British Government has liberated, apart from Sierra Leone, over 250,000 slaves since the close of the war. In the mandated area of Tanganyika, before the war, there were 185,000 slaves. The system has now been completely abolished, without any compensation to the owners. The Maharajah of Nepal recently carried through, on his own initiative, a great work of emancipation, freeing some 53,000 slaves in his country. Still more recently, the work of Sir Harcourt Butler in the Triangle, a remote unadministered district of Northern Burma, has resulted in setting free some 6,000 slaves.

"Last year, the decision of the Full Court in Sierra Leone declaring slavery to be legal in the Protectorate, and recognizing the right of a master to claim his fugitive slave, came as a shock to this country, an ordinance for its abolition having been passed only a year before. The British Government promptly took steps to introduce legislation to abolish the legal status, and an ordinance was unanimously passed by the Legislative Council giving liberty to the slaves in the Protectorate, who numbered about 215,000, from January 1.

"But the most pressing and insidious danger of the present day is probably slavery in disguised forms, such as certain forms of contract labor, compulsory labor for private profit (which has been authoritatively declared to be of the nature of slavery), peonage or debt slavery (which prevails widely in certain South American States), and the enslaving of children under the fiction of adoption, which exists throughout the greater part of China."

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS.

Although there has been a comparative lull in the political activities at the Cape during the past few weeks we have recently learned from well-informed and reliable sources at Cape Town and Pretoria that a general feeling has gained ground in responsible sections of the leading two parties that the time is rapidly approaching for entering into closer co-operation. In other words, the possibility of a coalition between the moderate elements in both the Nationalist and South African parties has been seriously reviewed, which in itself is an extremely promising sign. The differences existing between General Hertzog, who has often agreeably surprised the opposition by displaying statesmanlike qualities of a high order, and the leader of the official opposition in the Union Parliament are really not very acute. If an understanding could be arrived at by which a coalition Government of a fifty-fifty proportion could be realised, under which General Smuts and several of his able colleagues could participate in the administration, keeping the extreme elements in both the Nationalist and Labour sections in check and control, nothing better could be desired. To-day South Africa is on the move in many directions. There is no end to its surprising natural wealth and variety of resources, as yet only slightly tapped. If the industrial and economical development could be given a full chance—if the gates of the country could be opened to a greatly needed emigration of fresh Nordic origin—and acute politics be given a rest for a decade—an almost unbounded era of prosperity lies ahead for the sub-continent—which year by year is proving itself to be one of the brightest jewels in the Crown of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

THE LIQUOR BILL.

Section 95 of the Liquor Bill now before Parliament reads: "Save as is otherwise specially provided by this Act, no person shall supply any liquor to any native and no native shall obtain in any manner whatsoever, or be in possession of, any liquor." Section 102, subsection 2(b) reads: "Notwithstanding anything contained in section one of Act No 39 of 1887, or any other law of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, no person shall, by reason only that he is a Parliamentary voter, be exempt from the operation of any law in force in that Province, including this Act, which, but for the Act or other law first mentioned, would prohibit the supply of intoxicating liquor to him." This section was passed last Thursday. The Act named in the section quoted is the Hofmeyr Act, which not only exempts Parliamentary voters from the liquor laws applying to natives but also those possessing the educational qualification. The section of the new Bill quoted makes no mention of the second qualification, consequently, anomalous though it is, it would appear that natives who have passed Standard IV. will still be able to obtain liquor.—"Cape Mercury."

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

Opening of the Stack Memorial School at Wau.

The new Sir Lee Stack Memorial School at Wau was formerly opened on December 15 by His Excellency Major M. J. Wheatley, O.B.E., Governor of Bahr-el-Ghazal Province. There was a large gathering of officers, officials, chiefs, merchants, and notables.

In opening the building the Governor said it was almost the most important event which had occurred since the re-occupation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in 1902. Unfortunately until 1922 neither the condition of the Province nor the resources of the Government were such as to permit of any educational effort being made by the latter. For many years prior to 1922, however, the Italian Catholic Mission had laboured untiringly in an uphill task to educate such boys as could be induced to attend their schools, and he expressed great appreciation of the work carried out by Bishop Stoppani and all members of the mission. In 1922 the Government was happily able to make a grant for the further education of the more advanced boys of the Mission Schools so as to fit them for clerical employment in Government offices. At the close of 1925 Mr. Crowfoot, the then Director of Education, visited the district, and as a result of his recommendation came not only the building but the appointment of two resident education inspectors—Mrs. Hunter and Mr. Hickson.

In general, the school would provide clerks for the Government service and schoolmasters for the central schools. The school was dedicated to the memory of their late Governor-General, Sir Lee Stack, who devoted so many years to the country and lost his life while labouring in its interests.

A message was read from the Governor-General, Sir John Maffey, who impressed on the chiefs the benefits that would result from education, and hoped they would co-operate with the Government in the undertaking. He congratulated the Italian Catholic Mission on the splendid work they had performed.

Bishop Stoppani then addressed the gathering, and thanked Major Wheatley, the Governor, for the strenuous efforts he had made for education in the Province and for the welfare of the natives generally. He offered a prayer and blessed the building and all who worked in it.

After the opening ceremony the pupils gave a remarkable display of physical exercises, which was enthusiastically applauded by the company. At the conclusion the headmaster, Elias Eff. Misaad, thanked the Governor for his keen interest, foresight, and energy in bringing the school into existence.

Race Problem - 1928
~~Discrimination~~ - 1928 I

Australia
Asia.

The Times-Union
Friday, March 30, 1928

Australia May Debar Negroes

Italians Also Under Fire of Former Premier.

The Associated Press.

SYDNEY, Australia, March 29.—"White Australia!" was the rallying cry today behind a widespread movement, fostered by William Hughes, former premier, to bar negroes and Italians from the commonwealth and to stem the rising tide of immigration to this continent.

The exclusion movement took concrete form when the house of representatives of New South Wales ordered the deportation of an American negro jazz band known as "Sonny Clay's Plantation orchestra." The action was taken after the Melbourne police had raided flats occupied by the American negroes and had charged them with disorderly conduct.

Announcement of the deportation order by the New South Wales minister of home territories was greeted with cheers in the provincal legislature. The negroes were ordered placed aboard the liner Sierra, which sails for San Francisco next Saturday.

The deportation move left an issue before the authorities, who now are considering barring negro artists and boxers from Australia.

Immigration policies were attacked by Hughes with sharp words in demanding "a British white Australia."

"Italians are coming into this country at the rate of 300 monthly," he said. "To whom does this country belong? To us or to Mussolini? I say nothing against any nation, but this bit of earth belongs to us. It is for us to say how many shall come in. Apparently all Mussolini has to do is to rattle the sword and we must allow all grandmothers, grand-aunts and other relatives down to the thirty-third cousins of Italians here to enter.

'We colonized this country, and it is for us to develop it along our own lines, without dictation from anybody overseas."

but they are beginning to realize that there are at least two other perilous races to keep out of what they call "British White Australia." These are the Negro and the Italian.

It must seem a little absurd, even to the Californians, who were stampeded by the specter of a Japanese irruption, although the Nipponese were decreasing, apparently, to see the Australians thrown into panic by the coming in yearly of 300 Italians! There were, however, nearly 100,000 Japanese in California at the time. There can't be but the slightest fraction of that number of Italians in Australia. But the former prime minister, Hughes, is shouting:

"To whom does this country belong? To us or to Mussolini?"

The black peril is even more tenuous and fictional than the Italian. Only a troupe of American black jazz artists! This has been solemnly ordered to leave the country forthwith.

Australia is determined to extend and raise her Great Barrier Reef so that it may live quietly and withdrawn, though bled "white," within the stagnant waters of an immense lagoon.

Even with this intense inbreeding, it will require some generations to lift the standard from its lowly state when the great island continent was settled. And little prosperity and development may be expected, as the fruit of this Ishmaelitish policy of exclusion.

State
Columbia - S.C.

MAR 30 1928

Australia Bars Negro and Italian.

The Australians are catching the infection of fear from California, and is excluding undesirable immigrants. Only, the antipodeans have different bogies to fear. They have already put up bars against certain if not all "Asiatics," just as we have;

HERALD-POST
LOUISVILLE, KY.

Race Problem
APR 5 1928
Asia

A BAD BREAK.

THE deportation of an American Negro from New South Wales has led to some exceedingly unusual developments.

The Negro was, it appears, a member of a jazz band going under the name of "Sonny Clay's Plantation Orchestra," and the expulsion has nothing to do with any Australian zeal for musical art, assuming such to exist in the home land of Percy Grainger, but was based on that elastic term, undesirability.

Every nation has the right to legislate as to those who may or may not enter, though the old rule of liberality and welcome remains, even in these post-war days, the best and, nine times out of ten, the wisest.

But, following this incident, former Premier William Hughes, probably with his eyes on office, talks wildly of a "white Australia" and proposes as first step to bar Italians. To justify a policy so narrow and ignorant he must needs have chapter and verse as to criminality, immorality and the like, and all this was no more than a farrago of invention. Surgeon General Sir Nevile Howse denounces the stories as "absolutely and deliberately untrue" and observes, with evident truth, that Hughes goes out of his way to insult a nation which stood with Great Britain and her Allies in the Dark Days some of us have not forgotten.

It is one thing to protest against Italians and other Southern Europeans on the grounds that a large influx of such people would lower the standard of living and affect the scale of wages and quite another to talk about a "White Australia" and Italian exclusion or restriction in the same breath.

Hughes, one may presume, knows the sort of cheap talk that goes down with his constituents, and, remembering "Big Bill" and his tantrums, we do not know that Americans can afford to be too critical. The rule as to people who live in glass houses still holds good.

Australians Hostile Toward Musicians

Sydney, Australia, April 2.—Concerted action on the part of "white Australians" to bar Negroes and Italians from Australia and thereby keep "Australia White," reached a climax Thursday when the house of representatives ordered a group of colored musicians from the United States deported.

East Tennessee

According to those behind the movement, which is headed by William Hughes, former Premier, the musicians, who are members of the Sonny Clay Plantation Orchestra, had been too familiar with white women since their arrival in Australia and that such should not be permitted. In a disaptch sent out by the local correspondent of the Chicago Tribune Hughes is credited with having made a blashphemous attack on Negroes being permitted to enter Australia and against them associating with white folks, especially white women, saying in part:

"If that happened in the southern states of America, the offenders would not be deported—they could not have lived overnight. Australian musicians are boycotted in America and now the land of liberty sends us these black beasts to entertain us."

Negro performers and musicians have been coming to this country for many years and have made a decided hit with the better element of the citizens. Recently a revue, headed by Joe Sheftal, toured the country with much success. The Negro orchastras are more in demand than the native musical aggregations and it is believed that that is the real cause to bar them. The association with white women is being used to fan the fires of prejudice and to place the colored Americans in a bad light.

The group behind Hughes is attempting to have a law passed prohibiting Negroes and Italians from entering the country and are doing everything possible to effect its passage.It is reported that already the government following the example of South Africa, has decided to exclude all colored entertainers and boxers.

Sydney Flat Orgy of Negro Artists And White Girls Lets Loose Vials Of Hate of Australian Officials on Heads of Members of Negro Race

Girls Charged with Vagrancy, but Freed When They Show All Earn Honest Livelihood—Negroes Deported Amid Hysteria and Execration of Government and Press—All Negroes May Be Barred from Country in the Future

PREMIER HUGHES HINTS U. S. MOBOCRATS WOULD HAVE STAGED LYNCHING BEE

U. S. Consul, Appealed To for Aid When Men Tramp Streets Unable to Find Lodgings Preparatory to Sailing, Says, "They Are Not Bad Fellows, You Know"—Men Say Girls Pursued Them

(From The Daily Guardian, Sydney, Aus.)

Melbourne, March 27.—Not for many years has a case at the City Court attracted so much attention as that, when five white girls, who had been found consorting with a number of Negro vaudeville artists of the Sonny Clay company, were today charged with vagrancy. All, however, were discharged. Long before the court opened a large crowd had gathered outside, and at least 200 were unable to gain admittance.

5-19-28

This unusual display of interest had been created by the dramatic police raids that were made early on Sunday and Monday morning on flats at Rowena Mansions, Evelyn Street, East Melbourne, occupied by colored theatrical artists from the U. S. A., and by the arrest of five young girls, who were found on the premises. Edna Langdon, 17, clerk; Dorothy McGowan, 22, housemaid; Ivy Day, 23, nurse-girl; Nola McKay, 21, dressmaker, and Dorothy Davis, 22, waitress.

All smartly dressed, they took their places in the dock and pleaded not guilty to a charge that they were idle and disorderly persons, having insufficient lawful means of support. Sub-Inspector Scales prosecuted and Mr. Sonenberg represented the accused.

Complaints Received

Plainsclothes Constable Saker, describing the police raids, said that on March 22, in consequence of complaints received concerning the conduct of white women and black men at Rowena Flats, with Senior Plainclothes Constable Dunn, he had the place under observation from 7 to 8:15 p. m.

During that period they noticed Negroes pulling white women about in an upstairs room.

They had the flats under observation on the following nights, and on Saturday they decided to make a raid. At 2:35 o'clock on Sunday morning last he forced the door, and inside found accused McKay and Langdon.

In an adjoining room was the accused Day, with one of the colored men, who was in a dressing gown.

Continuing, witness said he asked a Negro named Lewis what excuse he had to make for having the girls in the flat.

Lewis replied that the girls were "chasing" them and that he and his friends had been unable to get rid of them and other girls who visited the flat.

Witness said that after the girls were searched at the watchhouse, a small tube, containing 20 cocaine tablets, was found on a form.

Most of the girls were intoxicated.

He said to one of the Negroes, "How did these girls get here?" The Negro replied, "They followed us."

He then said to the accused girl, Day, "Why are you here?"

Accused replied: "These boys are Americans, and they are interesting."

One of the Negroes, when further questioned, said: "Our boss is Sonny Clay, and we get £18 a week."

Ivy Day, who, on oath, professed that she was a nurse girl earning 30 shillings a week, said she had met the men at the Green Mill dance hall on the night of the raid. She had had wine and she was not accustomed to drink.

Sub-Inspector Scales: Is Day your right name?

Accused: No. I was advised not to give my correct name.

The sub-inspector: Do you know the name of the man you were with?

Witness: No.

Nola McKay, who said she was a dressmaker, of Victoria Parade, Fitzroy, stated that until November she had been employed at £2/13/6 weekly.

She was also interested in the estate of her father, and expected to receive £2,000.

Dorothy Davis, who described herself as a waitress, of Victoria Parade, Fitzroy, said she had been employed at the Royal Hotel, Bairanald, as a housemaid-waitress, at 35 shillings a week, and in the metropolis at the Coo-ee Cafe and Melbourne Hotel.

She was now employed as a housekeeper at the flat of one of the "colored boys" at £1 a week.

Edna Langdon, clerk, of Patterson Street, Middle Park, said she had been working at Henderson's garage, Balaclava Road, and she was now staying with friends.

Dorothy McGowan, of Prince Street, Fitzroy, said she was housemaid to a Chinese in Nicholson Street. She had been invited to the flat by one of the "boys."

The accused were then discharged.

Hunt All Day for Home; Doors Closed Against Them

Sonny Clay's men found lodgings in Sydney last night only after a hunt which lasted all day.

Mr. Hughes said pointedly yesterday that if they had been in America they would not have been allowed to leave the country.

In all probability, action will be taken which will prohibit the entry of Negroes into Australia in the future.

Colored men of Sonny Clay's band who arrived fro Melbourne yesterday on their way to America trudged the city all day in search of lodgings.

At Darlinghurst—their haunt when they were in Sydney—all doors were closed against them, and they were forced further afield.

Walking around with their grips and overcoats, it was not until 8 o'clock last night that the last coon found a home. The majority of them are in lodging near the Central Station.

American Consul Lawton was appealed to yesterday to help them. He said one of them had been in an American regiment with him.

"They are not bad fellows, you know," he said.

Mr. W. M. Hughes, speaking at the annual convention of the National Party yesterday, said:

"Something is being said about the Negroes leaving this country. Why, if they were in America and did the things they did here, they would never be able to leave the country. The citizens would see to that."

"Frame-up," Says Clay

When the disgraced Sonny Clay Negro troupe arrived back in Sydney yesterday to catch the Sierra, which is to take it back to America, members were completely indifferent to the pointed interest shown by a few hundred persons at Central Statino.

Shirts and ties of flambuoyant hues, Oxford bags, and coats of astounding check material, the Negroes were easy marks for the crowd to follow.

Sonny Clay told The Guardian that his men who were concerned in the flat incident had sworn to him that nothing wrong had happened at Rowena Flats.

Clay complained that detectives had dogged the steps of the troupe since it arrived, and had probed belongings and jumped in on their bedroom hours to such an extent that the temper of the coons was put on edge.

"It was all a deliberate frame-up," he said.

Not Ended Yet

CANBERRA, Wednesday.—The Melbourne Negro episode has not ended yet. Ministerial opinion is so incensed that it is very probable the Negroes whatever their calling, will not be allowed into the Commonwealth again.

The withholding of permits to enter the country is purely a governmental affair, and applicants of Negro blood can be denied admission at the Ministerial will.

Such a step would mean that vaudeville and fight enterprises would have to review contracts both contemplated and recently entered into, where Negroes have signed up and are on their way to Australia.

Race Problem - 1928

Canada.

Final Appeal Made by Montreal Jews Is Lost

London, Feb. 10.—In the appeal of Montreal Jews to the privy council from the decision of the supreme court of Canada regarding the rights of Jews in the protestant and other schools of the province of Quebec the judicial committee of the privy council gave judgment on Feb. 2 affirming with variations the supreme court ruling. The appellants must pay the costs of the board of protestant school commissioners, Montreal, in connection with the appeal.

The appeal was against the judgment upholding the Quebec court of appeals in its ruling that persons of the Jewish faith could not be appointed to the board of protestant school commissioners, that the board was not obliged to appoint Jewish teachers in the schools, and that the Quebec provincial legisalture could not pass legislation providing that persons professing the Jewish religion be appointed to the board.

Race Problem - Europe 1928

~~Political~~

~~Office Holding~~

~~France~~.

FRANCE ELECTS THREE COLONIALS TO HIGH POSTS

Paris, France, June 8.—Three of the five dark-skinned deputies have been returned to parliament at the last elections. They are Gratian Candace of Guadeloupe, Blaise Diagne of Senegal, and [illegible] Delmont of Martinique. All have held various high positions in the government and are outstanding figures in the chamber of deputies.

One of the five, M. Sagers of Martinique, did not [illegible] and the other, Jean François, was defeated. The places have been filled by MM. Greve and Fouchard, whites.

The other member of the senate, M. Lemery of Martinique, remains. M. Lemery is a former secretary of state under ex-President Poincaré.

At a recent reception given at the house of Deputy Delmont a brilliant assemblage of French West Indians were present, several of them holding high positions in the army, navy and the government, among them being Senator Lemery and Colonel Mortenol, who commanded the air defenses of Paris during the last war.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe

An American's Travel Troubles

By J. A. ROGERS

Amsterdam News 1/7/28

LAST summer Mrs. Agatha Jones Lawson, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Maude Walker, teacher at the Weaver School, Dayton, O., hired an automobile to make a tour of several countries of Europe, and I volunteered my services as guide.

Together we visited six countris, a distance of several thousand miles.

All of the countries I had visited before, except Austria, and had written of them for readers of The Amsterdam News. I had seen them, however, by train, missing most of their beauties and also much of their usefulness, which, by the way, are mostly social.

For instance, in writing about Italy, I had said that the Northern Italian was a superior type to the Southern one, thus helping to maintain the popular belief. Now, after a trip by auto right down to the toe of the long boot, which is Italy, and up again, my views have been considerably modified. Once more the lesson has been brought home to me that the things we say and write about are greatly influenced by what we have heard others say about them. In short, that if our goal is to get at the truth of things we would be far better off ninety-nine times out of a hundred if we had never read about them, but had gone to see them for ourselves, which, alas, is most of the time impossible.

Having engaged the car for our trip, the next essential was the getting of the visas. And then the fun began, as they say in the comics. "Stay-at-homes" think they are living in a free world, but the fact is that as things now stand each man is a prisoner in his own country. If he thinks he isn't let him try to get out without going through red tape that drives him almost crazy.

We Americans boast of our liberty, but before an American can get out of his own country he must hand over $10 to the State Department or stay in, unless he wishes to go to Canada and probably Mexico. And if he wishes to leave these countries to go into others, he will have to pay the $10 just the same. That sum is for a passport, which is about as useful and as necessary as another nose on your face.

Before the war one could go anywhere without passport or visas, but the world fought for more freedom, with the result that, as I said, each man is a prisoner in his own land unless he is able to pay to get out.

Americans will find that they have to pay from fifty to sixty times more than any other people on earth. A British passport is good for five years, with visas that will take one all over the world, the United States included, costs $12. The French and other passports cost even less, something like 40 cents. The American one, which is printed on paper which certainly does not cost even the last named sum, costs $10.

And there is an additional tax of $10 for almost every country the American visits. That is, if an American were to visit all the countries of Europe, he would have to pay something like $80 while the Frenchman or Englishman or other European would pay about 75 cents. A British passport and visa taking one into every country of Europe, with perhaps the exception of Russia, costs exactly $2.

On my first trip to Europe there was on the same boat with me a colored British subject and, while he paid out $1.25 for passports and visits to three countries, the visit to two countries, with passports, cost me $30. Verily, that was "patriotism!"

The costs and inconveniences of passports and visas, to which Americans only are subjected, is one great ache to tourists and others, many of whom have never heard about them until they are ready to leave. It certainly does not increase respect for American citizenship to find one so discriminated against abroad.

Of course, the protest against these taxes on travel will awaken little sympathy in the minds of the "stay-at-homes." People who have the money to travel deserve what they have to put up with. Nevertheless, all these are but signs of the serfdom toward which the masses of the American public head. Since the war there has been a definite downward movement toward Russian czarism in America. The people are losing more, and yet more, of their rights—are drifting into the hands of a few, just as they did into hands of a certain few in Europe in medieval times, as the Medicis, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, who finally became the rulers of the nation. Rome began as a free republic and ended as one of the most hideous of despotisms. History repeats itself.

As the passport is good only for two years and the visa for one year, all manner of complications arise. Let's say, for instance, one is in England, where he has paid $10 to enter. He goes to France, where he has also paid another $10. His English visa is good for a year but, should his passport expire after, say, he has spent three months in France, he must pay $20 to re-enter England; that is, $10 for a passport and $10 for another visa.

In going on this auto trip it took me two full days to get the visas, after which I certainly felt like pronouncing a blessing on somebody, not to speak of having to hand out an exorbitant sum to the various countries for that which the people of other nationalities were getting, in most cases, for nothing. Experience, however, is the best teacher, and I got a very valuable idea. I am going to set up a government of my own, get a rubber stamp and collect $10 each time I bring it down on the paper.

The fault, I understand, lies entirely with the State Department, which charges the people of these countries $10 for a visa to enter America, and they get by charging Americans the same. However, not all the countries retaliate. Belgium, the freest country in Europe, does not even ask a visa nor does Switzerland. Germany charges Americans nothing, and at the border treats them with the finest courtesy, both in the matter of passports and the customs. When we arrived at the German border the official literally bowed us in. He glanced at the passports of the two ladies, never permitted me to get mine even out of my pocket, and our mere word that we had nothing dutiable was sufficient for him. It can be understood, therefore, why the German people were reported as being indignant at the alleged harsh treatment of the passengers of the Zeppelin recently.

The next most courteous officials we met were in Austria, which charges a visa fee. My passport was looked at and stamped, but the word of the ladies that they had passports was sufficient. The most rigid and exacting of all the countries was Italy. There we had to take down our things and tell many whys and wherefores, not to speak of our being stopped at the entrance to almost every Italian town from the border all the way to Naples and back to tell whether we had anything dutiable. We were stopped not less than forty times, but more of that later.

England is also a hard country for Americans to enter, but nothing nearly as hard as for Englishmen to enter America. This difference must be noted, however: Americans go to England to spend money—very few earn anything there—while very few Englishmen come to America to spend money, and nearly all to earn it.

All other European countries, except Russia and Turkey, seem content to stamp your passport and collect your money, but at the English Consulate they wish to know a bit of your family history, and there are several forms to be filled out, "How long are you going to stay?" "Are you going to return to the States," etc., all of which, with the digging into your personal effects, you feel is the highest form of impertinence.

After two months of this sort of thing, how one longs for the good old days when man could rove over the earth, his only passport being his strong right arm. Today he must pay out his hard earned cash for a bit of paper with which, if he hasn't money, he is free to starve like any citizen of the country in which he is.

-:- My Visit in Normandy

By J. A. ROGERS

Chateau de Parfondeval.

ABOUT two hours' ride by train from Paris, among the beautiful rolling hills of Normandy, is the delightful old chateau of Parfondeval, where I have been spending a week with my friend, Harry Edwards, formerly of Wilberforce, Ohio. The chateau is the property of the Viscountess de Janze. Mr. Edwards manages the affairs of the household and through him I received a personal invitation from the Viscountess.

Normandy is one of the most beautiful of the old provinces of France; its soil, one of richest, is covered with green velvety pastures on which cows are grazing peacefully; fine old apple orchards; neatly-cut fields of rye, wheat, barley, which roll over and over the hills as far as the eye can see, all reminding you of some beautiful landscape you saw in some art gallery, but even more beautiful than any landscape painter could depict. Parfondeval, with its 2,000 acres, is one of the largest estates in France.

Normandy, too, is rich in tradition. From it came the illegitimate son of Rollo, the Sea King, who, crossing the Channel, conquered England and became the real founder of the British Empire of today. Parfondeval, too, is rich in historic memories. It was built in the time of Louis XIV, and the De Janzos have played an important part in the history of France before and since the times of the Grand Monarch.

The Viscountess, who is one of the wealthiest persons in France, is one of the most charming, unaffected and altogether agreeable persons it has been my good fortune to meet. I understand she is past fifty—her son the Count, is thirty—but she looks twenty years younger with her fine physique and cheeks ruddy from the good Norman air. She is beloved by her household servants, some fifteen in number. There are those who are always at the chateau seeking alms, but none is ever turned away.

During my stay, I was treated as one of the family. Absolutely nothing to remind me of a difference of color. I could not at times help thinking of some of our chesty white folks in America, with nothing of tradition and social standing behind them in comparison. Truly, the would-be's are the most pretentious. If those Americans who boast so much about white descent had something solid behind them in the way of ancestry, they would certainly be less noisy and aggressive about the accident of a pale skin.

Around the chateau are beautiful lawns, fine gardens, a tennis court, out-houses, the sides of which are covered with roses in full bloom, and farms in whose pastures are many cows and horses—just such a place for a jaded city-dweller to come for re-invigoration. In the cheeks of the folk on and around the estate is Nature's own rouge. Just a few days after, myself, have taken on a more youthful appearance, the tired, city lines in my face are disappearing. One cannot help thinking that the human race in general sacrifices much health by living in cities.

As I said, the Viscountess has a son—the Count de Janze. I did not have the pleasure of meeting him as he was away at the time but had the good fortune to receive an autographed copy of his book on Africa, which he very kindly sent me through Mr. Edwards. The Count, who served with distinction in the last war, has two very fine children. He has been a big game hunter in East Africa and the walls on both sides of the main stair of the chateau are lined with silver mounted trophies of the heads of animals shot by him. Several are also mounted in his villa at Dieppe at the seaside.

The Count's book, "Vertical Land," was recently published by Duckworth of London, and is receiving warm praise from the critics. Perhaps no other book since "Batouala" has conveyed so well the feel of Africa. The Count is a poet in prose; he is a master in English as well as in French. The book, which is in English, carries the reader along by its sheer beauty and truth of description. For instance, read this description of the terror of an African forest.

"As you slowly climb the trail the forest quietly, as some somber, forgotten faith, emerges and on the crest rests a languid arm, falling, slipping inevitably down the watershed. The tropical forest, prehistory of man, long forgotten flora, overgrown, undermined by millions of parasites.

"You work your way pushing, cutting, slashing, through closing about you—silence and gloom, slushy under foot, crunching dead things, killing live ones. Vines and trailing orchids clutch at your clothes.

"As the beads of sweat roll and drop, one's topee drooping in the great silence, miasmatic scents sway visibly between the stalks of the giant ferns.

"Clutching a rifle, steely, deadly, a machine, but no solace to one's blind terror of the unknown. One's heart stops with the cracking of a branch while a great limb, with the tiredness of centuries slowly detaching itself, bends and crashes across the path, breaking the back of the coal-black leopard waiting for you in the trail.

"An elephant shrieks and shrieking passes by; a clamor of sound instantly stilled. You know not whose shadow moves in the gloom on your right; blind terror in your bulging eyes, dripping frozen sweat you push on, mumbling incantations of your youth or of some weird, soul-searching belief of some previous life. Behind you the jungle resumes its tread, living, dying, eternal to your so mortal mind."

Again this from the chapter "Voodoo":

"The clearing is empty except for a native tending a fire. In the foreground empty space, a half moon. Then between two towering totems with stacks of wood at their feet the fire; behind, an altar of some soft stone, stained red with patches, its table slanting downwards from back to front, two diagonal furrows crossing in the center; at its back two steps of polished wood or black stone, upon them a carved, grotesque, grimacing figure seated, arms outstretched, entirely plated with gold.

"A rustle, and by the path come the faithful, naked all, their black skins oiled and glistening; in the women's hair shining flowers of gold and silver. None may come armed or clothed to the feast. In all 200, the rich, the civilized, the powerful of the tribes. One or two we recognize—prosperous and hard-working tradesmen, devotees of the mission church.

"The slave of the fire heaps the logs on—logs of scented wood—the flames leap higher. A blue haze of smoke dims the image behind.

"The faithful are seated in orderly, serried ranks, a man, a woman, and so on, four feet apart, ranks four feet behind each other, facing the fire."

He then describes the central figure and goes on:

"The worshippers bow down to the earth between their crossed legs, their shining backs glistening like tortoises in the flame light.

"A slow murmur swells till it is like the dull thumping of the surf on a beach a mile away. As the chorus grows my companion shakes his head—the words are in the forgotten language of some long dead civilization.

"The figure slips smoothly out before the fire. As it whirls and dances the chant rises and falls, all the congregation swaying to the time. The rhythm grows faster and faster and from a corner a chorus of tom-toms breaks out.

"Drops fall from the trees and the cold is good on one's face. The fascination of the scene is indescribable. . . ."

And so on with the description of an African drought, an African night, etc. There are so many beautiful things in the book that one feels like quoting them all.

The Count is interested in the Negro. Some time ago I gave Mr. Edwards copies of some of the Negro newspapers. He gave them to the Count and the latter seeing the advertisements of Negro blues records sent to America for every one of them.

As to Mr. Edwards, he has been in Europe about six years, four of which have been with the Viscountess. During the remaining two he toured Europe as a magician, and is one of the founders of a syndicate of European magicians. He told me that he just got tired of American color prejudice and left with very little after he had paid for a first-class ticket. He has been doing well ever since, and says he could not think of living in America again. His former employer in America has asked him many times to return.

He is well-read, has a fine library, is a connoisseur of wine. The cellars of the chateau and the town house of the Viscountess contain rare wines, some of which are more than a hundred years old, and some of which came from the cellars of the late Emperor of Austria. In his present position, Mr. Edwards comes in touch with the cream of European society and named to me many of the important personages with whom he had come in contact. Of the fifteen employees, he is the only Negro.

Race Problem - 1928.

Europe

AWAKENING FRENCH NEGROES

We hear so much about France as a Republic that we are apt to forget that she, like the United States, is actually an empire. The statement that the sun never sets on the Union Jack of Great Britain is also true of the Tri-Color. Mongolians, Caucasians, Negroes and a swarm of mixed breeds swear allegiance to the Third Republic on a dozen different strands. Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists and the devotees of a score of minor sects kiss bulls gaze toward Paris. France calls them all her citizens and drafts their youths into her vast army to fight for the glory and benefit of the Republic. To many people, more sentimental than informed, this foremost Latin country seems the very ideal of cosmopolitanism, of liberty, fraternity and equality—a brilliant jewel in the crown of nationhood.

Pittsburgh Courier 9/25/28

To these who imagine that France is so much more civilized in the treatment of her colonials than other imperial powers, it will be instructive to consult the pages of the first number of La Race Negre, Paris, September, 1927. This is a magazine published by French Negroes, particularly in the interests of French Negroes, but touching also on general world problems of the darker races. Altogether there are over a dozen articles dealing with the status of the various groups of Negroes under French rule. The papers are uniformly well written, militant and highly enlightening. They reveal the fact, surprising to most people that Negroes under the Tri-Color of France are by no means any better treated than those under British, Belgian or Portuguese rule. We are told that the French colonial Negroes are prohibited from receiving English, North American and South American Negro journals, and that even La Race Negre is barred. We are informed that, despite the cordial reception of Negroes in Paris, the French Negro, in his own eyes and in the eyes of his white masters, is a Negro first and a Frenchman afterwards. We are told of the colonial errors and brutalities of the French in Africa, which latter are in many instances so revolting as to beggar description. We learn of the desire of the French colonial Negroes for autonomous legislatures and a larger measure of self-government, and the letters published from readers in various parts of the French African possessions reveal a growing militancy and awareness of injustice.

Such a journal's appearance is significant. There must be a great deal of rottenness in the French administration of her African colonies to cause her most intellectually advanced black citizens to write in this bitter manner. In Rene Maran's Bataoula we got a glimpse behind the scenes in French equatorial Africa; in La Race Negre we get a broader panorama. The little group of black French intellectuals who edit this inspiring and informative magazine are the advance guard of the twenty million discontented Negroes who writhe under the heel of France. Though few in number, their influence in the black colonies will doubtless become greater and greater, as the stupidity of the French colonial administration increases. In common with most enlightened African Negroes, this group looks to the Negro in America for inspiration, thus, quite properly. The leading paper in this first issue of La Race Negre is a well-written article entitled "Negro Activities in the United States," telling of the progress of the Negro here and accompanied by a photograph of the Overton Bank in Chicago.

It is encouraging to learn that there is intellectual ferment among the French Negroes and that the black colonies are seething with discontent. Discontent is the midwife of progress. Liberty can only really be obtained by those who desire strongly enough to be liberated. Freedom is only gained by force, economic or physical. Equality is only achieved by the possession of power. The awakened Africans must themselves emancipate Africa, but by our triumph over the many obstacles in our own environment, we can inspire them to achieve that ideal.

Chicago Negro Leader

SEP 26 1928

THE current century will be an era of conflict between the white and colored races of the world predicts Albert Sarraut, minister of the interior in the French cabinet.

M. Sarraut foresees a conflict between Asiatic and European peoples, with Japan, aggressive, canny and modern, leading the colored races against the domination of the whites. The prospect does not seem to him a pleasant one; for, as he points out, the colored races are vastly in the majority, and possess more than two-thirds of the world's surface.

For many centuries, it must be admitted, the colored races—black, yellow, brown and red—have been dominated and exploited by the white. It would be only natural if, sooner or later, they were to unite for revenge. Such a conflict is quite possible; and M. Sarraut is right in saying that it would be a terrible calamity.

Yet there are grounds for looking on the future with optimism.

The modern world, which sometimes seems so dense, is slowly learning a few things about international relationships. It is getting away from the old, flag-waving, super-patriotic attitude in which the battleship and the marine were the only envoys one would think of sending to an inferior nation. It is passing into the control of the bankers and the industrialists—and however much that fact may perturb the socialist, it is immensely encouraging.

For these business men know that harsh, unjust measures do not pay. The ways of peace are better. It can be more advantageous for a nation to sell its goods to another country than to float its own flag over that country's capital. The salesman makes a better international emissary than the admiral. Markets can no longer be won by force of arms.

It is this fact—this growing commercialization of the world—that leads us to hope. Assuredly, if the nations continued to deal with China, India and such countries as they have done for the past century, there would some day be trouble. But they are adopting a new attitude; the attitude of the business man. And the business man knows that fighting does not pay.

Race Problem - 1928.

Europe

AWAKENING FRENCH NEGROES

We hear so much about France as a Republic that we are apt to forget that she, like the United States, is actually an empire. The statement that the sun never sets on the Union Jack of Great Britain is also true of the Tri-Color. Mongolians, Caucasians, Negroes and a swarm of mixed breeds swear allegiance to the Third Republic on a dozen different strands. Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists and the devotees of a score of minor sects and cults gaze toward Paris. France calls them all her citizens and drafts their youths into her vast army to fight for the glory and benefit of the Republic. To many people, more sentimental than informed, this foremost Latin country seems the very ideal of cosmopolitanism, of liberty, fraternity and equality—a brilliant jewel in the crown of nationhood.

9/25/28

To those who imagine that France is so much more civilized in the treatment of her colonials than other imperial powers, it will be instructive to consult the pages of the first number of La Race Negre, Paris, September, 1927. This is a magazine published by French Negroes, particularly in the interests of French Negroes, but touching also on general world problems of the darker races. Altogether there are over a dozen articles dealing with the status of the various groups of Negroes under French rule. The papers are uniformly well written, militant and highly enlightening. They reveal the fact, surprising to most people that Negroes under the Tri-Color of France are by no means any better treated than those under British, Belgian or Portuguese rule. We are told that the French colonial Negroes are prohibited from receiving English, North American and South American Negro journals, and that even La Race Negre is barred. We are informed that, despite the cordial reception of Negroes in Paris, the French Negro, in his own eyes and in the eyes of his white masters, is a Negro first and a Frenchman afterwards. We are told of the colonial errors and brutalities of the French in Africa, which latter are in many instances so revolting as to beggar description. We learn of the desire of the French colonial Negroes for autonomous legislatures and a larger measure of self-government, and the letters published from readers in various parts of the French African possessions reveal a growing militancy and awareness of injustice.

Such a journal's appearance is significant. There must be a great deal of rottenness in the French administration of her African colonies to cause her most intellectually advanced black citizens to write in this bitter manner. In Rene Maran's Bataoula we got a glimpse behind the scenes in French equatorial Africa; in La Race Negre we get a broader panorama. The little group of black French intellectuals who edit this inspiring and informative magazine are the advance guard of the twenty million discontented Negroes who writhe under the heel of France. Though few in number, their influence in the black colonies will doubtless become greater and greater, as the stupidity of the French colonial administration increases. In common with most enlightened African Negroes, this group looks to the Negro in America for inspiration, thus, quite properly. The leading paper in this first issue of La Race Negre is a well-written article entitled "Negro Activities in the United States," telling of the progress of the Negro here and accompanied by a photograph of the Overton Bank in Chicago.

It is encouraging to learn that there is intellectual ferment among the French Negroes and that the black colonies are seething with discontent. Discontent is the midwife of progress. Liberty can only really be obtained by those who desire strongly enough to be liberated. Freedom is only gained by force, economic or physical. Equality is only achieved by the possession of power. The awakened Africans must themselves emancipate Africa, but by our triumph over the many obstacles in our own environment, we can inspire them to achieve that ideal.

SEP 26 1928

THE current century will be an era of conflict between the white and colored races of the world predicts Albert Sarraut, minister of the interior in the French cabinet.

M. Sarraut foresees a conflict between Asiatic and European peoples, with Japan, aggressive, canny and modern, leading the colored races against the domination of the whites. The prospect does not seem to him a pleasant one; for, as he points out, the colored races are vastly in the majority, and possess more than two-thirds of the world's surface.

For many centuries, it must be admitted, the colored races—black, yellow, brown and red—have been dominated and exploited by the white. It would be only natural if, sooner or later, they were to unite for revenge. Such a conflict is quite possible; and M. Sarraut is right in saying that it would be a terrible calamity.

Yet there are grounds for looking on the future with optimism.

The modern world, which sometimes seems so dense, is slowly learning a few things about international relationships. It is getting away from the old, flag-waving, super-patriotic attitude in which the battleship and the marine were the only envoys one would think of sending to an inferior nation. It is passing into the control of the bankers and the industrialists—and however much that fact may perturb the socialist, it is immensely encouraging.

For these business men know that harsh, unjust measures do not pay. The ways of peace are better. It can be more advantageous for a nation to sell its goods to another country than to float its own flag over that country's capital. The salesman makes a better international emissary than the admiral. Markets can no longer be won by force of arms.

It is this fact—this growing commercialization of the world—that leads us to hope. Assuredly, if the nations continued to deal with China, India and such countries as they have done for the past century, there would some day be trouble. But they are adopting a new attitude; the attitude of the business man. And the business man knows that fighting does not pay.

-:- "Christianity and Islam" -:-

REVIEW OF J. A. ROGERS' ARTICLE

Writer Accounts for Absence of Color Line in Europe

GENEVA, Switzerland.

UNDER which religion has the Negro been more kindly treated, Christianity or Mohammedanism? This is the interesting question that has been discussed at some length by J. A. Rogers in the current number of The Review of Nations, publihed in this city.

Under the title, "The Negro's Experience of Christianity and Islam," Rogers begins by pointing out that Negro slavery in its earliest stage was frankly a money-making business and that the slave traders made no effort to conceal this. But, as the evils of the system grew and the more humane people of Europe and America began to protest in the name of Christ, the slave traders, in order to save their business, were forced to reply in kind and declared that in bringing the Negroes from Africa they were saving not only their bodies but their souls.

Christ, they said, had commanded that "the gospel should be preached to every creature" and, by taking these Negroes to a Christian land, where Christian knowledge could be best imparted, the slave traders asserted, they were obeying the divine command in all its fullness. Their arguments, thus religiously garbed, were irresistible. Slavery in the name of Christ took a firm hold and

"The slave ship went from coast to coast,
Fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost."

The writer further points out that, since the majority of the Negroes came from the West Coast of Africa, some as late as 1860, and that long prior to that time this region was, and is, a great Mohammedan stronghold, many of the Negroes brought to America must undoubtedly have belonged to that faith. Had these Negroes remained in Africa, their descendants would now be Mohammedans, instead of Christians. Has, therefore, the contention of the slave-holders regarding the superiority of a Christian environment been proved?

In weighing Christianity and the Negro, Rogers begins by saying that care should be taken to distinguish between the attitude of the Christian church prior to the discovery of the New World and after. Northern Africa, the bulk of whose population is Negroid, was the great stronghold of Christianity in its earliest stages. Many of the earliest fathers of the church, such as St. Augustine, Tertullian, Origen and St. Cyprian, the great standard-bearers of Christianity, came from this region and were, in all probability, of Negro ancestry. St. Augustine was a Numidian, the land from which came the phrase, "black as a Numidian." Simon the Cyrenean was also an African and was depicted in the earliest prints as a Negro. Even Christ and the Virgin Mary were depicted as black, and a black Virgin is venerated in certain regions of southern Europe today.

Further, there was St. Maurice, one of the most renowned martyrs of the Christian church, who is today the celestial saint of parts of Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy. "In short, early Christianity knew no color line. The Christian—whether Teuton, Roman, Moor, or Ethiopian—was welcomed as a brother in Christ. It is true that the early Christians practiced slavery, but they made no difference as to color or race in the matter."

"And," he continues, "the absence of a color line continued through the centuries, and when Negroes were again introduced as slaves in Europe, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the policy toward them remained the same. Although Negro slavery lasted in southern Europe for 331 years (1442-1773), 85 years longer than in the United States, there is not only no record of a color line, but the most cordial feelings seemed to have prevailed.

Azurara, the chronicler, tells how the Negroes were taught trades, adopted by families, and even "married to the women" of the country. Mention is also made of the distinguished painters, poets, authors, generals, philosophers and divines of this period who won fame, not on the strength of color, but on merit and of whom Blumenbach, the noted anthropologist, said he had a library filled with their works.

When one, however, turns to the New World, he sees a different picture. Here the Negro was brutalized from the start, particularly in Anglo-Saxon lands, where the Bible was used as an instrument for tightening his chains. "The slave-holders, again using the Bible as an authority, pointed out that St. Paul advised the slaves of his time not to change their condition if they could, and that he had caused Onesimus, a runaway slave, to be returned to his master. Many of the churches themselves held slaves and, while ample provision was made for teaching them Christianity, laws were passed making it a crime to teach them to read the Bible itself."

The growth of the Negro church is then traced from the time that Richard Allen, founder of the A. M. E. Church, was driven out of a white church, until the present time, when there are over 45,000 Negro churches, with a membership of 4,800,000. Today Negroes are welcome in few white churches, and in these the sight of a Negro is rare, "since he feels that there must be present those white persons to whom he is not welcome. Color has prevailed over Christ in making a division so complete that the two 'races' might well belong to hostile religions."

The most Christian part of America, the writer says, is the most barbarous—the Southern States. It is from this region, which Mencken calls 'the Bible Belt,' that most of the lynchings and human burnings occur. Here also peonage thrives and families are sold into slavery, instances of which occurred in 1927." Yet, it is from this region that came "the strongest protest against America's ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, on the ground that Turkey persecuted the Armenian Christians.

Recent race riots, massacres and lynchings have been mentioned with the information that Congress, which opens "each day's session with prayer in the name of Christ," persistently evades doing anything to correct this, although President Coolidge and some of his predecessors, as well as the Negroes and their friends, have urged this.

The barbarity of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in South Africa is also discussed, as well as the status of the Negro in the other Christian countries of the New World.

Speaking now of Islam, the writer says, in part:

"Islam has never known a color line, for reasons that go deep. Ranking, perhaps, next to Mohammed in the affections of the Moslem world is Bilal Ibn Rahab, a Negro, and Mohammed's alter ego, treasurer, adviser, muezzin, and almost earliest convert. Mohammed thought so much of Bilal that he granted him precedence in heaven. . . .

"Another and more important factor contributing to the absence of color prejudice is that Islam rose to power in a region where, from time immemorial, many of the rulers were what are known as Negroes in our day, as many of the wearers of the double crown of Egypt and the kings of Numidia and Lybia. Black and white had been meeting and mating as equals along both shores of the Mediterranean thousands of years before the coming of Mohammed.

"From the moment a Negro becomes a convert to Islam there is nothing to prevent his attaining the highest privileges, social and political, to which a white Moslem may attain. Not only were Negroes made governors of provinces under the Moslem Empire, but kings. 'Fear God and yield obedience to my successor, though he may be a Negro slave,' said Mohammed, on the approach of death.

"While the Bible sanctions the enslavement of Christians, the Koran (Moslem Bible) expressly forbids the holding of the faithful in bondage. As to churches, there is not a single Jim-Crow mosque in all Islam, the Negro entering freely into all with the white man. When the late Mahdi saw a poor Negro kneel beside him in the mosque he said to him: 'In this place we are all one.'"

Contrast this with the attitude of the white Baptist minister in the southern part of the United States. (The incident is that of a white minister who drove a Negro minister, as white as himself, out of the former's church.)

Tells of Rights Given Negroes Converted to Islam

Authorities are here quoted, one from a French governor-general in West Africa, to show the absence of color prejudice among white Moslems in Africa, and then a contrast is made with parts of Africa, mostly under Anglo Saxon Christian rule. "Whereas the offspring of a white Mohammedan and a Negro woman, born in or out of wedlock, enjoys the same privileges, social and political, as a white child born in wedlock in Christian Africa, the mulatto child is despised by both white and black," the writer says.

"Today, of some sixty million or so African Negroes believing in the doctrine of one God, less than two millions are Christians. After nineteen centuries of missionary effort, the majority of Christians in Africa are the small number of Europeans there.

"The case of Islam is simple. As was said, it imposes no peculiar hardships on account of color; no handicaps in the pursuit of happiness. . . . Christ said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' If this ought to be the criterion of Christian conduct, then it must be said that it is a non-Christian religion that is living most fully up to it where the black man is concerned."

The sale of intoxicants in Africa; prohibition by Moslems; polygamy among the Mohammedans and its equivalent, concubinage among the Christians, are discussed, as well as the taking of the Negro by Christian nations to fight their battles in Europe and elsewhere. Efforts of the Christian nations to end slavery are also discussed, but the writer is of the opinion that Christianity was the great scourge of Africa, taking away some fifty millions of her people and scattering death and desolation, making it a Dark Continent—precisely what would happen to Europe today were some powerful race to invade it and do the same.

The record, he says, has been a gory one. For instance, between 1700 and 1786 the Negroes transplanted to the Island of Jamaica numbered 610,000, yet in 1820 the number on the island was only 340,000. Of the eight million or so Negroes transplanted to the United States over a period of 241 years (1619-1860), less than four million remained to be freed in 1865. Just what slavery meant can best be understood by recalling that, in 1910, forty-five years after emancipation, the Negro population had more than doubled itself by natural increase.

By terms, Christianity and Islam, the writer makes clear that Christians are those who believe in the Christian Bible, or are offended when one speaks Christ, the head of their religion. The same, in their way, applies to the Mohammedans.

The Review of Nations is the foremost international journal in Europe and carries articles by leading statesmen, diplomats and scholars. Its editor is M. Felix Valvi.

-:- "Christianity and Islam" -:-

REVIEW OF J. A. ROGERS' ARTICLE

Writer Accounts for Absence of Color Line in Europe

GENEVA, Switzerland.

UNDER which religion has the Negro been more kindly treated, Christianity or Mohammedanism? This is the interesting question that has been discussed at some length by J. A. Rogers in the current number of The Review of Nations, published in this city.

Under the title, "The Negro's Experience of Christianity and Islam," Rogers begins by pointing out that Negro slavery in its earliest stage was frankly a money-making business and that the slave traders made no effort to conceal this. But, as the evils of the system grew and the more humane people of Europe and America began to protest in the name of Christ, the slave traders, in order to save their business, were forced to reply in kind and declared that in bringing the Negroes from Africa they were saving not only their bodies but their souls.

Christ, they said, had commanded that "the gospel should be preached to every creature" and, by taking these Negroes to a Christian land, where Christian knowledge could be best imparted, the slave traders asserted, they were obeying the divine command in all its fullness. Their arguments, thus religiously garbed, were irresistible. Slavery in the name of Christ took a firm hold and

"The slave ship went from coast to coast,
Fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost."

The writer further points out that, since the majority of the Negroes came from the West Coast of Africa, some as late as 1860, and that long prior to that time this region was, and is, a great Mohammedan stronghold, many of the Negroes brought to America must undoubtedly have belonged to that faith. Had these Negroes remained in Africa, their descendants would now be Mohammedans, instead of Christians. Has, therefore, the contention of the slave-holders regarding the superiority of a Christian environment been proved?

In weighing Christianity and the Negro, Rogers begins by saying that care should be taken to distinguish between the attitude of the Christian church prior to the discovery of the New World and after. Northern Africa, the bulk of whose population is Negroid, was the great stronghold of Christianity in its earliest stages. Many of the earliest fathers of the church, such as St. Augustine, Tertullian, Origen and St. Cyprian, the great standard-bearers of Christianity, came from this region and were, in all probability, of Negro ancestry. St. Augustine was a Numidian, the land from which came the phrase, "black as a Numidian." Simon the Cyrenean was also an African and was depicted in the earliest prints as a Negro. Even Christ and the Virgin Mary were depicted as black, and a black Virgin is venerated in certain regions of southern Europe today.

Further, there was St. Maurice, one of the most renowned martyrs of the Christian church, who is today the celestial saint of parts of Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy. "In short, early Christianity knew no color line. The Christian—whether Teuton, Roman, Moor, or Ethiopian—was welcomed as a brother in Christ. It is true that the early Christians practiced slavery, but they made no difference as to color or race in the matter."

"And," he continues, "the absence of a color line continued through the centuries, and when Negroes were again introduced as slaves in Europe, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the policy toward them remained the same. Although Negro slavery lasted in southern Europe for 331 years (1442-1773), 85 years longer than in the United States, there is not only no record of a color line, but the most cordial feelings seemed to have prevailed.

Azurara, the chronicler, tells how the Negroes were taught trades, adopted by families, and even "married to the women" of the country. Mention is also made of the distinguished painters, poets, authors, generals, philosophers and divines of this period who won fame, not on the strength of color, but on merit and of whom Blumenbach, the noted anthropologist, said he had a library filled with their works.

When one, however, turns to the New World, he sees a different picture. Here the Negro was brutalized from the start, particularly in Anglo-Saxon lands, where the Bible was used as an instrument for tightening his chains. "The slave-holders, again using the Bible as an authority, pointed out that St. Paul advised the slaves of his time not to change their condition if they could, and that he had caused Onesimus, a runaway slave, to be returned to his master. Many of the churches themselves held slaves and, while ample provision was made for teaching them Christianity, laws were passed making it a crime to teach them to read the Bible itself."

The growth of the Negro church is then traced from the time that Richard Allen, founder of the A. M. E. Church, was driven out of a white church, until the present time, when there are over 45,000 Negro churches, with a membership of 4,800,000. Today Negroes are welcome in few white churches, and in these the sight of a Negro is rare, "since he feels that there must be present those white persons to whom he is not welcome. Color has prevailed over Christ in making a division so complete that the two 'races' might well belong to hostile religions."

The most Christian part of America, the writer says, is the most barbarous—the Southern States. It is from this region, which Mencken calls 'the Bible Belt,' that most of the lynchings and human burnings occur. Here also peonage thrives and families are sold into slavery, instances of which occurred in 1927." Yet, it is from this region that came "the strongest protest against America's ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, on the ground that Turkey persecuted the Armenian Christians.

Recent race riots, massacres and lynchings have been mentioned with the information that Congress, which opens "each day's session with prayer in the name of Christ," persistently evades doing anything to correct this, although President Coolidge and some of his predecessors, as well as the Negroes and their friends, have urged this.

The barbarity of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in South Africa is also discussed, as well as the status of the Negro in the other Christian countries of the New World.

Speaking now of Islam, the writer says, in part:

"Islam has never known a color line, for reasons that go deep. Ranking, perhaps, next to Mohammed in the affections of the Moslem world is Bilal Ibn Rahab, a Negro, and Mohammed's alter ego, treasurer, adviser, muezzin, and almost earliest convert. Mohammed thought so much of Bilal that he granted him precedence in heaven. . . .

"Another and more important factor contributing to the absence of color prejudice is that Islam rose to power in a region where, from time immemorial, many of the rulers were what are known as Negroes in our day, as many of the wearers of the double crown of Egypt and the kings of Numidia and Lybia. Black and white had been meeting and mating as equals along both shores of the Mediterranean thousands of years before the coming of Mohammed.

"From the moment a Negro becomes a convert to Islam there is nothing to prevent his attaining the highest privileges, social and political, to which a white Moslem may attain. Not only were Negroes made governors of provinces under the Moslem Empire, but kings. 'Fear God and yield obedience to my successor, though he may be a Negro slave,' said Mohammed, on the approach of death.

"While the Bible sanctions the enslavement of Christians, the Koran (Moslem Bible) expressly forbids the holding of the faithful in bondage. As to churches, there is not a single Jim-Crow mosque in all Islam, the Negro entering freely into all with the white man. When the late Mahdi saw a poor Negro kneel beside him in the mosque he said to him: 'In this place we are all one.'"

Contrast this with the attitude of the white Baptist minister in the southern part of the United States. (The incident is that of a white minister who drove a Negro minister, as white as himself, out of the former's church.)

uthorities are here quoted,

Tells of Rights Given Negroes Converted to Islam

one from a French governor-general in West Africa, to show the absence of color prejudice among white Moslems in Africa, and then a contrast is made with parts of Africa, mostly under Anglo Saxon Christian rule. "Whereas the offspring of a white Mohammedan and a Negro woman, born in or out of wedlock, enjoys the same privileges, social and political, as a white child born in wedlock in Christian Africa, the mulatto child is despised by both white and black," the writer says.

"Today, of some sixty million or so African Negroes believing in the doctrine of one God, less than two millions are Christians. After nineteen centuries of missionary effort, the majority of Christians in Africa are the small number of Europeans there.

"The case of Islam is simple. As was said, it imposes no peculiar hardships on account of color; no handicaps in the pursuit of happiness. . . . Christ said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' If this ought to be the criterion of Christian conduct, then it must be said that it is a non-Christian religion that is living most fully up to it where the black man is concerned."

The sale of intoxicants in Africa; prohibition by Moslems; polygamy among the Mohammedans and its equivalent, concubinage among the Christians, are discussed, as well as the taking of the Negro by Christian nations to fight their battles in Europe and elsewhere. Efforts of the Christian nations to end slavery are also discussed, but the writer is of the opinion that Christianity was the great scourge of Africa, taking away some fifty millions of her people and scattering death and desolation, making it a Dark Continent—precisely what would happen to Europe today were some powerful race to invade it and do the same.

The record, he says, has been a gory one. For instance, between 1700 and 1786 the Negroes transplanted to the Island of Jamaica numbered 610,000, yet in 1820 the number on the island was only 340,000. Of the eight million or so Negroes transplanted to the United States over a period of 241 years (1619-1860), less than four million remained to be freed in 1865. Just what slavery meant can best be understood by recalling that, in 1910, forty-five years after emancipation, the Negro population had more than doubled itself by natural increase.

By terms, Christianity and Islam, the writer makes clear that Christians are those who believe in the Christian Bible, or are offended when one speaks Christ, the head of their religion. The same, in their way, applies to the Mohammedans.

The Review of Nations is the foremost international journal in Europe and carries articles by leading statesmen, diplomats and scholars. Its editor is M. Felix Valvi.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe.

The Firing Line After the War

By J. A. ROGERS

Writer Describes Land Where Millions Died

VERDUN.

THOUGHTS of this sleepy old town simply stagger the imagination. When one thinks of what has happened here, he feels like putting down his pen in despair, for what could he say that would ever be able to convey an idea of the earthly hell that existed here for four years —the agony, the suffering, the destruction?

What will historians two centuries later have to say? Nothing less than the combined genius of a Homer, Milton and Hugo will ever be able to do justice to Verdun. It was the core of the war; the greater part of the struggle was for its heights. Marathon, Cannae, Tours, Waterloo, Gettysburg, these were great battles prior to Verdun, which now has eclipsed them all. Within less than a radius of five square miles more than a million men lost their lives. Think of it! Take the population of Greater Boston, put every member of it to death and you'll have some idea of the murder that was committed here.

As for me, as I looked out on its shell-torn slopes, resembling a stormy sea suddenly pertified in its motion, slopes rendered barren by the chemicals and metals forced into every square inch of it, I could not help uttering a groan as I thought of Western civilization, that thing that we of the darker races are taught to admire as the summum bonum of all existence. Things I had read of the barbarity and savagery of Negroes in anti-Negro books came crowding into my mind, and then I realized that, after the wors possible had been said, all compared was but a drop in the ocean. Only the fiends from hell's madhouse would be able to equal the orgy of murder and barbarity staged here by white civilization.

Imagine marsh-weeds growing on hillsides! Some of the shell-holes are so large and so deep that they have become ponds and marshes with water-plants and insects making a permanent home in them.

Verdun, or rather its heights, commanding as it does the territory almost as far as the eye can see, is an ideal spot for a fortress, and has played an important part in the 2,000 years of war that have gone on with little interruption between what is now Germany and France. The Romans, fortifying it against the Teutons, called it Verodonum. Other rulers of France, among them Henry II, renewed these fortifications from time to time. Then came Vauban, one of the generals of Napoleon, who considerably strengthened it; and finally in 1891 modern forts, some thirty in number, were built.

Three times it has been taken by the Germans: In 1792, 1871 and 1916. In that latter year, as everyone knows, it was retaken by the French.

I made two trips to Verdun; one alone; the other in the company of Dr. T. E. Jones, of Freedman's Hospital, Washington, D. C., who won the Distinguished Conduct Medal for valor in a nearby region.

Hiring an auto driven by a Verdun veteran, Dr. Jones and I set out for the forts on the heights, passing through the town, almost all of which has been newly built. It was very easy to tell the few houses that had older walls, for they were all pitted with bullet marks. Parts of the towns remain as they were after the war. Roofs and interiors, gutted and gaping to the sky, among them being a large portion of the cathedral, may be seen now.

Our first stop was at the cemetery, where some 5,000 are buried,

— J. A. Rogers —

among them seven unknown soldiers. Two women were there, still weeping over their lost ones.

Up the slopes we saw a town remaining just as it had been destroyed and resembling a miniature Pompeii. This village, however, was fortunate compared with others, which were blown clean out of existence with not even one stone standing on top of another. All the way up could be seen the trenches with the barb wires removed and piled in great heights near the railroad station. One thing that puzzled me was to see the soil newly turned, erratically, over as if innumerable hogs had been rooting in it. I kept my wonderment to myself and later discovered the cause, which I will tell in its proper place.

This rooting process, I may add here, is very dangerous, because of the large number of unexploded shells and hand grenades. Numbers have been killed by them, and one really takes his life in his hand when he leaves the beaten track. Seeing a pile of hand grenades in the open, I went tinkering among them for souvenirs, which made Dr. Jones and the guide, who had had actual acquaintance with them, rather nervous. Since both are brave soldiers, I must add that their nervousness was not on their account but on mine.

Our first visit was to Vaux, second largest fort, which was captured by the Germans after seven days and nights of terrific combat, and retaken by the French five months later. From the outside it resembles just such a habitation as cave men might have chosen, with regular lines of disproportionately small windows. These were holes for the cannon.

In some parts the bombardment by hundreds of thousands of shells have blown holes into the reinforced concrete, while the top of the fort itself is a mass of hills and valleys made from the exploding shells. One of these shells actually came through the thick concrete roof of the fort, killing some seventy men, and then fell through to the floor below. It must have dropped into one of the great shell holes on the roof, thus making that much headway.

We were taken into the fort by one of the French soldiers (they act as guides with carbide lights). It is significant to note that when it was captured by the Germans they wired it and put in electricity and an electric dynamo. This may be regarded as a sign of German efficiency, and again it may be viewed as a proof of the Germans' preparation for war and the deadly manner in which they waged it.

The interior of the fort resembles a great cellar with many rooms. Among the interesting sights within are: the door through which Commandant Raynal surrendered to the Germans; the door through which came the French at the retaking; the port-hole through which came a "75,"

Examines Several of the Forts Taken by Germans

piercing the armor and killing the German gunner. The French at Vaux, as as Douaumont nearby, were caught like rats in a trap. Cut off for ten days at Vaux by the German bombardment, and without food and water, there was nothing else to do but surrender. Of 18 men who went out for water only two returned, the rest being killed. Vaux, once considered impregnable, is now a ruin. From the pools water drips into the fort, is caught by the shell-holes, thus making it necessary in some parts to cross over on planks.

From Vaux we went on to Douaumont, stopping at Thiaumont, where a colossal monument—a combined church, lighthouse and ossuary—is being built, known as the Ossuary of Douaumont. Soldiers who fell at Verdun are to be interred here, or tablets erected in their memory. Here, in the rear of the buildings, in a series of cellars, I found the answer to the rootings I had noticed. They were thousand of human bones—bones of the leg, rib, neck, arm, etc., all cleaned and carefully piled—friend and foe, according to size. I thought of the mothers who had brought forth the once-living owners of these bones in agony, rearing them in privation, in order that they might repose here and in similar places, while diplomats and statesmen, the same breed that brought on the last war, are preparing furiously to fill other charnel-houses. For it does seem that the great nations, even those that fought together as allies, are more distrustful, more panicky of each other than before the war. Spies of the different nations seem as busy as ever, while the great captains of industry, the real inspirers of all wars, are tirelessly planning to invade the commerce of other nations, erecting meanwhile great custom barriers in their own. All modern wars begin in the custom houses.

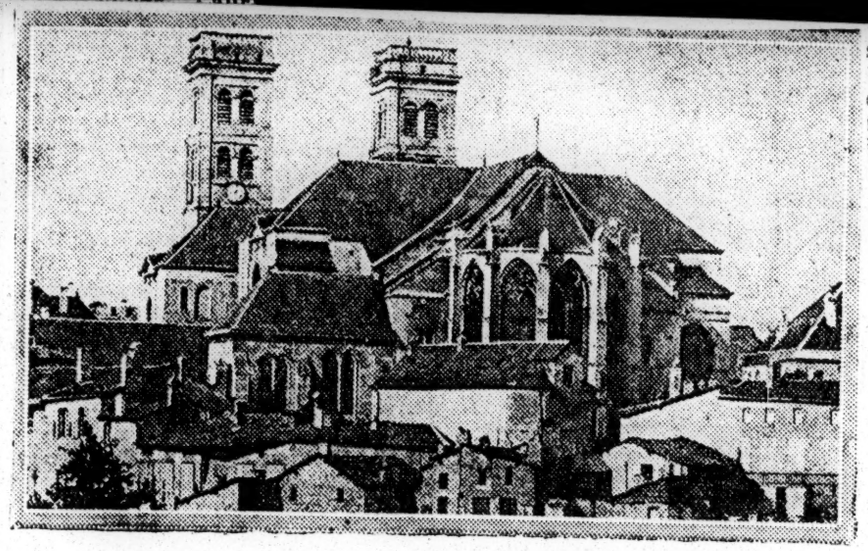
On the way to Douaumont one passes "The Dead Lion of Verdun," a monument erected to mark the limit of the German advance on Verdun.

Fort Douaumont, largest of all, is in a worse state than Vaux. Great sections of it have been blown away. On entering, one sees a great hole within; a magazine exploded here, killing about seventy of the German occupants. The Germans, on taking it, had evidently come to stay; they wired it, put in bathtubs and water-filters, and built a subterranean elevator that established communications with their troops at the base of the hill. They were driven out seven months later by the French. The Germans had captured it by dressing themselves in French uniforms.

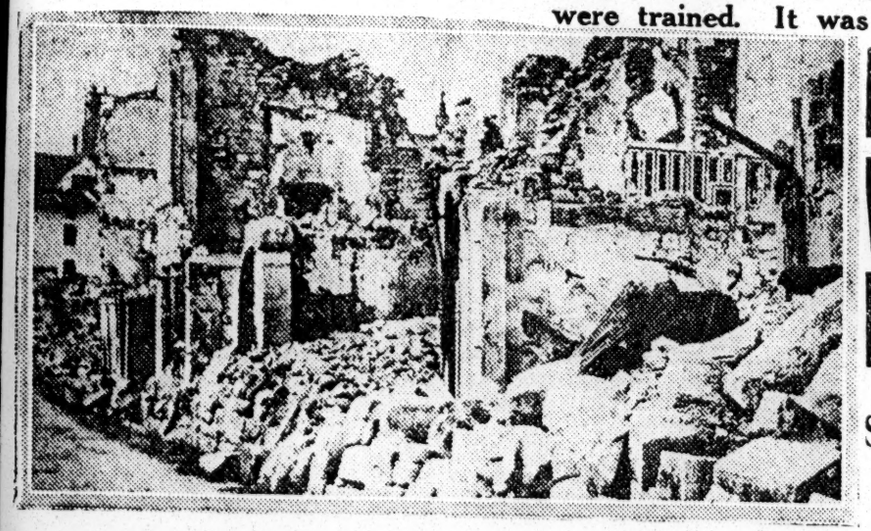
Entering any of these forts meant a terrific loss of life for the attackers, for within are hidden machine gun posts, commanding entrance to the passages. French Negro troops stationed here distinguished themselves. The landlord of our hotel at Verdun fought with them and was loud in their praise. Negro troops are

still stationed here, and on my first visit I had the pleasure of meeting several of the officers and one of the white ones who had fought here. This white officer was proud of the fact that there was no color line in the French army and was very chummy with the Negro officers.

One of the most striking sights on the hill is what is known as "the trench of bayonets." Some 170 French soldiers, while waiting for the order to attack, were buried almost up to the point of their bayonets by the explosion of a shell. Today they lie just as they fell, bayonets pointed upward, under a huge concrete structure erected with funds provided by an American.



The famous Cathedral at Verdun on which German guns were trained. It was practically demolished.



The typical appearance of the streets of Verdun after the German bombardment

French Queen Had Colored Daughter

Writing in the March number of The Messenger, J. A. Rogers, a European correspondent for The Amsterdam News, reveals the fact that Queen Marie Theresa, the consort of King Louis XIV of France, became the mother of a black baby. According to Rogers, it seems that an African prince made the queen a present of a little black dwarf, to whom she became greatly attached. He was always with her, playing on the rich rugs and even sitting on her lap. Soon the other ladies of the French court began to get little black dwarfs and, in a short time, they became the vogue. This is the reason why nearly all of the paintings of the noble ladies of that period always show little Negroes in attendance.

Not long after the little black dwarf became a part of the Queen's household that lady found herself about to become a mother. When the baby, a girl, was born it was jet black, and everybody agreed that the little dwarf had scared the Queen and caused her to have a black child. At any rate, the child was baptized Louise-Marie, after the King and Queen, and sent to a convent to be brought up. There she remained until she died, known as Sister Louise-Marie, and visited occasionally by members of the royal family.

Rogers concludes: "So far as the matter of color is concerned the black nun might have been a mystery in those days, but in this hard-boiled age we are inclined to be a bit more skeptical.

LONDON WRITER WARNS OF CLASH BETWEEN RACES

Says Unity Of Caucasian Can No Longer Impress Submerged Peoples

LONDON, Des. 26.—The greatest struggle of humanity the world has ever seen will be experienced in the predicted clash between the white and black races.

What the results will be the future can only decide, but unless a supreme effort is made, the struggle will end in the greatest catastrophe in history.

This is the opinion of M. Albert Sarraut, former governor-general of the French Far-Eastern dominion of Indo China, and the present minister of the interior of France.

Writing in The London Referee he warns that the black peoples—1,000,000,000, 200,000,000 **of them**—are stirring everywhere.

Cites Unrest

"No longer awed by the unity of the white man, which for centuries gave them supremacy, but which was broken by the World War, the Negro races have wakened to nationalism, and are demanding equal rights aid freedom.

"It is above all in Asia," writes M. Sarraut, "—that tremendous re servior in which there are nearly 10,000 million human beings that the question of the white man's supremacy is henceforth posed in its most importune and most redoubtable terms.

"The problem which dominates our age is the problem of the Pacific. The solution of this problem may decide the destiny of the whole world.

Urged by Communism

"And now these seething masses urged on by Russian Communism which presents its if from the Bosphorus to the Pacific as the liberator of the races from the Western yoke, are seeking a nation of their own breed powerful enough to become their champion against Americo-European hegemony."

That nation, M. Sarraut believes will ultimately be Japan. A country which refused its petition for racial equality, is facing not only a population crisis but a crisis of personal dignity.

He asserts the lapse of the Anglo Japanese alliance has left Japan free to take the leadership and the command of the Asiatic bloc against the European bloc.

And he even goes so far as to allege that Japan has been making formidable preparation for such a war for nearly half a century," by silently and patiently constituting an impregnable defensive position."

French Official Declares Negroes and Whites Will Clash

WARNS OF THE GROWING UNREST AMONG MILLIONS

Says People Are No Longer Awed by the White Man's Unity

Special For The St. Louis Argus

LONDON, Dec.—The greatest struggle of humanity the world has ever seen will be experienced in the predicted clash between the white and Negro races.

What the results will be the future can only decide, but unless a supreme effort is made, the struggle will end in the greatest catastrophe in history.

This is the opinion of M. Albert Sarraut, former governor-general of the French Far-Eastern dominion of Indo China, and the present minister of the interior of France.

Writing in The London Referee he warns that the Negro peoples—1,000,000,000, 200,000,000 of them—are stirring everywhere.

Colored Races Awakened

"No longer awed by the unity of the white man, which for centuries gave him supremacy, but which was broken by the World War, the Negro races have wakened to nationalism, and are demanding equal rights and freedom.

"It is above all in Asia," writes M. Sarraut, "—that tremendous re servior in which there are nearly 10,000 million human beings that the question of the white man's supremacy is henceforth posed in its most importune and most redoubtable terms.

"The problem which dominates our age is the problem of the Pacific. The solution of this problem may decide the destiny of the whole world.

Seething Masses

"And now these seething masses urged on by Russian Communism, which presents itself from the Bosphorus to the Pacific as the liberator of the races from the Western yoke, are seeking a nation of their own breed powerful enough to become their champion against Americo-European hegemony."

That nation, M. Sarraut believes will ultimately be Japan. A country which, refused its petition for racial equality, is facing not only a population crisis but a crisis of personal dignity.

He asserts the lapse of the Anglo-Japanese alliance has left Japan free to take the leadership and the command of the Asiatic bloc against the European bloc.

And he even goes so far as to allege that Japan has been making formidable preparation for such a war for nearly half a century," by silently and patiently constituting an impregnable defensive position."

Race Problem – 1928

Europe

Sex: As Europe Accepts It

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

SOME months past I began what was intended to be a series of articles on some of the fundamental points of difference between Europe and the United States. Of this I wrote but a single article on nationality, in which I endeavored to show that nationality in Europe means something very much different from what it does in America; that in the United States racialism really takes precedence over nationalism, and that in America the foreigner enjoys more freedom than in Europe.

The second article I had intended to be on what I will lump under the general name of the Sex Problem. I did nothing toward preparing this, however, it might have gone no further, but for the fact that I recently took a second and more intimate trip over seven European countries. What I saw, especially as regards the status of the European woman in comparison with the American one, has decided my writing some more.

Perhaps in nothing is the difference between the two civilizations more strongly marked than in the attitude towards sex. The causes go deep and are manifold. Among the principal ones are the following:

Europe's is the older civilization and because of its more congested nature there has been less opportunity for change for newer developments. The earliest Europeans, like the rest of humanity, were phallic worshippers; to them the organs of generation were as natural and accountable as the hand or the head, and in a land where customs change very, very slowly this view, somewhat attenuated, it is true, has been passed on to the present generation. I have seen public fountains, designs in cathedrals and old castles and elsewhere, postcards of which I would be very careful of carrying around in the United States lest I be arrested for having obscene pictures.

As to what phallic worship is, I should like to say for the benefit of those readers who do not know, but I do not wish to make Americans blush, so those who are curious to know had better go to the dictionary. Phallus is a rather remote word and perhaps one may use it without scandalizing our trousered old maids.

A study of African art reveals the same frankness in dealing with sex. In the allegory of Adam and Eve, the two went around as unconscious as children or primitive tropical men and women of the fact that they were nude until their "eyes were inopened."

In Russia today men and women bathe nude together in public streams, just as in Africa. In Norway the man who would take a bath alone in a hotel had better insure the locking of the bathroom door or the maid will come in to scrub him. Throughout

— J. A. Rogers —

Latin Europe, especially, numerous statues reveal that men are men and women are women. Once in the city of Florence a photographer who lurks in the neighborhood of the Uffizi Palace wanted to snap me before the statue of Hercules, as he was doing others. I thought of having it done and sending it to the papers, but on a second look at the statue I decided that it would never do for American consumption. The same holds true with regard to another well-known fountain in Brussels. Of course, it will be understood that I have been using only the milder examples to illustrate my point and am keeping myself from "cutting loose" and giving some vivid examples.

Sexual intercourse in every European country in which I have been, among the unmarried as well as the married, seems to be regarded as quite the normal thing. Indeed, it seems to be regarded as a necessity, particularly in Germany and Latin Europe. At least ample provisions are made for its indulgence in these regions. Exception must be made in the case of England. The attitude of the English resembles that of the American, though it does not go to the same extremes.

Saturday evening seems to be the time when the working people in Europe and America worship at the shrine of Venus. In Continental Europe they go to one of the numerous hotels—Saturday night is always a bad night to look for a room on the Continent; in England they, like Moses, go to the bushes, Hampstead Heath or some other place; and in America they go to prison. In North Carolina, for instance, it is the custom for the officers of the law to descend on amorous couples and hail them to court, where they are fined Monday mornings, or made to work it out on the roads. I have listened to dozens of these cases, and in every instance the defendants were of the poorer working type. In not a single instance have I ever seen a white person or a higher class Negro before the court, though there is ample proof that the sex morals of both these groups are no better than those of the humbler Negro. The latter was, however, less financially able to hide himself. This, by the way, struck me as being about as neat an example of injustice as I have ever seen. Still, North Carolina needs good roads.

I said that I was refraining from giving some of the more vivid examples of the comparative lack of prudishness among Continental Europeans as compared with Americans, and I might add English people, too. Still, I might give one or two lesser instances. In Latin America the urinoirs for men are on the streets where passersby may see the men within, while in Italy there is no pretense of even a little cover, as in France. In many of the French cafes entrance into the ladies' toilet is through the men's urinoir, and reared in an Anglo-Saxon country, with its signs warning me to arrange my clothing carefully before stepping out of the door, I'll never forget my surprise when I first saw a toilet of the kind just mentioned. Still, the Latin peoples for generations and generations have been seeing this sort of thing, with the result that it is as commonplace and natural to them as it would be striking and indecent to the Anglo-Saxon, as indecent as eating a cow would be to an orthodox Hindu or kissing is to the Japanese, for sex prudishness, like color prejudice, is not inherent in man. It must be taught, but in time any custom can become so strong that it may readily be mistaken for an inherent natural quality.

In Latin and Germanic countries photographs of the nude human body may be bought either in card form or in magazines. Since the American invasion, the French are getting a little more prudish and are putting certain restrictions on the vendors of these cards, but in Germany and Austria there seems to be none.

Before the American invasion, actors used to appear quite nude on the stage in Paris, as they now do in Germany. In Berlin I have seen prostitutes at windows exhibiting themselves in the nude to likely clients on the streets. In short, after omitting the prudes, which are to be found among all peoples, even among the French, one may safety say that sex and sex expression seem to be regarded as natural among the Continentals as it is regarded vile and improper among the English and Americans.

I have long tried to discover the reason for the wide difference between the attitudes of the two civilizations, and have finally traced it to an economic source. The Anglo-Saxon is the leading producer of clothing. In proportion as humanity covers up its body the better thrives business for the Anglo-Saxon. The less it wears, the stronger the reverse effect on business, and if all of us were suddenly to develop the lack of sex consciousness that is found among primitive Africans and children there would be a great slump in the cotton and woolen business, at least in the summer months. One fact is certain, clothing was certainly intended as a protection for the body, and not the hider of nudity it is today. Nature sends us into the world without clothing, and to cleanse thoroughly our bodies we must put off our clothes. When the Anglo Saxon insists that the body and all its parts must be hidden, he is, therefore, only trying to boom business.

And be it noted here that I am neither commending the European nor finding fault with the Anglo-Saxon. To me, a would-be philosopher, the attitudes of both on the matter of sex are interesting. I haven't the slightest desire to change either, if I could. I know, as Victor Hugo so ably pointed out in his "Toilers of the Deep," that man is man all over the world, and he acts always from necessity, or rather that necessity goads him along.

And this brings me to the second reason for what I said marked the great differences between the European and the American as regards sex, and also the cause why prostitution is rife in almost every country in Europe. This is because of the far greater percentage of women in Europe than in America. The U. S. census of 1920, as far as I can quote from memory, gives something like 97 women for every 100 men, the Negro population showing a very slight number of women over men. Even before the war every European country showed an excess of women over men. In England at present there is an excess of some three million women, while I think the last census of Paris showed three women for every two men.

Seeing Europe by Auto

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

CONTINUING the account of the auto trip made through several countries of Europe by Mrs. Agatha Lawson of Philadelphia; Mrs. Maude Walker, teacher of Dayton, O., and myself, I will, as I promised, omit or very briefly pass over mention of those cities I have already written about.

Leaving Paris, we passed through St. Germain, earlier home of the French kings, through beautiful countrysides and old villages until we arrived at Beauvais, with its noted cathedral, called by some writers one of the wonders of the world. It was begun in 991 A.D. and is very imposing in appearance within and without. Not far away is Amiens, which has a cathedral equally remarkable and which was begun in 1220 A.D.

Arriving at the Belgian border, we saw there two cars with American tourists and they stared at us, touring in a motorcar also, as if we had come from a land of which they had never heard or believed possible. One of them actually came by, casting sly glances as if to make sure that his senses weren't deceiving him.

At Ostend, fashionable bathing resort, the season was at its height and, although the Belgian franc is only worth 3 cents, the price of lodgings would have been dear even at the height of the Alaska gold rush. An ordinary room, without running water, in an ordinary hotel, was $4, and in a pretty good one, about two or three times as high as what you would pay in downtown New York and, when you consider the lower exchange, you can say about five times as high. Food, however was reasonable. Next to Bulgaria, Belgium is actually the cheapest country in which Americans can live. In almost every other city in Belgium, including Brussels, a very good room can be had for $2 a day.

Leaving Ostend we rode along by the dykes to Zeebruggee, former German submarine base. All along the way, a distance of several miles, were the German gun emplacements, now turned into homes by the Belgians. The land is very fertile, but the people who live in this region face the risk of losing their all at any time, for the land is much below the stormy waters of the North Sea. Since our visit the sea has broken through, flooding all the region around Niewport.

At Zeebrugge several of the guns with which the Germans used to bombard England are still in their emplacements, while at the water's edge are the wrecks of several gutted submarines covered with seaweed and sea-shells. There is also a war museum here.

Passing over Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Waterloo, of which I have already written, we arrived at Malines, in whose famous cathedral Cardinal Mercier, defier of the Germans, was buried. At Antwerp, a great seaport, we visited the cafes on the waterfront, seeing Negro sailors from all parts of the world. They were very eager to show deference to the two ladies and, going to the proprietor, would order drinks to be served to us without even coming up to make themselves known. Negro women are very scarce in this region; one very dark West Indian, who gave evidence of being what is known as a "race man," and a very genuine one at that, had a wife, one of the very few Negro women in the quarter, and he gave every indication of being very proud of her, showing her off as a rare jewel. He insisted on taking us to his favorite cafe and treating us there.

Two Southern Hindus, who also bore evidence in their features of the Negroid origin of the people in their part of India, issued orders for our entertainment as if they were barons instead of being coal-passers, at all times showing great respect to the two ladies, as did all the other Negro men. The white proprietor and his wife came over to pay their respects, and everything was done to make us feel that our visit was a real honor.

In this quarter, as I said, almost every door is a saloon, or cafe, almost every one of which has an electric organ, some of them of circus size, going at full blast and making a noise, which to call it hideous would be mild. There were some very tough spots in this quarter on my first visit and, luckily, I visited them then, for the authorities have cleaned them all out, until now it is like a Sunday school in comparison.

Although there is no color line, the Negro men usually congregated in two or three cafes, while their female partners were all white. Few, if any, are from America. On my first visit I met three, but none on this.

From Belgium we crossed into Holland, passing through Rotterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and other cities, until we arrived at Amsterdam. At the hotel at which we stopped there was a handsome white man with a very dark Negro wife from the Dutch West Indies. To everybody else their presence seemed quite natural; that is, we were the only ones who noted them with surprise.

We visited the diamond factories in Amsterdam, and in the Jewish ghetto the crowds came around to gaze at us as if we were movie stars. Two policemen actually had to come around to keep them back; they followed us from place to place until the ladies were forced to get back in the car to escape their friendly attentions.

From Amsterdam we visited the village of Broek, which has the reputation of being the cleanest spot on earth. In any case, it is about as clean a place as one can find. We visited a model dairy there, seeing the manufacture of the famous Dutch cheeses. In the winter the cows and all the family are housed under the same roof, everything being as cozy and clean as it is possible for human beings to get it. The proprietor sends his cheeses by mail order all over the world.

From Broek we drove along the to of the dyke until we reached Volendam, whose inhabitants still wear the costumes of the thirteenth century. The rosy-cheeked Dutch girls stroll about in bands, and the tourist will find them such easy subjects for his camera that he wonders; but he will not have to wonder long after he has made his snap, for at once they will be on him. And it is useless for him to pretend that he thinks it is out of friendliness, for all have at least learned the most important of English words, "money." Arriving in a car, we are simply overwhelmed with offers of service. Most of the tourists are Americans, and one hears so much English spoken that, but for the costumes, one can almost fancy himself back at home.

About three-quarters of an hour's ride from Volendam is the island of Marken, whose inhabitants also wear an ancient style of dress. Marken is one of the islands in the Zuider Zee made by the inundation of the North Sea in the Thirteenth Century. The principal industries are the tourist trade, fishing and the rearing of ducks, which are fed on fish. One or two of those who are supposed "to be in the know" say Marken and Volendam are subsidized by the tourist agencies, who pay a certain sum to the inhabitants to wear their old-fashioned costumes, for without them it is doubtful whether any tourist would ever go there.

Leaving Amsterdam, we made our way toward the German border, getting out of the region of the dykes, along beautiful motor roads bordered on both sides by large trees. We passed not far from Doorn, the home of the ex Kaiser, and finally reached the German border, where the officials received us with princely courtesy.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe

ROGERS CONTINUES ACCOUNT OF MOTOR TRIP THROURH SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

By J. A. ROGERS

Continuing the account of the auto trip made through several countries of Europe by Mrs. Agatha Lawson of Philadelphia and Mrs. Maude Walker, teacher of Dayton, Ohio, and myself, I will, as I promised, omit, or very briefly pass over mention of those cities I had already written about in my first trip.

Leaving Paris, we passed through St. Germain, earlier home of the French kings, through beautiful countrysides and old villages, until we arrived at Beauvais, with its noted cathedral, called by some writers, one of the wonders of the world. It was begun in 991 A. D., and is very imposing in appearance within and without. Not far away is Amiens which has a cathedral equally remarkable, and which was begun in 1220 A. D.

Arriving at the Belgian border we saw there two cars with American tourists, and they stared at us, colored folks touring in a motor-car also, as if we had come from a land of which they had never heard or believed possible. One of them actually came by casting in sly glances as if to make sure that his senses weren't deceiving him.

At Ostend, fashionable bathing resort, the season was at its height, and although the Belgian franc is only worth three cents, the price of lodgings would have been dear even at the height of the Alaska gold rush. An ordinary room without running water in an ordinary hotel was four dollars and in a pretty good one, ten, about twice or three times as high as what one would pay in downtown New York, and when one considers the lower exchange, one can say about five times as high. Food, however, was reasonable. Next to Bulgaria, Belgium is actually the cheapest country for Americans to live in. In almost every other city in Belgium, including Brussels, a very good room can be had for two dollars a day.

Leaving Ostend we rode along by the dikes to Zeebrugge, former German submarine base. All along the way, a distance of several miles were the German gun emplacements, now turned into homes by the Belgians. The land is very fertile, but the people who live in this region face the risk of losing their all at any time, for the land is much below the stormy waters of the North Sea. Since our visit the sea has broken through, flooding all the region around Niewport.

At Zeebrugge several of the guns with which the Germans used to bombard England are still in their emplacements, while at the water's edge are the wrecks of several gutted submarines covered with seaweeds and sea-shells. There is also a War Museum here.

Passing over Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Waterloo, of which I have already written, we arrived at Malines, in whise famous cathedral, Cardinal Mercier, defier of the Germans, was buried. At Antwerp, great seaport, we visited the cafes on the water front, seeing colored sailors from all parts of the world. The colored men were very eager to show deference to the two ladies, and going to the proprietor would order drinks to be served to us, without even coming up to make themselves known. Colored women are very scarce in this region; one very dark West Indian, who gave evidence of being what is known as a "race man" and a very genuine one at that, had a wife, one of the very few colored women in the quarter, and he gave every indication of being very proud of her, showing her off as a rare jewel. He insisted on taking us to his favorite cafe and treating us there.

Two Southern Hindus, who also bore evidence in their features of the Negroid origin of the people in their part of India issued orders for our entertainment as if they were barons instead of being coal passers, at all times showing great respect to the two ladies, as did all the other colored men. The white proprietor and his wife came over to pay their respects and everything was done to make us feel that our visit was a real honor.

In this quarter, as I said, almost every door is a saloon, or cafe, almost everyone of which has an electric organ, some of them of circus size, going at full blast and making a noise, which to call it hideous, would be mild. There were some very tough spots in this quarter on my first visit, and luckily I visited them then for the authorities have cleaned them all out until now it is like a Sunday school in comparison.

Although there is no color line, the colored men usually congregated in two or three cafes while their female partners were all white. Few, if any are from America. On my first visit I met three, but none on this.

From Belgium we crossed into Holland, passing through Rotterdam, the Hague, Haarlem, and other cities until we arrived at Amsterdam. At the hotel at which we stopped there was a handsome white man with a very dark Negro wife from the Dutch West Indies. To everybody else their presence seemed quite natural, that is we were the only ones who noted them with surprises.

We visited the diamond factories in Amsterdam, and in the Jewish ghetto, the crowds came around to gaze at us as if we were movie stars. Two policemen actually had to come around to keep them back, they followed us from place to place until the ladies were forced to get back in the car to escape their friendly attentions.

From Amsterdam we visited the village of Brock, which has the reputation of being the cleanest spot on earth. In any case it is about as clean a place as one can find. We visited a model dairy there, seeing the manufacture of the famous Dutch cheeses. In the winter the cows and all the family are housed under the same roof, everything being as cosy and clean as it is possible for human beings to get it. The proprietor sent his cheeses by mail order all over the world.

From Brock we drove along the top of the dyke until we reached Volendam, whose inhabitants still wear the costumes of the thirteenth century. The rosy-cheeked Dutch girls stroll about in bands, and the tourist will find them so easy subjects for his camera that he wonders. But he will not have to wonder long after he has made his snap for at once they will be on him. And it is useless for him to pretend he thinks it is out of friendliness for all have at least learned the most important of English words, "money." Arriving in car we are simply overwhelmed with offers of service. Most of the tourists are Americans, and one hears so much English spoken that for but for the costumes one can almost fancy himself back at home.

About three-quarters of an hour's ride from Volendam is the island of Marken, whose inhabitants also wear an ancient style of dress. Marken is one of the islands in the Zuider Zee made by the inundation of the North Sea in the thirteenth century. The principal industries are the tourist trade, fishing, and the rearing of ducks, which are fed on fish. One or two of those who are supposed to be in the know, say Marken and Volendam are subsided by the tourist agencies who pay a certain sum to the inhabitants to wear their old-fashioned costumes for without them it is doubtful whether any tourist would ever go there.

Leaving Amsterdam we make our way toward the German border, getting out of the region of the dykes, along beautiful motor roads bordered on both sides by large trees. We pass not far from Doorn, the home of the ex-Kaiser, and finally reach the German border, where the officials receive us with princely courtesy.

By J. A. Rogers

PARIS.—Refusal of a white club at Bamako, French Soudan, to admit a Negro officer has aroused a storm of discussion both in the Soudan and in colonial circles in France, and has brought about the resignation of every white officer in the club.

The officer in question is Capt. Bebel, who is a native of the French West Indies. On his arrival at Bamako, he was proposed for membership in the Soudan Club to which belongs the white elite of the colony, whereupon the president of the club replied that in a special session the members had decided to refuse admission to Capt. Bebel "in conformity with its rules."

At this the officer who had proposed the name of Capt. Bebel, Lt. Pelletier, at once sent in his resignation, whereupon the president of the club sent him the following letter:

"Lieut. Pelletier: Your letter addressed to the committee proves that you are a very vulgar person, indeed an ignoble one.

"You should have known that it is impossible to admit a Negro in the club. It is reserved for Europeans and is consecrated toward bringing about a better understanding between them. In sending in your resignation you are doing a great service to the club, and its well wishers."

This letter was followed by an Army order forbidding all white officers to enter the club. It was issued by Gen Lorin, commanding, and is as follows

"The Soudan Club of Bamako has refused to accept as member a French officer presented by two French officers because he is a native of Guadeloupe.

"The officers of the garrison of Kati in a spirit of solidarity, for which they must be complimented, have sent their resignations to the Soudan Club.

"Because of this attitude of the Soudan Club the general in command forbids any one under his command to become a member of this club. He also forbids them to enter this club or to take part in its affairs for any reason, whatsoever."

The governor of the Soudan, his staff, and several of the other officers of the colony have also sent in their resignations.

La Depeche Africaine, a Negro newspaper published in Paris, calls attention to the fact that it was a German-Swiss colonist who has been the chief inspirer of the rule barring Negroes from the club, and adds:

"It is on this soil so firmly French of the Soudan, this soil so alive with heroic souvenirs, this soil which nurtured the famous black regiments, grouping white soldiers and black ones around the tricolor, that two stupid merchants are trying to break the union of the two races which is the policy of French colonialism.

ROGERS IN SERIES TO DISCUSS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EUROPE AND U. S. A.; WRITES ON SEX

By J. A. Rogers

Some months past I began what I intended was to be a series of articles on some of the fundamental points of difference between Europe and the United States. Of this I wrote but a single article on nationality in which I endeavored to show that nationality in Europe means something very much different from in America, that in the United States racialism really took precedence over nationalism, and in the United States a foreigner enjoyed more freedom than in Europe.

The second article I had intended to be on what I will lump under the general name of the Sex Problem. I did nothing toward preparing this however, and might have gone no further but for the fact that I recently took a second and more intimate trip over seven European countries, and what I saw especially as regards the status of the European woman in comparison with that of the American one has decided my writing more.

Perhaps in nothing is the difference between the two civilizations more strongly marked than in the attitude towards sex. The causes go deep and are manifold. Among the principal ones are the following:

Europe's is the older civilization, and because of its more congested nature there has been less opportunity for change and for newer developments. The earliest Europeans, like the rest of humanity, were phallic worshippers; to them the organs of generation were as natural and as accountable as the hand or the head, and in a land where customs change very, very slowly, this view somewhat attenuated, it is true, has been passed on to the present generations. I have seen public fountains, designs in cathedrals and old castles and elsewhere, post-cards of which I would be very careful of carrying around in the United States lest I be arrested for having obscene pictures. And as to what phallic worship is I should like to say what it is for the benefit of those readers who do not know, but I do not wish to make Americans blush so those who are curious to know had better go to the dictionary. Phallus is a rather remote word and perhaps one may use it without scandalizing our Sumners and trousered old maids.

A study of African art reveals the same frankness in dealing with sex. In the allegory of Adam and Eve, the two went around as unconscious as children or primitive tropical men and women of the fact that they were nude until their "eyes were opened." In Russia of today men and women bathe nude together in public streams just as in Africa. In Norway the man who would take a bath alone in an hotel had better ensure the locking of the bathroom door or the maid will come in to scrub him. Throughout Latin-Europe, especially, numerous statues reveal that men are men and women are women. Once in the city of Florence a photographer who lurks in the neighborhood of the Uffizi Palace wanted to snap me before the statue of Hercules as he was doing others. I thought of having it done and sending it to the papers but on a second look at the statue I decided that it would never do for American consumption. The same holds true with regards to another well-known fountain in Brussels. Of course it will be understood that I have been using only the milder examples to illustrate my point and am keeping myself from "cutting loose" and giving some vivid examples.

Sex intercourse in every European country in which I have been, among the unmarried as well as the married, seems to be regarded as quite the normal thing. Indeed it seems to be regarded as a necessity particularly in Germany and Latin Europe. At least ample provisions are made for its indulgence in these regions. Exception must be made in the case of England. The attitude of the English resembles that of the American though it does not go the same extremes.

Saturday evening seems to be the time when the working people in Europe and America worship at the shrine of Venus. In continental Europe they go to one of the numerous hotels —Saturday night is always a bad night to look for a room on the Continent—in England they go like Moses, to the bushes, Hampstead Heath or Hyde Park; and in America they go to prison. In North Carolina, for instance, it is the custom for the officers of the law to descend on amorous couples and hail them to court where they are fined Monday mornings or made to work it out on the roads.

I said that I was refraining from giving some of the more vivid examples of the comparative lack of prudishness among Continental Europeans as compared with Americans, and I might add English people, too, still I might give one or two lesser instances. In Latin America the urinoirs for men are on the streets where passersby may see the men within while in Italy, there is no pretense of even a little cover as in France. In many of the French cafes entrance into ladies' toilet is through the men's urinoir, and reared in an Anglo-Saxon country with its signs warning me to arrange my clothes carefully before stepping out of the door I'll never forget my surprise when I first saw a toilet of the kind just mentioned. Still the Latin peoples for generations and generations have been seeing this sort of thing with the result that it is as commonplace and natural to them as it would be striking and indecent to the Anglo-Saxon, as indecent as eating a cow would be to an orthodob Hindu or kissing is to the Japanese. For sex prudishness like color prejudice is not inherent in man. It must be taught, but in time any custom can become so strong that it may readily be mistaken for an inherent natural quality.

In Latin and Germanic countries photographs of the nude body as it is may be bought either in card form or in magazines. Since the American invasion the French are getting a little more prudish, and are putting certain restrictions on the vendors of these cards, but in Germany and Austria there seem to be none. In a recent visit to the last named countries I was surprised to see the large number of nude illustrations in magazines and card photos.

Before the American invasion actors used to appear quite nude on the stage in Paris as they now do in Germany. In Berlin I have seen prostitutes at windows exhibiting themselves quite nude to likely clients on the streets. In short, after omitting the prudes, which are to be found among all peoples, even among the French, one may safely say that sex and sex expression seems to be regarded as natural among the continentals as it is regarded vile and improper among the English and Americans.

I have long tried to discover the reason for the wide difference between the attitudes of the two civilizations, and have finally traced it to an economic course. The Anglo-Saxon is the leading producer of clothing. In proportion as humanity covers up its body the better thrives business for the Anglo-Saxon. The less it wears the stronger the reverse effect on business; and if all of us were suddenly to develop the lack of sex consciousness to be found among primitive Africans and children, there would be a great slump in the cotton and woollen business at least in the summer months. One fact is certain; clothing was certainly intended as a protection for the body, and not the hider of nudity it is today for nature sends us into the world without clothing, and to thoroughly cleanse our bodies we must put off our clothes. When the Anglo-Saxon insists that the body and all its parts must be hidden he is therefore only trying to boom business.

And be it noted here that I am neither commending the European nor finding fault with the Anglo-Saxon. To me, a would-be philosopher, the attitudes of both on this matter of sex is interesting, and I haven't the slightest desire to change either, if I could. I know, as Victor Hugo so ably pointed out in his "Toilers of the Deep," that man is man all over the world, and he acts always from necessity, or rather that necessity goads him along.

And this brings me to the second reason for what I said marked the great difference between the European and the American as regards sex, and also the cause why prostitution is rife in almost every country in Europe. This is the far greater percentage of women in Europe than in America. The U. S. census of 1920, as far as I can quote from memory, gives something like 97 women for every 100 men, the Negro population showing a very slight number of women over men. Even before the war every European country showed an excess of women over men. In England at the present time there is an excess of some three million women, while I think the last census of Paris showed three women for every two men.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe.

-:- A Mormon Speaks -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

Tells Writer Mormons Oppose Color Prejudice

COLOGNE, Germany.

AS I SAID in one of my articles on the Rhine that I was expressing myself pretty freely about Mormonism, unconsciously of the fact that one of the Mormon leaders of Germany was at my elbow hearing all, and that when I returned to my seat, having left it in order to avoid a religious argument with an English lady, we struck up a conversation. He began by saying that he hoped to return to America in a year, and asked me when I intended to do the same. My reply was that Europe pleased me perfectly, and that I was in no hurry to get back home. He seemed much surprised at my reply, as surprised as I am at hearing native white Americans here, many of whom condemn their country, feeling that if I were in their place and had their opportunities I'd live in no other land but America.

"Why don't you like America?" he asked.

"She does not like me," I replied, "and were you in my place would you like her?"

He seemed startled and wanted to know what I meant. Utah is a very prejudiced state against Negroes and I felt that he was shamming, but I replied, laughing: "Well, the lady insists on vanilla, and I am chocolate." At the same time I rubbed the back of my hand suggestively.

"But," said he, giving a gleam of understanding, "Mormonism doesn't stand for that; it believes in the brotherhood of humanity."

I told him of some of my experiences in the Mormon State; how I had been refused service in restaurants and other public places; of severe sentences that had been meted out to Negroes caught with white women, while white men had carte blanche with Negro women; and how his state had joined the Southern ones in the degradation of womanhood, white and black, by having a law against the union of American citizens, on the flimsy ground of a difference of complexion.

He objected, saying that the

- J. A. Rogers —

people who did so "were not Mormons." I replied that I had heard pretty much the same objections from Catholics, Christian Scientists, Communists, Republicans, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Socialists, etc., in America, each asserting that those who were prejudiced against Negroes were not trus members of the respective faiths. I said that one couldn't help wondering where these true members were to be found, and that for my part I saw them, on the whole, not as sects or divisions, but as members of a single group—a single economic group pretty well agreed on keeping the Negro in an inferior position for their own benefit.

He replied that the earliest Mormons were opposed to slavery, that they took in Negroes on a basis of equal brotherhood, and that was the real reason why they were driven out of Independence, Kans., into Missouri. I acknowledged the truth of what he said, but reminded him that the Mormons sympathized actively with the Confederate States and that the Union Government was forced to occupy Salt Lake City in consequence.

After this he began to expound Mormonism to me, telling me how in principle it opposes color prejudice and every other form of hatred. Just then the boat arrived at Coblence, and that was his destination. Before he left, however, he told me that Mormonism was opposed to plural marriages, and that at present there were more than 800,000 members belonging to his church in Germany, with the number increasing rapidly.

Some time later the boat got into territory much less interesting than that which it had been passing through and, seeking other distraction, I began to walk about. Then I noticed a group of young women, some thirty in number, who had got on a few stations back. Five of them sat in a row smoking cigarettes. Had I been in America I might have passed them with a glance, and as to speaking to them I would no more have thought of doing so than I would gone to the police station and asked them to lock me up. But now for some reason I addressed them—it might have been because my two white friends had been making conquests all the way while I had been busy studying the country, and now that we were about to leave the country I would have to make a coup. I asked them for a cigarette.

The result was even more astonishing than I had expected. Not only did they offer me cigarettes but crowding around they began to ask me questions, for almost every one of them spoke English and understood it when I spoke slowly. Then wanted to know where I was from. I told them to guess; the majority said Africa. Then feminine-like they wanted to know if I was married. I replied that I was very much married, that back in Africa I had six wives, and that was why I was travelling: to get a rest from them. Shrieks of feminine laughter, while others on the boat began to crowd around.

My two friends were standing near and I called them. They came but did not stay long as the young women were simply not interested in them, they being only two more white persons like themselves. Later, when I asked the two why they did not stay, their reply was of a nature that could be considered flattering, but I knew that the young women had been interested in me first because of the difference of color. They were as interested in me as the brown women of the South Sea islands are in white men who come among them: or as black women in Africa when they get over the first scare of a white skin. For, as I said, a dark skin is rare in Germany. Except in Berlin I did not see a single Negro in the more than a thousand miles I travelled over Germany.

I had already read and quoted in one of my books what German writers like Maximilian, Harden, Iwan Bloch and Schopenhauer had had to say on the attraction of a dark skin among the fair peoples of the North, and now I was seeing its practical application, or thought I was.

The fact is, that regardless of color, the feminine curiosity for men of other nations and other races than their own is great, all of which is quite understandable. The most noticeable thing about humanity is its mixed nature, in spite of what our American sociologists may say to the contrary. Nature is interested in preserving this variety, hence it places this curiosity in the female, through whom alone human varieties can be continued.

And this is the thing that galls the American white man, be he ditch-digger, college professor, bishop or bank president, with rare exceptions, causing him frantically to pile legislation on legislation against race mixing, while greedily availing himself of the curiosity of the average Negro woman.

The American white woman is but a European woman a generation or two removed and, under her layers of convention, she is just about as curious about men of the darker races as the European woman, at least such as I have noticed this curiosity. As for me, the case of the American white man is more to be pitied than censured, since I know his cause is a hopeless one. Nature, though driven out at the point of a pitchfork, will always return.

For the next hour and a half I chatted with this group of young women, having a jolly time. They were from a ladies' college in the north of Germany and were touring their country under the care of one of their professors, an Englishman, who, unknown to me, was in the group, and later whom I had the pleasure of meeting.

They gave me the address of their college and class, begged me when I returned to Germany to visit them, and to write a letter to the class in the meantime which I have done. One of the

Rogers Gives Views on European Prejudice

last questions asked me on leaving was whether I was really married. The next day I again ran across the party in Cologne.

Cologne is a very old city—older than the Christian era. It was called Colonia Clandia by the Romans, hence its present name German: Colon), derived from "Colony." Parts of the old Roman wall are still to be seen. Its streets are narrow and winding, reminding one of the cities of Italy.

The chief sight of Cologne is the Cathedral, the largest in Europe north of Milan. It is an impressive sight, with its magnificent stained-glass windows, great arches and pillars and many chapels. There are fifty-six of these pillars and each occupies at its base the space of a good-sized room. One of these chapels is the original shrine of the Three Kings who came to pay homage to Christ, one of whom was the Negro, Balthasar. The steeple is about two-thirds the height of the Woolworth Building, or 515 feet.

Cologne is the great Roman Catholic center of Germany, about 80 per cent of its 750,000 population being estimated as Catholics. As late as the sixteenth century it was one of the great commercial centers of Europe, being on the Rhine. But there were great religious wars and upheavals, as a result of which all the Protestants were deported. Cologne then lost her trade, sinking almost into oblivion, but again took a spurt after it became a part of France. After the Napoleonic wars it was returned to Germany. Today it is one of the

leading European ports. It is the home of the famous Eau de Cologne, which was invented about 1600.

Much English is spoken in Cologne, the region having been occupied until recently by the British. Living is comparatively cheap, and one gets a much better meal than in America at half the price. In one restaurant, Salz's, I got a huge meal for 37 cents. In fact, I ate the first part of the meal, thinking that was all, to discover it had just begun. It was much more than I could eat. Later I learned that the custom was to take home what one could not finish.

In the evening I found myself quite by accident in one of the best night clubs in the city. Its name is quite a formidable one and I have forgotten it, not having written it down; but, on making an inquiry about a dance hall, I was told of this place and went thither. Then I learned of the aristocratic and expensive nature of the place, but it was too late and, so, like a good soldier, I went in, where I was received with considerable empressement, as the French would say, and I heard a very good classic concert. In fact, Europe is so free from color prejudice that, after more than a year, my great surprise would be to meet it.

Later I visited several of the cafes and dance halls, hearing much jazz, and generally seeing how much the American Negro influence has pervaded this city, as it has done all other parts of Europe.

Two days later I took train for the Belgian border, leaving Germany with the intention of returning some day and with visions of its wonderful old castles, great beer halls, its feasting and smiling people, clean cities, and general efficiency.

Whatever other thoughts I may have regarding a German victory in the last war, I am convinced of this one thing: The Negro who fought to keep the Southern States in their present hands was really fighting against his own best interests. The Southerners would not only have been kept too busy paying indemnities to lynch and oppress Negroes, but I am sure that an efficient people like the Germans would not tolerate race prejudice, with its high cost to the state and its wastefulness. Let certain "white folks' niggers" that I have in mind rave about this, still it does not prevent it from being the truth.

As to the statement that one hears so often from pinheads, namely, that, if the proportion of Negroes in Europe were as great as in America, the prejudice would be similar, what does it mean? Simply a matter of numbers; for, if there is such a thing as hatred of black by white, or vice versa, this prejudice, in itself, would show itself, whether there were a hundred or a hundred thousand present. Bring into any community, regardless of color, any other group in sufficiently large numbers, have that group work for lower wages—and remember that people only work for lower wages when they have to—and there is going to be trouble.

The group that earns the least wages in any community in the world is always the least liked, because the exploiters of labor use it as an innocent weapon to rob the other workers.

This is the secret of so-called race prejudice and not a difference of color. All humanity is colored; for, without color, it would be invisible.

PARIS NOW HAS ITS OWN HARLEM IN MINIATURE

Ball Room Originally For Blacks Now Overcrowded By Whites

SKIRTS TO BE BRIGHT COLORED BUT LONG

Drinks Legal And Genuine Says Rogers Who Misses Reformers

PARIS, FRANCE, (By J. A. Rogers)—Paris now has a miniature Harlem and all within the space of three months. It is the Bal Negre on the Rue Blomet.

Prior to that, this ball-room had a rather small clientele. One could see what is rare in Paris, a dance hall where nearly all the couples on the floor were Negroes. A mixed couple, white man dancing with colored woman, or the opposite, was rare. Then two of the leading newspapers suddenly discovered the place and carried long articles about it with the result that the white clientele has grown to such proportions that the place is over-crowded now

In Chicago

Just such a thing happened some years ago in Chicago. A few white people had been in the habit of visiting the cabarets on the South Side. Then one day a paper, now defunct — the Herald — in its vice crusade announced that white people were attending Negro cabarets, and that there was no color line. The result was that white people simply poured into these places, making a fortune for their owners.

Back To Africa

Harlem and other Negro neighborhoods in the North and parts of the South have all had a similar experience. The simple fact is that in spite of what our American sociologists and legislators may say the Negro, in no matter what part of the world, will have no easy task preserving his isolation when once the white people get on his track. The American Negro was brought from over three thousand miles away, and were he taken "back" to Africa, it is safe to say that an equal number of boats would have to be provided for the white people who would want to go along.

Interrace Dancing

A singular fact about the Bal Negre, or rather, the expected thing, one should say, is that several white Americans of both sexes, may now be seen dancing with Negroes.

The majority of the Negroes are very dark, and come from the French West Indies or parts of Africa. The visitor who speaks only English had better take his interpreter with him. And as to the racial composition of the hall, the scientist who said that there were only five varieties of the human race must have been buried in some hole at the time for here there are at last twenty-five, among them Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Russians, Hungarians and Germans. One is faced with the fact that the human race if it is anything at all is certainly mixed. Artists, writers, musicans, and others come to this place in the hope of discovering some new quality to put into their work.

Music Different

The music is somewhat different from that of the American jazz band. The saxophones and sharp striking of the cymbal are absent. The tempo is set by a shiny container filled with pebbles and resembling a cocktail shaker pierced with many holes which the leader shakes in a manner as if he were continually throwing it away from him.

As to the dancing, that is, of Negroes, it is smoother and more rythmic than the American dances such as one sees in the United States or even in the other French dance halls, or in England or Germany. It is predominantly French West Indian and unlike the dances of those lands in which the whites predominate.

Long Gowns

As to the dresses of the Negro woman that also is different. The gown is bright and multi-colored, is flowing reaching to the heels, and the bandana, also bright-colored, is worn with two points sticking straight upwards like the horns of a snail. Picturesque, quite a relief from the present mode, and giving the body less the air of being on parade.

The following is a recent account of the Bal Negre appearing in L'Intransigeant, one of the leading dailies. It was a carnival affair and many of the leading members of society came in their fine automobiles.

The White And The Black At The Bal Negre Of The Rue Blomet

"It is nine-thirty and one can still find an empty table. Carco (Hungarian dancer) is there, laughter on her lips, her eyes flashing. Foujita (he is a Japanese artist) is wearing his fine earrings, and no one is making fun of him. At a table Ilya Ehrenbourg and Babel, Russian novelists, laughing and attentive. And there is the Count Karolyi, who dances with his knitted brows, and his goatee sticking out like a helm. Are we really and truly at a Negro ball?

Room Full Of Smoke

It is a square room full of smoke and spontaneity. Every one is fittingly dressed and "the gentlemen" are asked not to dance with other "gentlemen". A colossal Negro, his head bound with a red boa, and eyes which actually sing, sees that order is preserved.

The white-haired waiter moving with hesitating steps around throwing rather scandalous glances on the Europeans; he scratches his nose. He means that the snobs (read: whites) are about to spoil everything, that the Negro dance-hall is going to lose its originality, that soon one will be able to order cocktails. Already there is a check-room.

In Darkened Room

But in the room adjoining which is almost dark one can the players in the billiard hall quietly enjoying their game, a tobacco counter, and the manager of the saloon in his shirt-sleeves at the counter. So this place is not yet the Bal Negre in capital letters in spite of the many automobiles in front. And the blacks come there in a crowd, paying hardly attention to the whites nor even of the white Americans who are there their faces blackened with burnt cork. The Negroes shake hands with one another smiling and showing white teeth.

And they dance!

"Savages"

We went to see some "savages" We see instead fine women, majestic and gay; young girls with magnificent smiles their lips trembling with naive enthusiasm; the men, holding them with their large brown hands leading them without a single misstep, eyes communing with eyes. All are full of love and curiosity. One of them opens his mouth with its mauve lips; within sparkles a row of gold teeth.

An old Negro woman with a well-developed chest dances alone, stopping from time to time to shake hands wth someone. The young girl who wears a man's dress suit and a Charleston hat, and is forever smiling raises a hand from time to time to her crispy hair. Little by little as the crowd increases the gaiety overflows. The room becomes a swelling sea; it vibrates with harmonious folly. Not a cry, not a misplaced move. One might imagine himself in a new paradise, beyond good and evil, a paradise where one might kiss openly, and at the same time kiss in all innocence.

Whites Warm Up

We, the white people, look at it with a foolish smile, and somewhat embarrassed. But the contagion works. We allow ourselves to be converted and little by little we begin to laugh without knowing it ourselves, to chat, and to enjoy ourselves at this strange carnival.

No jazz, no saxophone. A West Indian orchestra, with boxes filled with pebbles and little bells of the Alpine pastures. The painter Ronchi just returned from New York has come to see the bad and cynical brothers of the sheiks of Harlem, remains astonished. Where is the sexy dancing of the American Negro sheik?

"Mornin"

Here is a music vibrant and gay, songs which all scan with a smiling vigor; unexpected, fraternal humor. Blacks from the West Indies and Africa they come here to show that there are still evenings of pleasure worthy of the trouble still to be found in Paris. They are all there: the black "mammy" dressed in a dozen different colors and incapable of hiding her joy; the soldier with large ears, hindered by his uniform; the doctor with his eye-glasses and obsequious smile; the little masked women who are everywhere laughing mockingly; and the dignified Negro dame who neither speaks nor laughs.

Order And Innocence

"They are not related and one would believe them a single family. They give to us, white people, a fine lesson of order and innocence. Those of us who dance among them and with them notice this well, little by little we learn that we have been deceived in our preconceptions, and finish by not regretting not having seen a fight with knives, or a rape.

"One closes at midnight. Prizes are distributed to the finest costumes. The white women who have worn tricornes of velvet find they must give way before the colored women. But as they have been well-behaved they are rewarded with several prizes and much laughter."

No Reformers

Rue Blomet has been compared with Harlem but in two essentials it will be found to be different; the drinks served are legal and genuine and there will be no reformers, at least there are none yet, to preach of the alleged dangers of humanity, regardless of color, getting together to enjoy itself.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe

My "Watch on the Rhine"

By J. A. ROGERS

Writer Tells of Early Status of Jewish Race

THIS Rhine territory, as I said in the last article, has seen another great tragedy. Migrating here, largely because of persecution to the South, the Jews had built up a thriving commerce with the East, thus becoming one of the wealthiest people in Europe.

Then came the First Crusade, with the proclaimed purpose of taking away the tomb of Christ from the Moslem. The leaders, of course, were really inspired by the prospect of plundering the rich but decadent Mohammedan Empire, but the masses, credulous as always, believed them. A wave of religious passion swept Germany, and fanaticism ran high. Godfrey de Bouillon, one of the leaders, denounced the Jews as enemies of Christ. He classed them as one with the Moslem, and swore to avenge the death of Christ on them. The Jews bought him off with a large sum, but the feeling against them had been wrought to such a pitch that nothing could save them. At Cologne, Mayence, Worms and other Rhine towns, the mob descended on the sons of Israel and massacred more than 12,000 of them.

Later came the Second and Third Crusades, with massacres along the Rhine, as well as in the interior. But the worst was to come. In 1348 a plague known as the Black Death swept Europe. It was caused by the very unsanitary method of living, but the blame was laid on the Jews—although they suffered as much as the rest. They had again become wealthy. At Mayence 6,000 were slain; at Strasburg, 2,000; at Worms 400 were burned alive; at Cologne the unfortunates appointed executioners among themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Christians. Similar massacres followed all over Germany, spreading into Belgium and Switzerland. As I said in my article on Geneva, a Christian pastor, who was won over to the Jewish faith, was burned alive by the mob.

After the fifteenth century the massacres ceased, but stringent restrictions remained. In the walled cities they could enter only by Jim-Crow gates; they were forced to live in ghettos; they were forbidden to engage in any other trade save the peddling of old clothes, and all professions, except the despised one of medicine, were closed to them. They were permitted to engage in the money-lending business, which which often proved but a convenient method of plundering them. Now and then a ruler, like Wenceslaus, hard pressed for money, would declare all debts to the Jews cancelled on condition that the debtors would pay to the rulers about a half of the sum owing.

In time, great Jewish thinkers like Moses Mendelssohn, arose and helped to create a better sentiment. In Berlin two Jewish women, Henriette Hertz and Rahel Levin, founded salons to which came the most intellectual personages of the day—salons that ranked with those of Madame de Pompadour and Madame de Maintenon in intellectual quality. Today the million or so Jews in Germany face no legal restrictions—the last having been wiped out in 1870.

All of the above information will make rather interesting reading to those who recall that it was a Jewish lad who led the mob against a similarly defenseless and unoffending people at Springfield, Ill., about sixteen years ago. Our southern Jewish brothers might also reflect perhaps with profit on this bit from their history.

Both banks of the Rhine are dotted with towns among them. In

— J. A. Rogers —

addition to those already named, there are also Bingen, Coblence, Bonn, Cologne and Dusseldorf. The most beautiful part of the trip is between Bingen and Coblence, almost every mountain peak on both banks being crowned with a castle.

Many of these castles were the strongholds of robber knights, who would descend from time to time on the shipping, passing caravans and the townspeople. It was from just such a type came the ex-kaiser's family, the Hahenzollerns who continued until they became supreme.

With the exception of one—Castle Marksburg—all were destroyed by the armies of Louis VIV, King of France. Many of them have been rebuilt, however, while others were built later.

Among the most imposing of these great fortresses are Rheinfels, which was blown up by the French revolutionists; Ehrenbreitstein, most massive of all; Ehrenfels, near Bingen; the Mouse Tower of Bishop Hatto, who, according to legend, was eaten alive by the rats after he had robbed the people of their grain and stored it in his castle; Stolzenfels, one of the forty-eight palaces of the ex-kaiser, and Rheinstein, near Assmanshausen.

Of particular interest to Negroes will be Castle Schomburg, from one of whose four huge towers was flying the American flag. It was built in the twelfth century, is the birthplace of Marshal Schomburg, and was destroyed by the French in the seventeenth century. If the Alice-Kip romance had not gone on the rocks, a Negro woman might have been receiving the German nobility there, as it is the property of the Rhinelanders.

Many of these castles are open to visitors—a fine excuse for my returning some day, as I only gazed up at them from the boat. One cannot help thinking of the amount of labor it took to carry up the materials to build these castles, some of which are perched on the very edge of the cliff.

Between Bingen and Coblence is also the narrowest part of the river, where it sweeps around the tall cliffs of the Lorelei. It is very dangerous for small boats, which run the risk of being carried by the current on to the rocks. It was in this spot, as I said in my last article, that was supposed to dwell the beautiful witch who used to lure sailors and fishermen to their death with her music.

The scenery, very beautiful in this region, became rather ordinary a little further on, and I began to turn my attention to my fellow-passengers, most of whom were indulging in the ordinary German pastime—eating! After making all due allowances for the increase in appetite when traveling, I must say that I cannot recall ever having made a trip before where I saw so much eating and drinking. It was one long round from start to finish. Well, thought I, it is due them after a hunger of four years.

Going in search of my two friends, I found them in earnest conversation with another young man from Utah. He was a Mormon and was telling them about the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith, its writer.

My friends seemed carried away with the marvelous doctrines of Mormonism, as he was expounding it to them, but, as for me, in all he said I saw but the same old doctrines that lay at the base of all other religions. In other words, it was the same old story being told with a different arrangement of the words. Besides too, I had been a good deal in Utah and had ample reason for finding it pretty much the same as all the other religions practiced in America.

Presently we returned to our seats to find two of them occupied by ladies, who turned out to

Discusses Jos. Smith and Doctrine of the Mormons

be English women. We asked them to keep the seats and my friends, full of what they had just heard, began to tell the women about the young Mormon missionary and his doctrines. Presently, thinking of the surplus of women in Germany, I said, jestingly, that I thought Mormonism ought to be popular there. Then one of the ladies asked me what I thought of the historical authenticity of the Book of Mormon. I replied that, for my part, I placed almost as much historical faith in it as I did any other Bible, whether it was the Koran, the Talmud, Manu or any other of the holy books. I pointed out that, as Joseph Smith had said, as the young Mormon had said he had, that it was the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel who had built the splendid civilizations of South and Central America, and he did not know what he was talking about. I said that I much preferred to take the word of the scientists, who are saying that the builders of those civilizations were of Mongolian origin, as the scientists had at least done some investigation, while Smith had sat at his desk and spun his out of his own neurotic imaginings. Smith, as everyone knows, was semi-illiterate and a near-lunatic.

I further said that all sorts of claims had been made about the Ten Lost Tribes; that some writers claimed they were the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon race, whatever that was; others had gone to the other extreme and said that they were the Australian bushmen, the lowest of all types. I added that it seems that the Ten Lost Tribes had been absorbed by the other peoples whom they had lived with.

My questioner at once bridled up and wanted to know whether I meant to include the Christian Bible in the same breath with the bibles of the non-Christian religions. The former, she insisted, was the only true one, and began to quote from it to prove her contention.

Anxious to avoid a religious discussion, I reminded her that some of the holy books of the Hindus were at least 3,000 years older than the Christian religion and asked her whether she thought the Hindus had the right to put their chief faith in their own writing. I felt like adding "after the conduct of Christians in the lands of these so-called heathens," but I did not, and soon found a pretext to get away.

But I was not to escape. Some time later I returned to my seat to find that a tall man of serious appearance, who had been listening to the first conversation, but had said nothing, was still there.

He looked at me as if he wanted to speak. Finally I addressed him, to discover that he was from Salt Lake City, was one of the leaders of Mormonism in Germany, and had at least been getting my free opinion of his hero, Joseph Smith.

DARK RACES EXCLUDED BY RIGID RULES

Students and Tourists Only Allowed

Sidney, Australia.—This country, known as the outpost of the white man's civilization, is working desperately to handle its racial problems and to erect a protective immigration barrier against colored races.

Prof. A. H. Charteris of the University of Sidney recently stated in a report to the Carnegie endowment for international peace "Like other countries bordering the Pacific and inhabited by the white race, Australia, in the economic and racial interests of her population, has for many years restricted the immigration of Race laborers and artisans, but not of Race merchants, students and tourists."

FEAR COLLAPSE OF WHITE DEMOCRACY

He refers to the various legislature enactments relating to immigration and tells what they sought to accomplish.

While the reasons advanced for Australian immigration restriction have been varied in form from time to time, he says, there has been no change in the fundamental political reason. Apart from all questions of relative merits of competing civilization, which are no longer stressed, the political difficulty of a white democracy of accommodating an alien race within its body without damage to democratic institutions has never been absent from Australian political thinking. Nor has it ever been more powerfully urged than in the '80s by Samuel Griffith when dealing, in a dispatch to the governor for transmission to London, with the special case of coolie labor under indenture. Discounting certain allusions to "inferior" and "superior races," Australian opinion, it is conceived, would now approve as still valid the part of his argument which is summarized as follows in this now little known dispatch.

1. It is undesirable to introduce into a white democracy an alien race under conditions denying it any share of political power.

2. It is undesirable to permit free economic competition between Asiatics and Europeans, since it invariably degrades manual labor in the eyes of the latter.

3. If Race labor was necessary in Australia (which he was not prepared to admit) the only practical course was to assign separate areas in which coolies might be admitted, but with the full understanding that as to them the hope of civilization on the European model is abandoned.

4. The administration of such areas ought, he urged, not to be entrusted either (a) to a representative government in which(as in 1855) the interests of employers predominated and which, in his opinion, was unfit to control "inferior" races, or (b) to a constitutional government representing the whole white population, since this was "not the best to control the destines of an alien race entering into competition with them in various forms of industry."

RESERVE AUSTRALIA FOR EUROPEANS

5. But only if clearly unfit for European settlement should such areas in Australia be thrown open to Asiatic immigration, and then only when "constituted as a separate territory governed as a crown colony of imperial officers who will act with impartial justice between inferior and superior races." Difficult as the problem of determining such areas under these conditions would be, it would be as nothing compared to the social and political troubles inevitably involved in any attempt to unite the Asiatic and European civilizations in a constitutional colony.

6. Finally, the long veiw, which has always appealed to Australian opinion, was stated thus: "The permanent advantages that would result to Australia and the empire at large from preserving Queensland as a future field for European settlement appear to me so greatly to outweigh the present gain that would ensue to a few persons—of much enterprise, no doubt, but who have no intention of making Queensland their home, regarding it rather as a field for exploitation—that until the experiment of European settlement had been tried and failed, I hold that it would be a most fatal mistake to adopt the opposite policy, the consequences of which would be probably irreparable."

The European experiment has since been tried and has not failed. But the price has proved high.

ITALIAN WORKERS LYNCH MUSSOLINI AGENT IN MANTUA

Many Demonstrations Against Low Pay

By RAMINGO

MOSCOW (By Mail).—The prolonged ecomnomic crisis in Italy is turning the workers into the street wholesale, and unemployed demonstrations are becoming a commonplace. The anti-fascist press, coming out in France, reports a series of demonstrations taking place in October which the fascist authorities managed to keep out of the Italian press.

In Mantua, for instance, the workers, rendered reckless by poverty, unemployment and heavy taxation, poured into the streets and occupied the municipality. The mayor, appointed by Mussolini, was dragged into the square and lynched by the mob. After this the workers hurried to the premises of the fascist organization and set it on fire. Conflicts between the population and the fascists broke out all over the town. It should be remembered that Mantua is one of the most fascist towns in Italy.

Similar demonstrations occurred in other localities also. In the small town of Capri (Modena) the eunemployed held a vast demonstration. The crowd, gathering before the municipality, called for "bread and work." A crowd of eunemployed unloaded a van of flour in Padua. In Venice, Montanagna, Este Moselicce and other small towns the discontent among the population is assuming serious dimensions owing the the threats to deprive the peasants of the land they received from the municipality during 1919 and 1920. Six thousand peasants of the above localities held a meeting and demonstrated before the municipality with shouts of anger and defiance. In San Vitale and Valle Estenso the crowd broke into the municipality and threw all the furniture into the street.

Wages continue to be lowered under the pretext of a general disinution in prices, and wage rates are now the lowest ever experienced by Italian workers.

The following examples will prove the truth of the above statements: weavers in the province of Verona get 4.50 lira per day; bakers, 4.80; stonemasons, 7 to 8 lira. In the Franco Tosi workshops (kitchen utensils) in Lenyana the pay of junior workers is from 1 to 5.60 lira per day. Ridiculous cost of living bonuses are paid; in the tobacco industry (Venice), workers with 7 or 8 years' experience can scarcely make 22 lira in a 9-hour day. The wages of other workers vary from 10 to 18 lira per day. Women workers with 7 or 8 years' experience for the greater part can earn from 10 to 15 lira a day.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe
DETROIT, MICH
Herald
APR 22 1928

'EVERY NATION MUST LEARN TO RESPECT RIGHTS OF OTHERS'

If Different Members of White Race Are Unable to Keep Peace Among Themselves It Is Patent They Cannot Keep Peace and Justice Between Races"

By THE KAISER

In an authorized interview with George Sylvester Viereck.

DOORN, Holland.

"THE struggle for emancipation of the colored race is in full progress. If the ruling nations of the white races refuse to recognize this movement perilous for them, they have only themselves to blame, for in the future they will be forced to terrific conflicts with the colored nations.

"This," Emperor William remarked to me, his eyes blazing, "is not a theoretical discussion. Turn to any part of the world." The Emperor fingered a globe standing on his desk. "There is trouble going on or trouble brewing in every continent. Look at China, look at India, look at Africa, or even at the home of the Malay races, Java and the Philippine Islands.

"The din of strife marks the beginning of a gigantic battle. I predicted this struggle many years ago when I was on the throne. I believed even then that it was unavoidable. But had I been listened to it would have been possible at least to postpone it and relieve of its venom.

"In order to prevent a disaster to civilization, two things were an dare necessary. FIRST, solidarity of the white races; SECOND, respect on the part of the white races for the traditions of other races.

"White Solidarity No Longer Exists"

"The World War has shown that the solidarity of the white races, to which I appealed when I made my sketch urging the nations of Europe to guard their most sacred possessions, no longer exists. This fact intensifies the difficulties confronting the empires possessing colonies.

"The World War was comouflaged by British and French statesmen as a 'holy crusade' in order to bring it into harmony with the conscience of their people and to hide their imperialistic motives under a moral cloak.

"My people were called 'Boches' and 'Huns,' and I was stigmatized the 'the bloodthirsty Attila,' a modern 'scourge of God.' Outrages committed in former years by disorderly Belgian soldiers against natives in the Congo were unearthed from the dusty archives by sly propagandists and reintroduced to the world as 'atrocities' committed by German soldiers against peaceful Belgian citizens and children! Propaganda by lies!

"The French and the British were quietly allowed to employ the hosts of their colored subjects against white Germans without the slightest protest on the part of other white nations. There was no protest even from the United States!

"A Crime Against Humanity"

"After the war the French kept savages from Morocco and Senegal on guard in the German Rhineland. To this day France has not entirely withdrawn these troops. What did the Anglo-Saxon, as a race, do against 'the black shame' to the white race on the Rhine? Nothing! What treason to their own race!

"The employment of colored men by whites against whites on European soil was a crime against the white race, a crime against humanity. It was also a crime against the colored troops. It was an act of political lunacy surpassed only by the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

"I understand that sensible negro leaders in the United States joined in the protests of Americans of German descent against this outrage, because they realized that any action adding fuel to the flame of race hatred was reprehensible.

"As result of these events the colored races have lost their respect for the white races.

"The increased race consciousness and pride of the Asiatic nations, springing from the renewed consciousness of their historical and cultured traditions, and also of the negroes in Africa itself, is a natural and legitimate development. Nevertheless it produces new possibilities of conflict. It has already led to protests and opposition on their part against the land-grabbing proclivities of the white races.

"Racial Conflicts All Over World"

"The colored races are asserting themselves; the more so because their soldiers were eyewitnesses in Europe of the inability of their employers, with all their hosts, to vanquish even that fraction of the battle-scarred German army which barred the road to Germany against a vastly overwhelming host.

"The white races are discredited in the eyes of the colored races not only by their fratricidal war, but by the unscrupulous methods employed by Allied propaganda—lies and methods that would have been shamed even by the Father of Lies!

"The French Revolution decreed the principle that every citizen is duty-bound to defend his country. This principle I endorse with all my heart. But the French and the British exceeded this principle by extending it to the natives of their colonial possessions. Copying the example of the declining Roman Empire, they launched their impressed colored host against white men and women on EUROPEAN soil.

"We see the result today in the precipitation of racial conflicts throughout the world."

"The French claim," I remarked, "that they overcome race conflicts by blending the races. What is the attitude of Your Majesty toward this problem?"

"The laws concerning the hygiene of races are fundamental. They must be obeyed or else the human species will destroy itself. Races of different colors must never mix because they are fundamentally different and each race is governed by its own law of growth. I observe with dismay in France the decline of the feeling that it is the imperious duty of the white race to avoid miscegenation.

"In 1922 Monseigneur de Geubriant, writing about the Asiatic colonies of France, declared: 'Indo-China is in danger of becoming again Chinese. The only remedy against this is the creation of an Anamite French MIXED RACE and civilization in the next 10 years.'

"The progress of the human development is not advanced by a free mixing of the races. On the contrary, it is safeguarded by their conscious and deliberate separation. A great German thinker once spoke of the nations as 'thoughts of God.' It is catastrophal for men to attempt to mix and muddle God's thoughts."

"I was under the impression that a certain intermixture of the races adds to their vitality," I suggested.

"It is possible," the emperor admitted, "to incorporate into a nation a certain small percentage of foreign racial blood, provided the nation is endowed with sufficient vitality to amalgamate and digest the alien element and digest the alien element completely. But I can conceive of no advantage in mixing colored blood and white blood.

'Avoid Miscegenation'

Even among the white races certain racial qualities are incapable of assimilation they contain inborn peculiarities of soul and spirit that baffle the formation of a synthesis. When combined they become a ferment of decomposition. In the relations between white and colored men this experience assumes the rigidity of a law.

"In the United States the amalgamation of various elements introduced from different EUROPEAN nations has met with success, but it was NOT an amalgamation of ALIEN races. Where, as in South and Central America fundamentally alien races mingle, instability and confusion ensue, followed by deterioration.

"The character of American civilization bears the Anglo-Saxon stamp. This is due to the predominance of the English language and to the strong racial traits of the Anglo-Saxon. The amalgamation of the various racial ingredients in the American melting pot was aided by a soil and climate especially predestined for the white race, and by a vast area with a sparse population, leaving space for development.

"As Prof. Leo Frobenius has demonstrated, it is the SOIL and the CLIMATE that primarily MOULD A RACE. In the United States the soil and climate permitted the

welding of different EUROPEAN species into a NEW type with definite collective characteristics. It is doubtful whether this amalgamation would have been equally successful elsewhere.

"In spite of the predominant Anglo-Saxon stamp of American civilization, no North American can remain in doubt that the creative power eminent in his spirit springs from the mother soil of Europe.

"The origin of North American culture lies in TEUTONIC Central Europe; if this basis is destroyed, American culture will be impaired because it can no longer be replenished and reinforced from its original source.

"The creative power of the Anglo-Saxon race flows from the Central European GERMANIC Spring. It is for this reason that I have always insisted that the North American people, after the strenuous work of civilizing itself, cannot permit the forces of Germanic life to deteriorate IN EUROPE if they expect to draw upon this source to deepen and enrich their own spiritual life.

"The deeper the cultural consciences of Americans become, the more they will turn toward the ideal of Germanic culture which I long ago proclaimed to my fellow countrymen in Goethe's immortal phrase: 'Outwardly confined, inwardly boundless.' *(Nach aussen beschraenkt, nach innen unbeschraenkt).*

"Translated into political terms, this means the acceptance of ALL historically developed groups of culture, WHITE AND COLORED, as logical products of their own evolution, which must be kept inviolate from the encroachments of aggressive imperialistic appetites. Their laws and institutions, their traditions and forms of government are entitled to respect. They are the emanations of the national soul.

"Nations with high cultural standards have a right to claim the AREA which the evolution of history has assigned to them. It is their share of the earth, their sphere of life, their predestined place in the SUN!

"There is a very close connection between 'ctulture and space': to try to REDUCE the historically developed AREA belonging to a nation with an historically accepted position, is an offense against the very spirit of life, a sin against the Holy Ghost! Vide Germany: *'Das Volk ohne Raum.'*

"But the human species is short-sighted, and I fear a peaceful application of the above principle cannot be expected so long as Europe is dominated by hate and distrust and the lust of conquest.

"There is at present no sign of any real spirit of reconciliation that would make possible the settlement of national rivalries between the strongly divergent members of the white race in Europe. Such settlements at first must recognize the innate rights of each nation to ITS OWN SPHERE, safeguarding both its historical and its cultural place in the sun.

"The so-called Peace Treaty of Versailles and the relentless cruel war after the war, which was not ended, but only accentuated by the Pact of Locarno, illustrate the hollowness of all pacific professions and is a violation of the above principle.

Leading to Catastrophe

"If the different members of the white race are unable to keep peace among themselves, it is patent to every observer that they are equally incapable of maintaining a peace based on justice between the white races and the colored races.

"It depends upon the great nations belonging to the white race whether this antagonism is to lead to a world war leading to catastrophe.

"The white race has no right to suppress the ligitimate yearning and aspirations of the colored races—especially concerning social equality IN SOCIETY—merely because of their superiority in technique and material.

"Every nation must learn to respect the innate rights of every other nation, which possesses a culture, rooted in its own soil, and which has played a part in the evolution of mankind. It is incumbent upon all of us to respect the AUTOCHTHONOUS traditions and institutions of others.

"Each race has the right to bring its own gift to others. It may be a benefit to the world to spread white civilization. It may be the duty of the white races to communicate that civilization to other parts of the world, but we have no right to FORCE our own idiosyncracies upon others. Our civilizing activity must never be a camouflage for imperialism and industrial greed, 'conquest and slavery.'

"The present policy of most great nations is entirely dictated by selfish and short-sighted motives. As a result the world will be subject to heavy repercussions which will place the white races under a severe test.

"Racial self-consciousness may well go hand in hand with respect for the rights of other races. In fact, racial self-consciousness, based on the spirit of our culture teaches us to respect the same consciousness in others.

"The Chinese, the Japanese, the Mongolian, the Arab, the Malayan, the Turk each of them is just as proud of his traditions, his history and his culture as we are of ours. This fact should ever be before the mind's eye of white men who deal with their colored cousins. Upon a just appreciation of this fact depends the future of civilization."

MODERN WOOD CHOPPER—Here's one of the latest pictures snapped of the former kaiser near his residence at Doorn, Holland. In the accompanying article he warns the nations of the world against what he terms an impending war between races.

Race Problem - 1928

Europe

-:- EUROPE vs. AMERICA

By J. A. ROGERS

AFTER a little over a year's observation in nine countries, all of which but one were European, I think it would be fitting to give now a resume of my impressions of life and manners in those countries, particularly as to how they differ from the United States. I shall endeavor to show how far the child has differed from its parent, and vice versa, for, with the exception of its citizenry of African ancestry, the United States is a colony of Europe.

Leaving aside the matter of so called racial ancestry, the first thing that will strike an American born person coming to Europe for the first time will be the "tightness" of nationality, being something like racial lines in the South without the ridiculous aspects of the latter.

To illustrate: I lived for more than ten years in the United States before I became a citizen and not for a single moment was I made to feel that I didn't belong. On the contrary, as far as nationality was concerned, I was made to feel—was even told—that I was better than certain nationals. On the other hand, the instant I stepped on European soil it was thrust on me that I was a foreigner.

The first place I went was to a hotel in Plymouth, England, and I had to fill out a long blank giving the minutest details of myself, telling where I was born and why, etc. This same regulation exists in every European country. After a certain period of from a week or two months, according to the country, one must register with the police, and carry around with him an identification card. He had better do this, for at any time a policeman, not liking his looks, might ask him to show his card, and if he hasn't it he'll be lucky to escape a night in jail. Or one might get into an argument with a taxi driver or a waiter or anyone else and there will be a call for cards. The result of this is to make the American, however honest, feel that he is more or less of a suspect. Indeed, he is often suspected though he is nothing more dangerous than a tourist.

And in this respect I might repeat another experience—an experience which proves, by the way, that one of the European countries is more rigid in the matter of so-called race than the United States.

On entering the United States for the first time, I had to state whether I was white or colored, and there the matter ended. When I tried to get a British visa, however, it was another thing. I had to submit to a lengthy questioning from two persons at the British consulate. The more I tried to assure them that I was perfectly harmless, the more suspicious they became—with the result that I was followed by a detective all the way to England. In any case, no sooner had I landed than the police, thinking I had gone to London, started searching for me and six weeks later I was questioned at Scotland Yard, where the detectives wanted to know among other things where I got the money with which I was traveling.

They suspected, or pretended to suspect, that I was a Communist, and although I tried to assure them that I was no more of a Communist than King George.

They also suspected, or pretended to suspect, that I was a musician. The American Negro musician who tries to enter England will find something pretty much like the third degree awaiting him. The real fact, however, they suspected that I was intelligent, a still more dangerous thing, for, of the 450,000,000 of people in the British Empire, 400,000,000 are Negroes. And the odd thing was that I was even at the time writing articles back home praising the British people. This incident, annoying at first, became rather amusing, reminding me of parents who are afraid of their child, because the child has something resembling a pistol; or of how the mouse must feel when the elephant begins to get panicky at his presence. However, nothing like this awaits any Negro who tries to enter France or any other country on the Continent. After all my tempest in a teapot with the English police, the clerk at the French consulate in London gave me a visa with hardly a glance at me, which was not at all flattering after I had at least expected to be noticed.

To return to the matter of nationality. Whereas in America the foreigner can cause a lengthy law suit if he is ordered expelled in most of the Continental countries—I believe England is the only exception—he is ordered by the police to get out in so many hours, and he'd better go! Again in America the foreigner can say what he pleases, that is, he can say what the native American can say. He may even be a Communist and air his views, except in certain barbarous spots in California. Let the foreigner in any European country try this and see how far he'll go. America is still the land of freest speech, where the foreigner is concerned.

And the explanation is simple. The phrase "white man's country" explains all. The Colonial tradition—that is, the racial tradition—still remains. This was and is: The European newcomer, being of the same color, could be used as an instrument to keep in check and in exploiting the darker peoples—the Indian and the Negroes. Need one cite the Jim-Crow cars, the northern hotel or restaurant as proof of this tradition.

The explanation of the rigidity of European nationality and the registration of the foreigner is also easily explainable. All of these European nations are in commercial rivalry one with another, and the stranger may be a spy, who knows? Therefore, take no chances; let him register with the police, so that he may be easily traced, if wanted.

And right here a bit of useful information: If you are ever suspected of being a spy or a political agent, volunteer no information whatever. Let the detectives find out all for themselves. For instance, in my endeavor to prove to the British Consulate in New York that I was O. K., I told them many things they would not have known about me otherwise—the only thing they knew about me was that I was a writer and that was on my passport. The Consulate, however, evidently wishing to make it appear at home that it was on the job, sent in what information I had given and later I found it all shot back at me with a hostile slant, just as if it were not I who had made it known in the first place.

The Scotland Yard detectives knew not a whit more about me than what I had told the Consulate in New York; therefore, do not try to make out you're innocent—that is a sign of guilt. The police and the spy-hunters, like luck, work by contrary. I know of other cases of American Negroes who were suspected by the English, two of them well-known writers and one a preacher. I withhold their names as they might object to the publicity.

In Europe also the foreigner might have difficulty holding a job, even after he has secured it. One must get a permit from the Ministry of Labor to work, and the employer must present a sworn statement that no native of the country is qualified for the position. A foreigner doing business can only employ a certain small proportion of his own country men.

In America, however, not only is the foreigner free from all restrictions in holding a position but he may displace all the natives in an establishment. European actors and musicians may come over in almost unlimited numbers and be free to hold positions, while the opposite is not true in Europe, at least in England. Recently, an American actress was forced to give up her part in a play in England while there were scores of English actors of a similar type at work on the American stage.

And let me add right here that all of this is not intended as an argument against what is called the foreigner. All human beings are, first of all, citizens of this planet, and as such they ought to have the right to go wherever any other human being is free to go and to do what he is free to do. Besides, all of us are foreigners with only a limited time to stay on this planet.

Of all the countries of Europe the most liberal toward the foreigner is Belgium, and this may be due to the fact that it is strongly socialistic. The next is France, Switzerland also welcomes foreigners, but only those with or appearing to have money. The least liberal, in my opinion, are England and Turkey. I have never been to Turkey, but I am basing my opinion on the fact the Turkish visa is good for only sixty days, while in all other countries it is good for a year.

The Englishman goes more than any other nationality to other countries, still he prefers your room to your company in his tight little isle. Recently, I read an article in one of the leading English dailies to the effect that if the English want to have more of the tourist trade, they will have to be more affable to foreigners. Perhaps of all the foreigners in England the Americans are least liked and I am basing my opinion on actual observation. It may be due to the fact that England and America have had two wars between them, with a third on the horizon; it may also be due to the fact that the American is often crude in ways and manners compared with the English; but I think the real cause is that the average American tourist is too prosperous in comparison.

Of course, the English are not too much liked in America. American history inculcates dislike for the English. Besides, there are the Irish and German elements of the populations. Nevertheless, an Englishman is likely to receive much more cordial treatment in America than an American in England.

All in all, America is the foreigner's paradise, provided he once passes Ellis Island. He can, if he wishes, be freer even than in his own country. On arrival he is handed on a platter rights superior to one-tenth of the native American citizenry. Here is a mild instance I have cited more than once: Two veterans of the last war met at Washington, D. C., on their way southward. One of them fought for the enemy, one with the A. E. F. The first was instrumental in blowing up a fort that killed a thousand Americans; the second instrumental in putting out of action a gun, thereby saving a thousand American lives.

On the train the first may ride in a luxurious coach; the second even if he has the money, must ride in a filthy car next to the engine, and may ride in the luxurious coach only as valet or other domestic of the first. Such a condition would be unthinkable in France, Belgium and even in England.

The foreigner, if he sees fit, may discriminate against, abuse, lynch and lead mobs against a certain portion of the American citizenry with comparative immunity, a thing that if done at home would certainly land him in the calaboose. In spite of all the recent sarcasm levelled against the lady standing at the entrance to New York harbor, she has not lost all her meaning. America is still the foreigner's paradise, provided Th Maker did not keep him in the

Race Problem - 1928

Europe

EUROPE vs. AMERICA

By J. A. ROGERS

AFTER a little over a year's observation in nine countries, all of which but one were European, I think it would be fitting to give now a resume of my impressions of life and manners in those countries, particularly as to how they differ from the United States. I shall endeavor to show how far the child has differed from its parent, and vice versa, for, with the exception of its citizenry of African ancestry, the United States is a colony of Europe.

Leaving aside the matter of so-called racial ancestry, the first thing that will strike an American born person coming to Europe for the first time will be the "tightness" of nationality, being something like racial lines in the South without the ridiculous aspects of the latter.

To illustrate: I lived for more than ten years in the United States before I became a citizen and not for a single moment was I made to feel that I didn't belong. On the contrary, as far as nationality was concerned, I was made to feel—was even told—that I was better than certain nationals. On the other hand, the instant I stepped on European soil it was thrust on me that I was a foreigner.

The first place I went was to a hotel in Plymouth, England, and I had to fill out a long blank giving the minutest details of myself, telling where I was born and why, etc. This same regulation exists in every European country. After a certain period of from a week or two months, according to the country, one must register with the police, and carry around with him an identification card. He had better do this, for at any time a policeman, not liking his looks, might ask him to show his card, and if he hasn't it he'll be lucky to escape a night in jail. Or one might get into an argument with a taxi driver or a waiter or anyone else and there will be a call for cards. The result of this is to make the American, however honest, feel that he is more or less of a suspect. Indeed, he is often suspected though he is nothing more dangerous than a tourist.

And in this respect I might repeat another experience—an experience which proves, by the way, that one of the European countries is more rigid in the matter of so-called race than the United States.

On entering the United States for the first time, I had to state whether I was white or colored, and there the matter ended. When I tried to get a British visa, however, it was another thing. I had to submit to a lengthy questioning from two persons at the British consulate. The more I tried to assure them that I was perfectly harmless, the more suspicious they became—with the result that I was followed by a detective all the way to England. In any case, no sooner had I landed than the police, thinking I had gone to London, started searching for me and six weeks later I was questioned at Scotland Yard, where the detectives wanted to know among other things where I got the money with which I was traveling.

They suspected, or pretended to suspect, that I was a Communist, and although I tried to assure them that I was no more of a Communist than King George.

They also suspected, or pretended to suspect, that I was a musician. The American Negro musician who tries to enter England will find something pretty much like the third degree awaiting him. The real fact, however, they suspected that I was intelligent, a still more dangerous thing, for, of the 450,000,000 of people in the British Empire, 400,000,000 are Negroes. And the odd thing was that I was even at the time writing articles back home praising the British people. This incident, annoying at first, became rather amusing, reminding me of parents who are afraid of their child, because the child has something resembling a pistol; or of how the mouse must feel when the elephant begins to get panicky at his presence. However, nothing like this awaits any Negro who tries to enter France or any other country on the Continent. After all my tempest in a teapot with the English police, the clerk at the French consulate in London gave me a visa with hardly a glance at me, which was not at all flattering after I had at least expected to be noticed.

To return to the matter of nationality. Whereas in America the foreigner can cause a lengthy lawsuit if he is ordered expelled in most of the Continental countries—I believe England is the only exception—he is ordered by police and the spy-hunters, like the police to get out in so many hours, and he'd better go! Again in America the foreigner can say what he pleases, that is, he can say what the native American can say. He may even be a Communist and air his views, except in certain barbarous spots in California. Let the foreigner in any European country try this and see how far he'll go. America is still the land of freest speech, where the foreigner is concerned.

And the explanation is simple. The phrase "white man's country" explains all. The Colonial tradition—that is, the racial tradition—can only still remains. This was and is: The European newcomer, being of the same color, could be used as an instrument to keep in checks and in exploiting the darker people—the Indian and the Negroes. Need one cite the Jim-Crow cars the northern hotel or restaurant as proof of this tradition.

The explanation of the rigidity of European nationality and registration of the foreigner is also easily explainable. All of these European nations are in commercial rivalry one with another, and the stranger may be a spy, who knows? Therefore, take no chances; let him register with the police, so that he may be easily traced, if wanted.

And right here a bit of useful information: if you are ever suspected of being a spy or a political agent, volunteer no information whatever. Let the detectives find out all for themselves. For instance, in my endeavor to prove to the British Consulate in New York that I was O. K., I told them many things they would not have known about me otherwise—the only thing they knew about me was that I was a writer and that was on my passport. The Consulate, however, evidently wishing to make it appear at home that it was on the job, sent in what information I had given and later I found it all shot back at me with a hostile slant, just as if it were not I who had made it known in the first place.

The Scotland Yard detectives knew not a whit more about me than what I had told the Consulate in New York; therefore, do not try to make out you're innocent—that is a sign of guilt. The police and the spy-hunters, like luck, work by contrary. I know of other cases of American Negroes who were suspected by the English, two of them well-known writers and one a preacher. I withhold their names as they might object to the publicity.

In Europe also the foreigner might have difficulty holding a job, even after he has secured it. One must get a permit from the Ministry of Labor to work, and the employer must present a sworn statement that no native of the country is qualified for the position. A foreigner doing business can only employ a certain small proportion of his own country men.

In America, however, not only is the foreigner free from all restrictions in holding a position but he may displace all the natives in an establishment. European actors and musicians may come over in almost unlimited numbers and be free to hold positions, while the opposite is not true in Europe, at least in England. Recently, an American actress was forced to give up her part in a play in England while there were scores of English actors of a similar type at work on the American stage.

And let me add right here that all of this is not intended as an argument against what is called the foreigner. All human beings are, first of all, citizens of this planet, and as such they ought to have the right to go wherever any other human being is free to go and to do what he is free to do. Besides, all of us are foreigners with only a limited time to stay on this planet.

Of all the countries of Europe the most liberal toward the foreigner is Belgium, and this may be due to the fact that it is strongly socialistic. The next is France, Switzerland also welcomes foreigners, but only those with or appearing to have money. The least liberal, in my opinion, are England and Turkey. I have never been to Turkey, but I am basing my opinion on the fact the Turkish visa is good for only sixty days, while in all other countries it is good for a year.

The Englishman goes more than any other nationality to other countries, still he prefers your room to your company in his tight little isle. Recently, I read an article in one of the leading English dailies to the effect that if the English want to have more of the tourist trade, they will have to be more affable to foreigners. Perhaps of all the foreigners in England the Americans are least liked and I am basing my opinion on actual observation. It may be due to the fact that England and America have had two wars between them, with a third on the horizon; it may also be due to the fact that the American is often crude in ways and manners compared with the English; but I think the real cause is that the average American tourist is too prosperous in comparison.

Of course, the English are not too much liked in America. American history inculcates dislike for the English. Besides, there are the Irish and German elements of the populations. Nevertheless, an Englishman is likely to receive much more cordial treatment in America than an American in England.

All in all, America is the foreigner's paradise, provided he once passes Ellis Island. He can, if he wishes, be freer even than in his own country. On arrival he is handed on a platter rights superior to one-tenth of the native American citizenry. Here is a mild instance I have cited more than once: Two veterans of the last war met at Washington, D. C., on their way southward. One of them fought for the enemy, one with the A. E. F. The first was instrumental in blowing up a fort that killed a thousand Americans; the second instrumental in putting out of action a gun, thereby saving a thousand American lives.

On the train the first may ride in a luxurious coach; the second even if he has the money, must ride in a filthy car next to the engine, and may ride in the luxurious coach only as valet or other domestic of the first. Such a condition would be unthinkable in France, Belgium and even in England.

The foreigner, if he sees fit, may discriminate against, abuse, lynch and lead mobs against a certain portion of the American citizenry with comparative immunity, a thing that if done at home would certainly land him in the calaboose. In spite of all the recent sarcasm levelled against the lady standing at the entrance to New York harbor, she has not lost all her meaning. America is still the foreigner's paradise, provided The Maker did not keep him in the

Library Ks

MAY 22 1928

SOVIET AND INTERNATIONAL.

A number of governments, including presumably our own, are in possession of a complete report of the proceedings at a recent meeting of the Communist International at Cassel, in Germany. The Berlin authorities instead of preventing the conference preferred to look and listen. The special business of the meeting, as pointed out by the New York Times, was a survey of Communist activity in foreign armies and navies. The delegates from the United States, by their own claims, have been on the job. The voting Communists in this country are perhaps one-fiftieth of the number of Communist votes cast in the recent French election. But the United States Navy has now ten "cells" or Communist nuclei, as compared with fourteen in the French Navy. This is an improvement on last year, when only three American "cells" were claimed. To be sure, as The Times remarks, Communist delegates are human, and may not be averse to exaggerating the success that has attended their efforts. Moscow in the past has listened to some extremely weird reports from American delegates about 10,000,000 Negroes eagerly waiting for the tocsin of proletarian revolution. Nevertheless, we know from documents published here a year ago that Moscow's vigilant propagandists have not overlooked the United States. We get our share of instructions in the form of "these" from Moscow on how the battle is to be organized and conducted for the overthrow of the American bourgeoisie.

Technically, the Third or Communist International is separate from the Soviet government; but the distinction is a metaphysical one, says The Times. It is not mere coincidence that some of the leading members of the Russian Communist Party which rules the Soviet Republic are members of the International; or that Zinoviev should have lost his job at the head of the Third International when Trotsky lost his fight under the present Soviet regime; or that man who presided over the Cassel meeting bears the same name as the President of the Soviet Council of Commissars—Rykoff. It may be that the responsible men at Moscow would rather soft-pedal Communist propaganda abroad in the interest of the formal Soviet foreign policy. But here as in Russian internal affairs the men on top have the bear by the tail. At home Stalin is under the temporary necessity of out-Trotskying Trotsky in bearing down on the peasants. Abroad he is compelled to give the militants their head in order to avoid the charge of sabotaging the worldwide revolution.

The situation in the Communist International has its meaning for the problem of closer relations between Soviet Russia and foreign governments. It is excessively simplifying the case to say that friendlier relations with Moscow depend on the good-will of other governments. The chief obstacles are in Russia. There may conceivably be a certain measure of good-will in governing circles at Moscow. But, says The Times, the basic facts of the Bolshevist experiment stand in the way. The alleged profits that await foreign investors in Russia thin out before the fact that hardly a single foreign concessionary in Russia has found it possible to operate successfully. Russian credits abroad are dependent in the last result on Russian grain exports; but it is Soviet policy that drives the peasants into planting strikes and the reduction of the exportable grain surplus. Finally it is no contribution to foreign good-will that while the Soviet government is talking friendship its twin-brother, the Third International, is discussing the establishment of "cells" in foreign armies and navies.

HOW SOVIET RUSSIA DESTROYS RACE HATRED

BACK FROM RUSSIA—Otto Hall, Chicagoan, who has just returned to his home after three years at the University of Moscow. He is shown here (third from left, middle row) with other members of the executive board of the Eastern University of Moscow, where he represented the United States. More than 2,000 students attend this school

Race Problem - 1928.

South America.

Retired Brazilian Banker Interviewed By Reporter for The Amsterdam News

Count De Paula Machado Says He Placed Forty-two Negroes in Executive Positions When He Was Head of Chain of Twenty-two Banks

By EDGAR T. ROUZEAU

"America retains the statue, but the home of liberty is in Brazil. There, in my homeland, the Negro is on a par with his white brother; group prejudice is practically nil and society is governed by a code of liberal principles."

The speaker was Count Decio De Paula Machado, eminent Brazilian banker, now visiting New York on the first leg of his tour around the world. The occasion was an exclusive interview granted to the writer in the count's luxurious suite at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Forty-sixth street and Madison avenue Sunday afternoon.

The interview disclosed the fact that Count Machado, until his resignation three months ago, was the president and general director of twenty-two banks in the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil. While in office he placed forty-two Negroes in executive positions, which they are still holding. The Count further declared that Jose De Patrocinio, a Negro whom he placed in a minor position a few years ago, is now president of one of the chain banks.

"What is your opinion of the existing group prejudice in America?" he was asked.

"I have not been afforded an opportunity to study the American black and white problem," he replied, "but it is my opinion that Americans as a whole would live better if they endeavored to understand each other more. I, for one, am an advocate of equality for the Negro in general channels, but no in social liberties.

"Why not?" he was asked.

There followed a pause in whic the Count appeared to weigh hi thoughts. Finally he spoke. "Be cause it is my belief that the Ne gro race is as noble and as great a any other and that liberalism o two extremes would only breed co tempt."

Count Machado further said th at least 400 Negroes are employ in executive government positio in Sao Paulo alone; that the le ing state senator is a Negro, a that five members of Parliame two generals and one admiral Negroes.

In concluding, the Count expre ed a desire to meet Negro ci leaders here before his departu for Palm Beach tomorrow, so as exchange data and observations the race problem.

Race Prob. Brazil

REPUBLICAN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
DEC 19 1927
Dr Am

NEGRO BLOOD IN BRAZIL

o the Editor of The Republican:—

A very interesting book is "Jungle aths and Inca Ruins" by William I. McGovern of the University of ondon. Some people would like to ave the Negro race deported to frica, where they originated, but it firmly intrenched in North Ameri- a, and in South America as well.

Mr McGovern writes:—

"I was especially struck by the xotic beauty of the women, both of he high and low degree. They com- bined the haughty languor of the Portuguese, the soft lines of the Negro with a touch of the sweet mel- ancholy of the Indian. The race was far more mixed than even in the erst- while Spanish possessions. To have unraveled its genealogies would have puzzled the college of heralds; but the dominant note, even in the very high- est classes, was the Negro.

"To the Brazilian there is no such thing as race; there is only nation- ality. To the Brazilian an English- man is an Englishman, and he makes no distinction between a highfalutin Nordic and a Barbados Negro.

"Within the boundaries of Brazil a man is a despised savage so long as he wears no trousers, and goes around with a blow-pipe; but as soon as shirt, trousers and the Portuguese language have been adopted, he be- comes not a civilized aborigine, but a Brazilian. After all, color is only skin deep, and who cares about Men- delian laws?"

This was written by this author while he wa in Para, the seaport of the Amazon valley. That the Indian race fades out before the white man's advance is the theory of McGovern, and he thinks the physical develop- ment of the inexhaustible Amazon valley will come through the Negro race that is especially fitted to cope with all the problems of a tropical climate successfully.

WILLIAM KIMBERLY PALMER.
Chicopee, December 6, 1927.

The Black Man in Brazil

By CLARA BEASLEY REYNOLDS

LOS ANGELES.

ONLY a short time ago I had the pleasure of visiting Brazil. I sailed from Brooklyn Harbor on the S. S. Caxias, a Brazilian ship, and after three weeks on the water and three stopovers I landed in Rio de Janeiro. The trip can be made in eleven days provided no stopovers are made.

Rio, the capital, consists of lovely parks, bright and vari-colored houses, ranging from small three-room bungalows to great mansions. The city is sanitary and modern in every way. The main thoroughfare or street corresponds to Fifth avenue in New York City, except that it isn't so large. You see the elite promenading there in the afternoons or early evening, and hear talking in French, English and up-to-date American cars.

A stroll on Avenida Rio Branco reminds one of a Sunday afternoon on the fashionable Seventh avenue in New York City. You see many brown and dark-hued ladies dressed in the very latest Paris fashions and displaying the famous Brazilian diamond and to- paz with a "feeling."

Brazil is the land of "Golden Opportunity," as far as the black man is concerned. The popula- tion consists of a mixture of Ne- gro, Indian and Caucasian blood. Here no color line abounds. What- ever you see a white or near white doing, you see the black man doing the same. It is com- mon to see a Negro operating at the front of the street car and a white one in the rear. In all lines they work side by side, and in harmony. Intermarriage is a com- mon thing.

Brazil is taking her place as the leading agricultural country of the world. She stands first in the exportation of rubber and cof- fee. Fruits, oocca, rice, corn, yerba mate, tobacco, cotton and hemp are grown in abundance. The mineral wealth is untold. The mild winters and delightful climate make this an ideal place to live. Rio is said to have the most beautiful harbor in the world. In short, Rio is unique, with impressive mountain scenery abounding.

The native language is Portu- guese. There are thousands of German, Italian, Spanish, Portu- guese and Japanese migrating to this land of sunshine and promise. But why not more colored Ameri- cans?

The custom officers who came aboard our ship before we landed were all men of color, and I mean it was a pleasure to see these black men, dressed in immaculate uniforms, trimmed with gold braid, discharging their duties ef- ficiently and strutting about with the grace of Napoleon. Most of the high officials are men of color.

More Negroes should visit this wonderful land, where freedom and liberty abound for all—rich in interest and charm for those who care for what it has to give.

OFFER ADVICE ABOUT VISAS TO READERS

All prospective travellers to South American countries who have been unable to have their passports vised by Brazilian con- suls are invited to explain their trouble by letter to this office. An intensive investigation by Robert S. Abbott, editor and publisher of The Chicago Defender, disclosed the fact that there is a secret un- derstanding on this side to dis- courage travel on the part of some citizens. In answer to a cable- gram sent to one of the most in- fluential men of the Brazilian gov- ernment, Editor Abbott was ad- vised that such interference with its policies was resented by the government and would be ques- tioned. He was further advised that self respecting citizens, cap- able of working to support them- selves were welcome on that con- tinent. The long string of "red tape" issued out to certain citizens seeking credentials here is thor- oughly illegal and is used to dis- courage travel. The Defender is prepared to give all necessary ad- vice on this subject. Write to the Freedom of American Citizen- ship Committee, Chicago Defend- er, 3435 Indiana Ave.

Chicago Def.

SEES MEN OF ALL RACES IN HIGH PLACES

Segregation Unknown in Republic

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Dec. 28.—This wonderful cosmopolitan capital of Brazil, the great South American republic of racial equality, Friday wildly cheered Herbert Hoover, president-elect of the United States, on his arrival here aboard the U. S. battleship Utah for a three-day good-will visit.

This visit concludes the noted American's journey throughout the South American continent in the interest of better understanding and relationship between the two Americas.

The internationally known visitor was greeted in the name of the republic by President Washington Luis and other high ranking dignitaries of Brazil when he debarked from the battleship. These dignitaries ranged in hues from black to fairest white. Hoover and President Luis rode by automobile at the head of official cars through miles of showers of confetti thrown by thousands of spectators who filled the windows in every building from the pier to the palace. Mr. Hoover was heard to say to an attache of his party that he was pleased to see the citizens of all races taking an active part in the government, as evidenced by the Brazilian cabinet members, congressmen, supreme court justices and city officials who welcomed the American party to this city.

Attends Receptions

Official calls by President-elect Hoover occupied the remainder of the afternoon, including a reception by President Luis in honor of the visitor and a reception by Senora Luis for Mrs. Hoover at the presidential palace. Both of these state social affairs were attended by the leading officials and citizens of the nation. In the receiving line and mingling freely with the distinguished guests were seen black and brown faces—they were Brazilians, not "Negroes" or "whites"—but all citizens of this great republic. On Saturday Mr. Hoover journeyed to various points of interest in Rio de Janeiro and attended the Brazilian congress and a special session of the supreme court. He also inspected a detachment of the city police and the Brazilian army and navy. In all of these visitations Mr. Hoover saw men with black faces in positions of the highest honor and trust. that evening Mr. Hoover attended a state dinner at the national palace given by the Brazilian chief executive. Two seats from him sat the black admiral of the Brazilian navy. The American party returned to the battleship Sunday afternoon to resume the voyage back to the United States. The ship will land Mr. Hoover and his party in Florida early in January.

Invite U. S. Doctors

The National Academy of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro has invited physicians of the United States to visit this city next June 30 to celebrate the first century of its existence. Pan-American conferences on hygiene, pathology, tuberculosis and the national congress of medicine are to meet here at the same time. Among the most noted surgeons and physicians of Brazil and South America are men of dark skin.

Mr. Hoover during his short stay in this country has learned that racial co-operation aids greatly to the advancement of a nation as exemplified by the Brazilian. American financial, industrial and commercial interests are investing vast sums of money in the republic since its rapid march of progress in all avenues of commerce and industry. Young men are settling here from all parts of the world to take part in Brazil's rise.

REPUBLICAN U. S. KEEPS US FROM VISITING BRAZIL

No Negro Can Get Passport O. K. To Visit S. American Country

LACK OF COLOR LINE THERE, REASON GIVEN

Jas. F. Robinson Succeeds In Getting To Brazil Via Canada

NEW YORK.—The United States has instructed Consuls in all cities not to vise the passports of colored people who desire to visit Brazil S. America.

This action of the federal government inaugurated under President Coolidge, a Republican, makes it necessary for Negroes who desire to go to Brazil first to go to Canada, or some other foreign country.

William Pickens, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., made public today a letter from James F. Robinson, for 2 years a U. S. government employee, who had to go to Canada in order to get a rise on his passport.

This round-about method, Mr. Pickens declared, is not the doing of the Brazilian government, but of the United States. Mr. Pickens says:

Might Get Ideas In Brazil

"The same difficulty is true in the cases of Negroes seeking to visit Mexico and other southern republics. The United States wants its Negroes to STAY HOME, not because it enjoys having them here, but for fear they may get "uppish" ideas it they experience a really free atmosphere."

The Letter

Mr. Robinson's letter to Mr. Pickens reads:

"On leaving New York and America I promised to relate to you the story of my trials in getting away from the U. S. A. A few weeks ago a Chicago paper published an article concerning my trouble but I did not give it to them and it was not a true story at all.

Not For Black Men

"I secured my passport from U. S. A. State Dept. March 9th, 1928. I then went to the Consul of Brazil for a vise at 35 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, and was told that he was not allowed to vise any black man's passport.

"I then appealed to the Ambassador of Brazil at Washington, D. C., and was informed by that official that his office only vised diplomatic passports, all others being taken care of by the consular offices.

Politicians Couldn't Help

"I next took the matter up with both Madden and Deneen and neither wer able to secure for me the desired vise. Each of them advising me to take the matter up with the Consul General. 17 State Street, New York. I wrote to this office and he never had even the courtesy to reply, but I know that he received my letter because I registered same with a request for a return receipt and it was duly sent.

Canada Open Way

"I wrote to the Brazilian Consul at Toronto, Ont., Canada, and was told by that official to come on and he would vise any man's passport, his color being no barrier. I left Chicago (Thursday) May 10th and arrived at Toronto on the morning of May (Friday). I went immediately to the Consul's office, secured the desired vise, was directed by him to the Steamship Co., and there I made my reservations and secured my ticket.

"The Munson Line Steamship Co., 67 Wall stret, New York, wired back to the Webster Co. steamship ticket bookers at Toronto, to examine my papers thoroughly as it was doubtful if colored men could secure his vise. I was shown this telegram. Mr. Webster wired to the Munson Co. that there was nothing for him to do but sell me a ticket, as I had all the necessary papers.

"I left Toronto May 15th and sailed via. N. Y. arrived in New York May 16th, stopping with friends in Englewood, N. J. I called at your office May 18th and sailed the next day, May 19th. The trip here was indeed a pleasant one in every way and after 12 glorious days at sea, I arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the morning of the 13th day, Friday June 1st. There were noo bjections by Brazil to my entrance, so I am here happy, contented and satisfied. I am a property owner already so you can see just how well satisfied I am.

"This is truly a wonderful country and all men are the same here, there being no color phobia, discrimination or prejudice. I attend the same masonic lodge or lodges as do all white American masons from the U. S. A.

"Can you not see the reason why America of the North does not wish her blacks to come this way. I shall remain here until I become a citizen before I even visit the U. S. A. I hope and expect to die in Brazil.

(SIGNED): Jas. E. Robinson.

"P. S.—I shall tell you more about this big wonderful country later for there are unlimited opportunities here. There are thousands of black, brown, red, yellow and even blue colored people here. I am mastering the Portugese tongue."

Pickens Comments

Mr. Pickens commenting on the letter said:

"It is clear that the United States is to Brazil what Mississipoi is to Massachusetts: Mississinpi does not want its black citizens to visit Massachusetts for fear they will be "spoiled;" and the United tSates does not want its blacks to visit Brazil for the same reason."

Race Problem - 19-8

United States.

TIMES
Erie - Pa.
JAN 31 1928

Churchmen and the Constitution

AN INTERESTING sidelight has been thrown on "nullification" and "enforcement" by events taking place in the annual meeting of the executive committee of the federal council of churches, now being held in Cleveland.

The New York World says:

"On Monday it was proposed to adopt a resolution demanding enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment. Sentiment on this point was reported to be unanimous. A hitch occurred, however, when delegates of some of the Negro churches proposed that the committee also go on record as demanding enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, giving Negroes in the South the right to vote. No sooner had this proposal been made than the Rev. Dr. George C. Summy, of New Orleans, was on his feet with an objection. "Now, let's be careful," Dr. Summy said, "lest we touch matters of a political nature and commit ourselves to something that will soil the garments of the Bride of Christ." It does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Summy that there was anything "of a political nature" in Prohibition. At any rate, consideration of the whole question was deferred till Tuesday.

"On Tuesday the matter was brought up again and two resolutions were adopted. One demands "effective enforcement of the Prohibition Law." The other demands "honest enforcement of the Constitution, including all the amendments," but fails to specify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments in particular, despite the fact that the Negro delegates pleaded that this special mention was the while point of their effort.

"It seems, therefore, the executive committee of the federal council of churches can name names in the matter of the Eighteenth amendment, but not in the matter of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth. The incident is instructive."

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.
JAN 27 1928

MORAL VARIETIES IN CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

At the Cleveland meeting of the executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America a resolution was submitted recommending that "the executive committee of this body go on record as indorsing an honest enforcement of the amendments to the constitution of the United States, including especially the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth."

As might have been expected, there was a protest, not confined to the southern members, although it was Dr. George C. Summy of New Orleans who said: "Now, let's be careful lest we touch matters of a political nature and commit ourselves to something which will soil the garments of the Bride of Christ." Dr. Joseph I. Vance of Detroit and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison of Chicago, editor of the Christian Century, supported this view. Dr. W. H. Jernagin, a Negro delegate, pleaded for the resolution, saying that it would give the colored churches a sense of security in the coöperation of the white churches in one of their major problems.

The opposition sent the resolution to a committee for redrafting, and the following day the colored delegate brought the conference to a new sense of consistency, if not of shame, and a resolution indorsing the enforcement of all amendments to the constitution was adopted. Then, to make the distinction upon which so many churchmen insist with respect to the constitution, a separate resolve was taken for the eighteenth amendment alone.

There are difficulties in the way of an easy conscience when moralities are both preached and ignored. As the churchmen were betraying some confusion the United States senate had the same subject under discussion, Senators Glass and Swanson of Virginia resenting the references to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments in one fashion and to the eighteenth in another, and Senator Bruce of Maryland expostulating against their evasiveness, their painting of facts and what he called their intolerance.

Senator Swanson and Senator Glass are among the candid, outright men of the senate, and if they evade when these amendments are discussed it is because there is no other way of maintaining their position. With these three senators involved the controversy was wholly within the Democratic party, which made it the more interesting.

The Virginia senators maintain that the Negro amendments are enforced, which makes it particularly pointless for southern churchmen to object to a church resolution indorsing their enforcement. The amendments are not enforced. The Supreme court may not find legal sanction in the manner of not enforcing them, but nullification finds a way. The plain fact is that they did once give full Negro suffrage with consequences that no sensible person wants repeated. That these consequences are not now apparent is all the evidence any reasonable citizen needs to know that now there is no enforcement, that suffrage is abridged and white control of government rests on disfranchisement in fact. Senator Bruce and others who agree with him do not intend to have it attributed to them that they would have colored control substituted for white. The south is merely asked to be itself, to have some respect for consistency, to stop blowing hot and cold on the constitution, to cease being hypocritical in its attitude toward the north—where there is no more violation of the eighteenth amendment than there is in the south—where there is a great deal more enforcement activity and where there is no nullification.

In addition to this, and Senator Bruce also suggested it, the south, in possession of its immunity from the amendments intended to allow every colored citizen freely to vote and safely to hold office, should be made more considerate of other rights of the population which is governed and doesn't govern.

The floggings in Alabama and elsewhere are outrages inflicted on Negro citizens who are helpless because the government does not recognize them as voters. The peaceable Negro farmer who was flogged and terrorized into selling his farm to a prominent church member and klansman of the neighborhood shrieks the injustice of it, although he dare not open his mouth and although most official ears are deaf to him. It would be a savage sarcasm to call him an American citizen. White control by nullification cannot permit these things.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments can not be talked down in the senate or in the church not even by much noise about the eighteenth amendment. They are coming up and they will make some changes in this country yet.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

"CIRCUMVENTING" THE CONSTITUTION.

Discussing the action by the Southern States to restrict negro suffrage, Senator Bruce, of Maryland, said that in requiring strict educational tests of voters which, in turn, had disqualified many negroes as voters, the South had "circumvented" the Fifteenth Amendment. There is no doubt of that, and The Daily Press makes no apology for it. The Fifteenth Amendment was conceived in malice toward the Southern States and was maliciously designed to force negro rule upon those States. For a time that design was carried out. Most of the white men in the South had been disfranchised, the negroes voted en masse with the Republican Party—it was a part of their religion—and it was an easy thing for carpetbaggers from the North and renegade white men in the South to use the negro vote for their evil purposes. Not only did they lord it over the native whites and humiliate them, but in some of the States they issued bonds and stole or squandered the proceeds. It was an intolerable situation and the Southern people in self-defense were compelled to resort to various devices to "circumvent" the Fifteenth Amendment.

Some of those devices were declared to be unconstitutional, but others passed muster, notably the education test. In his recent address in the Senate Mr. Swanson, of Virginia, quoted Senator Morton as having said, years ago when the Fifteenth Amendment was under discussion in the Senate, that the "rebel" States might require educational and property tests which would "cut off the great majority of the colored men from voting in those States, and thus the proposed Fifteenth Amendment would be practically defeated in all those States where the great body of the colored people live," adding that "if the power should pass into the hands of the rebel population of those States—perhaps I should beg pardon now, I should rather call them the conservative or Democratic population—if they could not debar the colored population of the right of suffrage in any other way, they would do it by an educational or a property qualification."

"His view was undisputed," said Senator Swanson, "and it proved beyond dispute that Congress understood, and it was so conceded by all, that if the amendment as proposed should be adopted, any State could impose property or educational qualifications and that this might practically deprive all the negroes of the right of suffrage. Senator Morton prophesied that if the Conservative Party of the South should come power, they would impose property and educational qualifications which would substantially eliminate the negro vote. When the Conservative Party of the South did obtain power they passed the property and educational qualifications which accomplishes the precise results foretold by Senator Morton and which it was not denied represent an entirely legitimate exercise of power."

Candidly said. The Southern States, after trying several expedients, finally hit upon the educational test as the legal way of "circumventing" the Fifteenth Amendment, and safeguarding against the confessed design of that amendment.

To this charge The Daily Press pleads both truth and justification.

Yet some of the Northern brethren who prate about "nullification" of the Fifteenth Amendment and who would penalize the Southern States for doing what was necessary to the preservation of their very civilization, are proposing by one device and another to "circumvent" the Eighteenth Amendment. One of those devices is light wines and beer; another, an act of Congress leaving it to the several States to determine the alcoholic content of "intoxicating" liquors. The Eighteenth Amendment is as dry its prohibition authors could squeeze it. Its design was to prevent absolutely the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes and that is still the design of its advocates. Any law, therefore, which would permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, or give to the States the right to determine what is and what is not an "intoxicating beverage would be a law "circumventing" the Eighteenth Amendment.

All that The Daily Press has to say to the wets is that if they can devise a law in their own State to "circumvent," or "nullify" the Eighteenth Amendment, let them go to it, but for them to advocate that sort of nullification for their States and then denounce the Southern States for "circumventing" the Fifteenth Amendment is rank hypocrisy.

N.Y. TIMES

FEB 7 1928

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

Turning the Tables.

In the House of Representatives the other day the North instead of the South was on the defensive in relation to a phase of the "negro question." For once the South was making sly jokes at the expense of the political state of the negro in the North—in this instance Chicago. The remarks of the Southern Congressman, Mr. STEVENSON of South Carolina, were calm and unoratorical, while from a Northern throat, belonging to Mr. MADDEN of Illinois, there arose a diapason of old-fashioned oratory.

Mr. STEVENSON had received a letter from the National Civic Welfare Association protesting because negroes, who compose 5 per cent. of Chicago's population, have 31 per cent. of the jobs in Chicago's Postoffice; and he innocently inquired whether political coddling of Chicago's negroes by the Thompson organization had anything to do with it. This aroused the Chicago members, but it remained for Mr. MADDEN to rear his handsome white mane and cleave the empyrean with some remarks like these:

> Chicago is the imperial city of the great Central West. * * * There is no greater American city than Chicago. * * * There is no more patriotic American than the Mayor of Chicago. His father fought with FARRAGUT and his antecedents came over in the Mayflower. * * * The black people in Chicago were freed from slavery against the will of those who now try to traduce them. [Applause]. * * * I honor the black people. They have honored me more than once. * * * The people of the South are naturally chagrined because the black people are leaving them and forcing them to go to work. * * * Our citizens of every color in Chicago are treated with equal consideration; and Chicago, the queen of the inland seas, pays no attention whatever to any protests from any crowd as narrow-minded as those who sent the protest.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

Jim Crow Causes Filipino Representative To Quit

WASHINGTON, D. C. — American jim crow, the extension of the color line to include Filipinos as well as Negroes, has caused Honorable Isauro Gabaldon, resident Philippine commissioner to resign his post effective in June and determines to sail for home. Afro-American

In a scorching hot farewell speech delivered to the House of Representatives on Monday, Mr. Gabaldon declares he will go home to devote his full energies to work for Filipino independence. 3-10-28

Can't Shake Hands

"It wouldn't be so bad," he said, "to be governed by people of my own, but to be governed over my protest by people who consider themselves superior, and people who can't shake hands with me on the basis of political and social equality, creates an atmosphere that is intolerable and against which I protest with all the power of my being. Baltimore Md.

"Filipinos are modest, but have pride and self-respect," he said. "They can never be completely happy because Americans will never treat them on the basis of social, racial and political equality.

"Even now Filipinos graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, are not permitted to serve aboard American vessels, but can only be transferred to the Army to command Filipino troops in the Philippines.

West Point Jim Crow

"Filipinos graduated from the military academy at West Point are likewise restricted to the command of Filipino troops."

Mr. Gabaldon recited how Filipinos, although colored people, had risen to be prime minister in Spain and generals in the Spanish army.

"We have been governed without our consent and in spite of our protest for 30 years. Lincoln, said, 'Those who deny freedom to others deserve none for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it.

Lincoln Quoted

"If then, God is just, the United States must either keep its pledge to give us our independence or else it deserves to lose its own. That's according, not to me, but to Abraham Lincoln."

The only reason the United States keeps a strangle-hold on the Philippines, he said, was because the Philippines haven't armed force enough to put them out.

Capital

"The very reason we have not been given our independence is the investment of American capital in the island. Every additional dollar of American investment there is an additional nail in the coffin of our independence.

Japan

"It is said that Japan hopes and expects some day to be able to amalgamate and attain the moral support of the colored races of the earth by leading the campaign for racial equality. This issue is coming more and more to the front with each passing year.

"The colored races know that the United States promised to give the Philippines their freedom and instead of doing so, is only making one excuse after another.

"Japan will be able to make use of this fact for anti-American and anti-white race propaganda purposes as long as the United States continues to violate its pledges, to give independence to the Philippines."

Gettysburg Compiler 3/17/28

IN FRANCE

FOR the person of color, it is a question whether France or the United States is the real land of opportunity. In the United States the highest political position held by a Negro is that of Minister to Liberia, and that at a salary of half that paid to the American minister to any other country, including little Panama. In France, however, it is not uncommon for a Negro to rise to a high position. For instance, from Paris come reports that Mons. J. Germany, an exceedingly dark native of Martinique who was formerly inspector of customs in France, has been appointed to the high position of Inspector-General of Customs for all of French equatorial West Africa.

What a contrast! Further comment, it seems to us, would be superfluous.

EQUAL RIGHTS

Baltimore

Not until the Negro comes to think of himself as an integral part of this nation, as having given of his labor and devotion as large a share as any other element of it, will he regard himself as the equal of every other American. Not until he thinks of himself as an equal, will he live, think, act, and thus attract to himself and his children all the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

One need not travel far from home to find a strong tendency to think below equality. There has been long and subtle suggestion to that end. Church, school, home, and state have combined to produce humility. 3-23-28 Menial work, low wages, lack of savings for legal protection, fear of the partiality of legal machinery, use of newspapers, books and magazines propagating the idea of dominance and superiority of the other people, among those who did not or could not discriminate, and the consequent failure to stir and urge to achieve what the ambition might conceive as an object of life, have all operated to create an inferiority feeling. Washington, D.C.

Those "inalienable rights" guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, and safeguarded by the Constitution, are imbibed with the mother's milk and worked out in childhood with potency as to a condition precedent to their enjoyment in adult life.

A study of the methods, propaganda and conduct of women over the world, in striving to secure equal rights with men, under the law, should be the subject of study by groups of Negroes who feel the pressure of the bar sinister arising out of the color of the skin.

Whereas the "Equal Rights League" has been one of the smallest organizations among us, it should be, by reason of the existing situation, one of the largest and most powerful. Exactly as the Union League was organized with oaths and with nation wide branches to support and protect the Union's cause during the Civil War, when spies and Southern sympathizers were in every city and town, so, our group should have an oath-bound and nation-wide equal rights league to provide numbers, finances, oppportunities for leadership and for service in this one cause which subtends all other causes in this nation.

Our thinking must change from rights not yet secured, to rights denied, withheld, stolen, neglected, but to be regained.

The SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

W MAR 24 1928

RACE PROBLEMS BOTHER WHITES TOO, HIS BELIEF

Bishop McDowell Holds One Class As Deeply Involved As Other.

SUPERIORITY COMPLEX IS CITED IN ADDRESS

Urges Uplift Of Colored People At Session Of Conference.

The white race at present is as deeply involved in the race problem as any colored people of the earth, Bishop William F. McDowell today told Methodist Episcopal clergymen attending a session of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the church now being held in the Harlem Park Methodist Episcopal Church.

Bishop McDowell made this statement after he had been asked to say a few words in behalf of a resolution introduced by the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baldwin requesting the Methodist Episcopal ministers of the conference to cooperate in the campaign to raise $15,000 for the Morgan College fund by June 1.

Big Donations Promised.

If the money was forthcoming by hat time, it was explained, the Rockeeller Fund would donate $125,000 and the General Education Committee of the church would give $50,000. The Morgan College is said to need 290,000.

The white race, Bishop McDowell tated, has always adopted a superirity complex.

"What are we going to do with the Negroes has been their problem.

"But the question now is what are Negroes going to do to us?

Urges Uplift Of Negroes.

"I can understand our own past aults and irritations and how we have ooked down upon the Negro, but let s not take counsel of our irritations. et us strive to lift up these people."

"Remember," the bishop said in conusion, "those who strive to lift up he lowly will be the nearest His throne at the last hour."

Speaking also in behalf of the Morgan College fund, the Rev. Dr. J. O. Spencer told the clergymen of the work of this institution. Six hundred and seventy-three Negroes are at present being educated at the college, said Dr. Spencer.

Should Help Willingly.

"Surely," he continued, "you are willing to help direct the minds of the people toward the things that are worth while."

Addressing the clergymen on the manner of expression of the Negro race and the necessity of educating them, the Rev. Dr. William H. Eastman told of a definition of Eve given by a Negro Bible class student.

"Eve," said the student, "was the first woman. She was built around a bone, taken from Adam's side."

Dr. Eastman also told of a composition concerning a turkey dinner written by a Negro student.

Dinner Was Good, And—

"The turkey dinner was good," said this young Negro. "You should really have seen my teeth sink themselves in the footprints of the sands of time of that turkey."

Dr. Eastman closed by urging the

ministers to vote in favor of the Morgan College resolution.

The ballot was then cast with the announcement that the result would be made known later. A report of the sustentation committee was then read.

A resolution which proposed to raise the salaries of Methodist Episcopal ministers from a minimum annual wage of $1,500 to $1,800 for a married man, and which provided for a minimum annual salary of $1,400 for a single clergyman, introduced at yesterday's session of the conference, was tabled for discussion later.

Late today there will be a reception and annual meeting of the Ministers' Wives Association in the church chapel. Mrs. William Frazer McDowell is to be the guest of honor.

Tonight the conference officers will be installed. This ceremony will be followed by an address, "The Metal Myth," by the Rev. William E. Harrison, Jr., of Wilmington, Del.

"Saloon Horrors" Shown.

The conference was taken on a "tour" of the large cities of the world and shown "the horrors of the saloon" by the Rev. Dr. George Mecklenburg, of the Board of Prohibition and Public Morals of the church, last night.

Conditions of poverty in London, Paris, Vienna, Edinburgh, Rome, Montreal and several other foreign cities was laid at the door of alcoholism in a forty-five-minute address by the church official. His address was followed by one by F. Scott McBride, general superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

Drinking establishments in France have nearly doubled in the last one hundred years.

"More than fifty per cent. of the people I saw at bars in the public houses of London were mothers and women," he declared, "many of them with babies in their arms, drinking drink for drink with the men."

Attack Canadian System.

The liquor control system of Canada he branded as a total failure. Whisky, wine and beer is being sold in every class of mercantile establishment in Montreal, where during his tour of that city he saw ten young girls stagger out of one cabaret in one night.

Making a survey of the city he questioned one hundred merchants concerning their views on the control system there. Seventeen of them were satisfied with it, he asserted, while eighty-three told him they did not like the liquor control system of Canada "because the Government got the cash and we get the credit."

Speaking of his tour of Italy where "Mussolini has outdone Nero," one dollar is used for education and ten dollars for alcohol, he declared. In Princess Street of Edinburgh, Scotland, he "counted 183 drunken men on the streets in one hour."

BLEASE SAYS HE IS RACE'S BEST FRIEND

Gives Self Big Pat on Shoulder

Washington, D. C., March 23. —The people of South Carolina will oppose the election of any man as president of the United States who believes in social equality and does not draw the "color line," Senator Coleman L. Blease, Democrat, of South Carolina, declared in an interview Tuesday, explaining his insertion into the Congressional Record of an article from The Chicago Defender concerning the Oswald Garrison Villard dinners.

"My reason for putting that article in the Congressional Record," Senator Blease said, "was that I wanted the people of the South to know the real conditions in Washington and to further know that there are men in politics in the nation who do not drawn the 'color line' and are willing to eat at the same table with Colored people and associate with them on equal terms."

Senator Blease added, "Of course, that is their business if they desire to do so, but it is our business to protect ourselves from placing in office any man who might attempt to force the same conditions upon us in the South."

It is believed that Senator Blease had reference to Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat, of Montana, who is a candidate for the Democratic nomination, when he inserted the Defender article in the Congressional Record and made his original statement that "Some men do not mind associating at the table with certain other people, but that the people of my state might object to voting for that kind of a man for president of the United States."

Walsh at Dinner

Senator Walsh was one of the four senators who attended the dinner in honor of the 10th anniversary of Mr. Villard's editorship of the Nation. The dinner was at the Washington hotel, where Senator Blease lives, on March 1. There were three other senators present.

Senator Gerald P. Nye, Republican, of North Dakota, presided. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, was one of the speakers. The other senator was young Bob LaFollette, Republican, of Wisconsin.

Three persons of our Race attended the dinner. They were Neval H. Thomas, Dunbar high school teacher and president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, widow of the late Judge Robert H. Terrell, and a contributing editor of the Defender, and Rev. Robert W. Brooks, pastor of the Lincoln Temple Congregational church, 11th and R Sts. N. W. Mrs. Terrell is reported to have sat next to Senator Walsh.

"I have always been the Colored man's friend and am so considered by him today," declared Senator Blease when interviewed by the Defender's Washington correspondent.

"I do not favor social equality," he said, "and the best element of Colored people do not want social equality. They want equal rights, equal privileges and equal service. The best element of them realizes that when a white man in the South places himself on their level and equality in social affairs, that he is not as good as they are, and they do not accept him in their homes as their guest."

Names His "Friends"

Senator Blease referred to a number of men in South Carolina, including Rev. R. W. Mance, whom he hopes and believes will be elected to the bishopric at the next general conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church, and R. S. Wilkinson, president of the South Carolina Normal and Industrial college.

"I am satisfied," he said, "that they will bear me out in the position that they do not ask for social equality, nor do they seek it, neither are they anxious to hold official positions.

"I am satisfied further that the entire Colored population of my state will testify to the fact that the southern white man is their best friend. I believe if it were left to the Colored voters of my state, and each and every one of them had the power to cast his vote as he pleases, 90 per cent of them would vote for me for any office for which I might be a candidate."

Referring to the bill which he has introduced in the senate to provide separate coaches on street railways in the District of Columbia, Senator Blease said that this bill "is not intended as a political strike at or insult to the Negro race, but I believe that the passage of such a bill will prevent at some time very serious trouble in the District of Columbia.

Praises Servant

"Some white man at some time," he stated, "is going to resist or resent a Colored man's, or what he considers a Colored man's, attention or discourtesy to some white woman in the street cars. It is going to lead to an assault. Possibly some one in the car may be killed or seriously injured, and it may lead to serious trouble between the races. This can be averted by giving each race the same car service, the same rate, and forces no one in any inferior position or in any embarrassing situation. It is a question of protecting both races."

Senator Blease introduced, he said, the first bill in the state legislature of South Carolina to pension a Race person, William Rose, who was the personal body servant of General Macy Gregg in the Confederate army.

When General Greg was mortally wounded, he gave Rose his watch as a keepsake, Senator Blease related. Rose took the body of General Gregg home. When the Democrats "took control of the state in 1876," said Senator Blease, General Wade Hampton appointed him messenger to the governor. He held this position until his death about 1900. While he was in the legislature Senator Blease introduced a bill to pension Rose and received "a good deal of condemnation for trying to get pensions for Colored persons." There has since been enacted in South Carolina a law pensioning persons who were in the Confederate army.

Seator Blease declared he has served as a trustee of the South Carolina Normal and Industrial college at Orangeburg, S. C. As governor of the state he was chairman of the board of trustees ex-officio. Each Christmas from the time of his governorshop to the present, the girls in the domestic science department have sent to him and Mrs. Blease a fruit cake. He delights to refer to this remembrance even on the floor of the Senate.

"I always advocated common school education for the Colored people," he said, "that is, reading, writing, arithmetic and those things which it takes to make the Colored man a good citizen and to put him into position to take care of himself in whatever deal or transaction in life he might have to make."

When he was governor of South Carolina, Senator Blease related, "I found the penitentiary overcroweded with Colored people who had been overlooked and had served years and years longer than they should have. They had no money to hire lawyers, no influential friends to work for them, and I took my secretary and went to the penitentiary and interviewed all of the various prisoners personally, and I relaesed a thousand or more Colored men from that hell hole and gave them a new chance in life. Up to my present reports not a one of them has been recommitted for any violation of the terms of his parole or for having committed any other crime."

Columbia, S. C., Times
Friday, May 11, 1928

Unbelievable Stupidity.

The stupidity of some of the Northern negroes who assume to speak for their race in America is past understanding. A case in point is that of George W. Harris, former alderman from Harlem, who wrote a letter to Mayor Walker, of New York, protesting against the naming by the mayor of the four-year-old great-grandson of General Robert E. Lee as a member of his staff. This, said Harris, "as sons of freed men we consider an open affront to our citizenship in this great metropolis."

Put the question to 100 intelligent negroes in the South and we believe 99 of them, answering candidly, would vote Harris a fool, and would hold that the exhibition of such blind and stupid prejudice is a handicap to negroes of the country. This objection comes 30 years after a Republican president made Fitzhugh Lee a major-general in the United States Volunteer army.

A protest that might have some point was also made by Harris against "the segregation of colored police away from the line of parade for the Bremen fliers." If negro policemen were purposely exluded from the line of that parade there is ground for reasonable complaint, but the sympathy they might get from the public for such discrimination is smothered by resentment against the attitude of this spokesman toward the compliment paid the infant great-grandson of one of the world's greatest soldiers and Christian men. — Columbia State.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

Presidental Aspirants Ignore Questionnaire on Matters Affecting Race

Associated Negro Press' Request For Opinions On Questions Of Particular Moment To Group Ignored By Candidates

By The Associated Negro Press

Chicago, Ill., April 17—There seems to be reasonable evidence for the presumption that the Presidential candidates are not greatly interseted in the Negro's welfare, or that they fear to make public expression of any statement reflecting their attitude on problems that directly concern black citizens.

One month ago the Associated Negro Press mailed five questions to a selected list of presidential candidates. The list included: Hon. Herbert Hoover, secretary of the Department of Commerce; Senator Charles Curtis, Senator James Watson, Hon. Frank O. Lowden, Senator Frank B. Willis, Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Governor Alfred E. Smith, and Governor Albert Ritchie. The first five names are those of Republicans, the last three of Democrats. Senator Willis has died since the questionnaire was submitted.

No candidate has so far answered the questionnaire or the letter which accompanied it. The letter from the Associated Negro Press to each candidate read:

The Letter

"Leaders of colored America who are seriously interested in the future of their race in this country are convinced that the future status of the race is riveted to the conscience of the majority of the American public. They are much concerned over customs and acts of the American public and of legislative bodies that indicate the Negro is losing ground as a citizen under the American Constitution. They believe that untrammelled citizenship is essential to the Negro's proper development and that all acts and measures calculated to violate his status as a citizen or to subvert the impression sought to be created by the constitution are but preliminary injustices that will make a sort of helot of the American Negro unless these injustices and the desire to commit them are checked now.

"The head of the nation has much shape and mold the thought of the American public.

"The Associated Negro Press, a distributor of news to more than 112 Negro newspapers, desires to inform the readers of these papers of the attitude of all presidential candidates on issues that affect them.

"For that reason we are inclosing the attached questionnaire containing questions which touch upon subjects that Colored America considers vital to it and to its relation to and status in the United States of America.

"Will you not be kind enough to answer it, and return your answer to this office?"

The Questions

The questions sent with the letter were:

1. More than 4,000 Negroes have been lynched by mobs in different

SAYS PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS SILENT ON RACE MATTERS

(Continued from Page One)

states since 1885. If elected, would you favor action by the national Congress to protect the lives and property of citizens in accordance with the Federal Constitution?

2. In almost every phase of American life exception is taken to the Negro through various forms of segregation.

(a) Segregation has been spreading in government bureaus and departments in Washington and elsewhere. Are you in favor of that?

Civil Service Tests

(b) Various artifices have been used to cheat the Negro in the civil service tests for work in government service, solely on account of his color. Would you take the requisite action to compel a proper observance of the letter and spirit of the Civil Service Laws as they affect citizens of the United States, to the end that the present shameful practices could be destroyed?

(c) Throughout the Southern states the Negro is discriminated against in inter-state travel, a discrimination which is illegal. The Interstate Commerce Commission has power to act. Would you encourage the enforcement of the laws forbidding distinction now made and require the Commission to meet the issue squarely?

Federal Funds For Education

(d) Negroes in the South suffer greatly from the unequal distrubution of federad funds for education. Would you be willing to see that such distribution was made more equitable?

3. More than half the Negroes in America, men and women, are cheated of their citizenship through "ingenious devices" perfected by the South to nullify the intent of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in conferring citizenship upon the Negro. Would you support action calculated to guarantee the Negro his full citizenship, or to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment in cases where the intent of the Fifteenth Amendment was nullified? Do you believe that recent speeches made in the United States Senate by Senators from Virginia reflected the true situation in the South? Are you in favor of the disfranchisement of Negro women in the South?

RECORD
WILKES-BARRE, PA.

APR 18 1928

Menace And Disgrace

In an interview in Liberty magazine Senator George of Georgia takes a whack at the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the federal Constitution in the only way that the South's disenfranchisement of the Negro can be explained. He says that while the South has been careful to obey the latter of the amendments "we have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and such statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of a white man; and we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way."

So much for that. The New York World chimes in with the query: "If, by being 'diligent and astute' the South has been able to obey the letter but nullify the purpose of two amendments of the Constitution, on what ground can southerners reasonably object to nullification of a third amendment in the North—namely, the Eighteenth Amendment?" The gist of the argument is that where there is no statutory provision for the enforcement of a part of the Constitution, then nullification can be accomplished with comparative ease.

To quote again from Senator George "It is a simple thing to kill the Eighteenth Amendment. All the wets have to do is to elect a House of Representatives and a Senate to repeal the Volstead act and refuse to pass any enforcing legislation in its place."

This kind of argument pleases the New York World immensely, since that newspaper wants to see prohibition bounced out of the law of the land by any means by which that purpose can be accomplished.

We have never heard of a more monstrous theory than that the Constitution of the United States should be defeated simply by failure to enforce it. It is enough to cause the forefathers to turn around in their graves. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were adopted under a misconception of what was proper for the time. According to a close interpretation of the rights of a State to regulate its own elections, and according to the regulations that prevail in the southern States, there may not be as clear nullification of these two amendments as the New York World intimates. But to assume that the Eighteenth Amendment could be made to lose its effect by the repeal of the Volstead act would be to assume that any other part of the Constitution could be suspended in the absence of enforcement statutes.

This thing of picking out parts of the Constitution for observance and parts for nullification is worse than any doctrine of Bolshevism ever issued from the mouths of the most extreme Communists in this country or anywhere else. The United States Constitution is the fundamental law of the land. It rises above statutory enactment. It is incumbent upon all authority in the federal government to enforce it, with or without accompanying legislation. If there are conflict of opinion regarding its enforcement there is the Supreme Court to say what shall be done. The theory of convenient nullification is akin to anarchy. It cannot be appropriately designated by a milder term.

St. Matthews, S. C., Times
Thursday, May 10, 1928

WHITE WOMEN IN NEW YORK ASSOCIATE AND DANCE WITH NEGROES

From the Manufacturers Record of December 1, 1927.

In New York one sees apparently respectable and well-to-do white men and women dancing with negro partners in negro cabarets. In three negro cabarets I found each one filled with a crowd of patrons, about 50 per cent each, black and white. White women with every appearance of refinement danced and chatted almost intimately with negro men; white men with every appearance of prosperity and social standing danced and chatted—often really intimately—with negro girls and women. Negro girl dancers circled the room, making suggestive movements of their bodies and suggestive gestures to the white men. The sight was too repulsive for detailed description in a decent publication.

Speaking as a veteran newspaper man who knew New York inside and out in the old "wide-open" days, I can say with emphatic confidence that old New York would not have tolerated such dives and such racial intercourse, and if there had been any lynching the white offenders would have been the victims.

Mr. Heflin. The Manufacturers Record is published in Baltimore, Md., and is one of the oldest and most conservative publications in America. Its owner and editor, Richard H. Edmonds, is one of Baltimore's most prominent and outstanding citizens. He was for years trustee of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky.; is the author of a number of books that are authorities on the subjects discussed; he would not permit the publication in his magazine of anything not absolutely true.

New York State has a Tammany governor; New York City has a Tammany Mayor and city council.

Query: If Tammany permits such scenes in a city and state which it controls, will similar scenes become national if the Presidency turned over to Tammany and one of its proteges and products?

THE SOUTH AND THE CONSTITUTION

4/28/28 Vicksburg Commercial

LIBERTY, the weekly magazine, is to be congratulated for publishing the series of articles by Sidney Sutherland entitled "The 14th, 15th and 18th Amendments." Written in a gently sarcastic vein they serve very well to show up the hypocrisy of the South which has made a great noise of late years about the enforcement of the 18th Amendment, while violating the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Mr. Sutherland, in an effort to determine the attitude of the South on the 14th Amendment, consulted the records and chatted with Senator Walter F. George of Georgia; and to get the views of Dixie on the 15th Amendment he interviewed Senator Carter Glass of Virginia. As we are familiar with the views of Senator Glass and have discussed them before in this place, we need deal only with those of Senator George. That gentleman, a former member of the Supreme Court of Georgia, makes some very frank and interesting statements throwing a great deal of light on the majority Southern white mind of today. "If the exact spirit of the Federal Constitution is infringed" says this gentleman who has taken an oath to support the Constitution, "it is because in the South's wisdom, it has seen fit to prevent any domination of white society by the blacks; because it does not choose to have white civilization destroyed by an Ethiopian state."

This statement sounds very strange coming from a spokesman of a group that is forever claiming that the white race is superior to all others. Since there are three times more white folks in the South than Negroes, and since the whites outnumber the Negroes in every state in the South except Mississippi, how, under a system of democratic government with every Negro in possession of all citizenship rights and privileges could an "Ethiopian state" be established? Is Senator George conceding that eight million Negroes are so superior to twenty-four million whites that it is necessary to deprive the blacks of all rights and privileges?

In referring to the Alabama law against racial intermarriage, the learned jurist and United States senator tells Mr. Sutherland, "It is an effort to keep the Caucasian blood stream unsullied by the infusion of black blood. As such, the statute conduces to law and order, and nowhere discriminates against the colored citizens." Here we have race prejudice identified with law and order, which is the true Southern attitude. To followers of Senator George's school of thought, there is no sullying of a bloodstream when a white man consorts with a black woman, and consequently there is no violation of law and order; but when the shoe is on the other foot, as in the case of the white woman and colored man cited by Mr. Sutherland, then a blood stream is being sullied and civilization is at stake. In other words, the laws of the Southern states (and some others) against racial intermarriage and mingling are designed to protect white manhood from sexual competition.

Mr. George tells us that "We have no intention of ever admitting the colored man as our social equal, and we can keep him in his place—his inferior social station—by keeping away from him." The Senator from Georgia knows this is not true. If the Negro can be kept in "his place" by Southern whites keeping away from him, why then is it necessary for the South to violate the spirit of the 14th and 15th Amendments by refusing to give the black citizen a square deal? It has but to stay away from the Negro and all will be well. But the white South will not stay away from the Negro. Our census figures show that very conclusively.

As we pointed out, Senator George is quite frank. He admits the rotten deal meted out to the Southern Negro but excuses it on the grounds of racial necessity. He states that "no statutory law, no organic law, no military law, supersedes the law of racial necessity and social identity." In brief, the Senator informs the world that no matter what the laws of the country are, the South is going to do as it pleases about the Negro and continue to thumb its nose at the Federal Government.

But all of the white South is by no means as rebel as Senator George, and the majority group that he represents. A more intelligent and fairer white South is making itself felt more and more. Once this intelligent group was inarticulate, but today it is loud in its demands for justice to the black citizen, or at least equal rights and privileges. The New South is today furnishing some of the most militant white advocates of a square deal for the black citizen. On one side in the struggle for a real civilization in the South we find sophistical reactionaries like Walter F. George and Cole Blease, while on the other hand we have men like Will Alexander, H. L. Mencken, Guy B. Johnson and Julian Harris. With the passage of time, men like the latter are going to become increasingly numerous and prominent. Probably sooner than Senator George and his friends realize, the South will be obeying the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Wets and Disfranchizers Urged To Make Deal Killing 15th and 18th Amendments

Distinguished Mississippian Proposes That States Opposed to Enforcement of Respective Amendments Get Together and Bring About Repeal.

Commercial Appeal 5-4-28

GULFPORT, Miss., May 3.—Members of the Mississippi State Bar Association today heard Charles B. Ames, formerly of Noxubee County, later assistant attorney general of the United States during the Wilson administration, and now a practicing attorney at Tulsa, Okla., propose that the northern states opposed to enforcement of the eighteenth amendment to the federal constitution join with southern states opposed to enforcement of the fifteenth amendment, and bring about repeal of the one and modification of the other constitutional appendage.

Ames said that he had heard no outcry from southern bone dry leaders that they would bolt the Democratic party should it nominate a candidate for president opposed to enforcement of the fifteenth amendment which provides for equal rights for all citizens irrespective of color.

The suggestion of "trading" the two amendments as proposed by Ames, would permit states to exeracise their own option as to enforcement of the fifteenth amendment, but would seek repeal of the prohibition amendment. The speaker described both amendments as wra time measures, standing as a continuing assault against the rights of the states and against the principles expounded by the framers of the original constitution.

Resolutions Debated.

Debate on numerous resolutions marked a busy mornnig session.

One resolution commended the work of the association committee which prevailed upon the recent Legislature to include in its appropriations $150,000 for a law building and library at the University of Mississippi Law School.

Another resolution requested the supreem court to set aside one day of its September term as a day of memorial in honor of members of the state bar who had died within recent months, and former Governor E. F. Noel and Justice J. B. Holden of the supreme court, were among those suggested as objects of the memorial.

Acting upon the suggestion advanced yesterday by Chancellor VirgilA. Griffith of Gulfport, member of the newly created law revision commission, that members of the bar association co-operate with the revision commissioners, the president was authorized to appoint a co-operative committee to confer with the revisors.

Another committee was authorizto take necessary steps toward annotating the Mississippi statutes and supreme court decisions in connection with the restatement of the common law of the United States by the American Law Institute.

Action upon a motion designed to secure endorsement of the new Mississippi law concerning pleas of insanity in criminal cases was deferred until the 1929 meeting.

Resolutions which failed of passage included one designed to permit 11 junors to return a verdict in a criminal case, and another which would reduce the number of circuit judges and chancellors in the state.

Clarksdale won the 1929 meeting in competition with Meridian and Biloxi after the association had elected George W. Currie of Meridian as president; T. C. Kimbrough, dean of the law school of the University of Mississippi, vice president, and an executive committee consisting of J. C. Sweatt, Corinth, northern district, Robert H. Powell, Canton, middle district, and "Mike" Sennett Conner, Seminary, southern district.

Following a boat ride on Mississippi Sound this afternoon, the lawyers held their annual banquet in the Hotel Markham ballroom here tonight.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

SOME DISADVANTAGES OF BEING WHITE

BY A. H. GORDON

Professor of History, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

So common is the idea that it is a disadvantage to be a colored person, that it will doubtless seem surprising to our white friends and may even seem strange to our own colored people for us to announce that there are some disadvantages in being white in this country today. Nevertheless, this is a fact. The burden of our message today is to point out the absolute truthfulness of this rather unusual statement. Like the well known disadvantages of being colored, the less advertised disadvantages of being white also grow out of the fundamental injustice of race prejudice.

Messenger

Let us enumerate and explain some of these disadvantages that one experiences in our country today if he is too unfortunate as to be born white. Before we begin this enumeration, however, it is only fair to say that many individuals of the white race have escaped the disadvantages which we shall name.

April, 1928

The first great disadvantage of being white today, especially in America, is that it places one in a prejudiced environment and so makes it extremely difficult; in fact almost impossible for one to maintain the "scientific attitude" toward the facts of life whenever those facts touch the far-flung, complex ramifications of race relationships. The white man is unfortunate from this point of view in that he is completely surrounded by people and traditions, which forever prevent him from accepting the facts of life as they are, but compel him to twist the facts so as to bring them in accord with the views of the other white people. For example, take the question of the educational needs of the South.

Messenger

In considering this question of the average white person must pass over common sense and scientific reasoning and arrive at the conclusion that most of the funds of the state should be spent for the "higher education" of the white people and very little for the same kind of education for the colored people. That this is actually being done can easily be seen by a study of the appropriations for Negro and white State Colleges in practically all the southern states. This injustice the white legislator must carry out to keep in harmony with the prejudices of his "Race." The result is that most white people in the South seem to have a perverted idea of the real meaning of democratic public education. So we see that to be born a white man is practically tantamount to being born an intellectual Slave!

This same prejudiced environment is the chief cause of many other limitations or disadvantages that the white people suffer in America today simply because of their unfortunate color. *It is unfortunate to be born white in America these modern days for the reason that it causes one to be limited in his opportunity to make friends.* The white man, simply because of his "bad luck" color is not allowed by the traditions of his white neighbors to make real friends among other people of different colors. He is not allowed to invite any one to dinner at his house unless he be white or of some other color determined by his neighbors. So, besides being an intellectual slave, one has his PERSONAL FREEDOM FOR WHICH HIS FATHERS FOUGHT TAKEN ruthlessly away from him simply because of the paleness of his skin.

Still another disadvantage of the white man is the habit his neighbors of like color have of limiting very definitely his knowledge and appreciation because he is white. For example, one of the greatest poets that ever lived in America, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, is little known and scarcely appreciated at all by white people in America simply because he was a Negro and according to their theory it would never do to recognize the Negro in the realm of the "Fine Arts." *It is a great pity that one's knowledge must be limited and his soul shriveled because his skin happens to be white.*

Furthermore, to be born white in these United States today is unfortunate because being white tends to develop in one bad or undesirable traits of character. For example, the average white person certainly has, or claims he has (which is just as bad) a totally wrong conception of personal worth: he thinks he is honorable *because he is* WHITE and so he develops a false pride and takes himself with a seriousness that is altogether out of proportion to his real worth to the human family. He is burdened down with an unnecessary responsibility.

It is also injurious to one's reputation to be born White. Especially is this true in a group sense. Certain groups of people in the world today, in some instances whole nations, have the "bad reputation" of being oppressors and despoilers of other peoples. Most of these despoilers of other peoples' wealth (as in China, Africa, Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.) are white. So if you are born white you inherit all the odium that these people have acquired.

Finally, to be born white is a misfortune to any one so ill-fated in that such a mishap places him in an artificial position which he can hold only by ignorance, injustice, prejudice and "racial superiority," with nothing but the bubble "color" to support him and there he sits "forever blowing bubbles." He sits there constantly fearing that the shelf will fall from beneath him and break his bubble. This fear is altogether justified. Hence to be born white means to live a life of fear and dissatisfaction, a life of blowing bubbles.

In short as it seems to us, it is little less than a calamity to be born white in America in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-eight. *It means that you are born an intellectual slave, ushered into the world to be presently robbed of your personal freedom in selecting your friends, harassed with the impossible burden of artificial racial worth, hampered by ignorance and lack of appreciation of the artistic and beautiful if it happens (as it often does) to be black, doomed to a futile life of fear motivated only by the gloomy hope of "blowing bubbles" of race superiority.* We are grateful that good fortune has spared us this mishap. And let us be patient and sympathetic with our white friends seeing that they labor in the face of a misfortune which doth so easily beset them here in the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

You are a bringer of tender laughs
Which ride the jeweled stars like uncrowned kings—
(Where shall I find sorrow that softly sings?)

When I go home to pale prejudice
I beat the walls for wild release
And weep until my voice bleeds—
For hunger and cold and Nordic whips
Lash my soul where your dreams were spent—
(Is it for us that passion prays its dolorous vent?)

STICK TO YOUR POST AND WIN

By FRANK B. HOOD

Are you discouraged, my brother,
Do obstacles stand in your way?
Are you longing for a brighter dawn,
Wishing for a happier day?

Remember, as obstacles grow higher,
They can never reach the sky;
Proceed with untiring energy,
You'll succeed by and by.

Do friends pass by quickly,
Is life a tedious race?
Are the buffeting winds of adversity
Trying your patience, your grace?

Then try and try "much harder,"
'Twill mean more in the end;
Hardships are not to discourage,
Eventually you'll win.

Does the sun "set" too quickly,
Is there a lack of precious Time?
Or, are you idly waiting to hear
Fate's merry bells chime?

If the sun doth set, my brother,
You need not in darkness grope;
Remember after "its setting,"
May still shine the star of Hope.

So don't give up, my brother,
Because of your now slow pace;
Remember 'tis not always the swiftest
That win in Life's thrilling race.

BARRIERS

By LAURA TANNE

My dark boy, you have the gift of rest
When I am weary and sorely pressed
For rest and joy and dreams —

Racial Differences Are of Divine Origin.

By George Garner.

Of the various comments I have seen from colored persons on my article of last December, showing the evils, to both white and negro races, of the mistaken treatment of the negro by the people of the North, only one was bitter or intemperate in language. The recent comment by P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va., published in the Manufacturers Record, speaks for itself and largely for other intelligent colored commentators. All of which moves one to more profound and thoughtful study.

Manufacturers Record

Races and nations are merely aggregations of individuals; hence the individual equation first must be considered. On the divine side of man, the Souls of all men are equal in value in the sight of God. On the human side, no such equality prevails on earth. Some men are born to high estate and power; others, to humble conditions. Some are born brilliant in intellect; others, in mental dullness. Almost no two men are born in equal standing in life, or in mental, physical or, possibly, moral equipment. So, too, with races, which, to repeat, simply are aggregations of individuals.

Indeed, this difference between races was recognized by God Himself, as when He picked the Jewish nation as His chosen people, "to be a peculiar people unto himself," and even forbade them to intermarry with other peoples, as in the seventh chapter of Deuteronomy. Disobedience to God wrought the earthly downfall of Israel, as it will to every race or nation which may defy Him or disregard His law.

So it is that the white race is superior to the black and red and yellow races. Whether this difference prevailed at the outset, or developed in the progress of time and civilization, may be open to question; but the fact remains that such is the actual case in these days—has been the case for centuries in the past, and at present promises to continue into an indefinite future.

But strong factors in this situation are the opportunities open to the lesser races to improve their condition and to elevate themselves, and the obligation to utilize those opportunities, and the responsibility of the white race to the other races, as their superior, to act to them as "guide, philosopher and friend."

Such relationship of the white race to the other races, however, by no means contemplates that it shall accept them as racial equals, any more than, within the white race, the master accepts the servant as a social equal. Such acceptance of racial equality, indeed, would prove disastrous, as relieving the lesser nations of the discipline necessary to their improvement and as tending to drag the superior race down to the lower level. Patience and discipline are prime requisites for the development of the lesser races, and also must be cultivated by the white race in its guidance of and relation to the others, just as patience and discipline must be practiced by both a child and the teacher who instructs it. The lesser races must be patient under their inferiority to the white race, and the white race must be patient in its treatment of the lesser races—not impetuous in altruism, but discriminating and reasonable.

Without, perhaps, going into these profound considerations, the people of the South, nevertheless, act in accord with the conclusion, and so, indeed, do also the negroes in the South. Both recognize, almost instinctively, the racial inequality, just as members of each race on earth recognize individual inequalities within itself. The people of the South decline to accept the negro as a racial, and therefore social, equal; but, they do strive, through kindness and patience and the provision of tremendous educational and other advantages, to help him "rise on stepping stones of his dead self to higher things." The result is shown in the respective racial conditions and the inter-racial relationship—all for the best. Harmony prevails. The negro presses onward and upward and his race produces such men as Prof. George W. Carver of Tuskegee Institute and Editor Young of Norfolk. The white race retains its purity unsullied and so continues best fitted to guide and help the inferior, struggling race. Each race works on the line as defined in the Episcopal Catechism, "To do my duty in that state of life into which it shall please God to call me."

On the other hand, in ignorance and thoughtlessness—mayhap, in the sentimentalism of "liberalism," or "tolerance" or mistaken kindness—the people of the North pamper and pet the negro, as foolish persons spoil their children by making too much of them and permitting them to intrude into family activities at an hour when they should be in bed. As Mr. Huckins of Jacksonville has pointed out, even though the white people of the North pamper and coddle the negro, they have at the same time an instinctive racial aversion to intimate or even close personal association with him—except among white "moron" frequenters of black and tan cabarets. Fraternization between the white and negro races works unspeakable evil to both races as a whole and especially to the individuals involved in such fraternization.

Naturally, it is not pleasant to any member of any of the inferior races, be it black or yellow or red, to accept such inferiority; but that condition actually prevails and must be faced and accepted. After all, membership in any particular race may seem to be incidental, or even accidental. The human mind cannot fathom, for instance, why Dr. Carver and Editor Young were born in the black race and Mr. Huckins and myself in the white, instead of vice versa; but, such is the fact, and each of the four must face it.

Nor should the white race take undue advantage of its superiority and bulldoze or mistreat the lesser races. For the good of all the world, it must recognize and maintain its superiority, but at the same time it must do so with reason and with the true welfare of both races in mind—just as the people of the South do in their relationship with the colored race.

IGNORANCE CAUSE OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Representatives From Three Races Discuss Prejudice At Y. M. C. A. Forum

LEVIN IS SPEAKER

State Senator Says Negroes Are Not Only Persecuted Race

Education was advanced as the only solution to the race problem by representatives of three races, who spoke at the Y. M. C. A. Forum, Sunday.

State Senator Harry O. Levin was the principal speaker, and was ably assisted by students from Morgan College and Johns Hopkins University. They were, Herbert Klememe and Randolph Mengers, both white, and William McLeod and Howard Cornish.

Afro American

Mr. Levin stated, that he spoke as a member of one persecuted race to another. The prejudice against the Jew, he declared, has not abated during thousands of years, but many of the races who despised the Hebrew race have vanished from the earth, while the latter still exists, because they trust in God.

4-7-28

An understanding and appreciation of the better things of other races will lead to tolerance, it was agreed, as ignorance of one another was admitted to be the chief cause of racial differences. Knowledge of the arts and literature of the Negro race always tends to bring about a keener interest and more tolerant attitude from white people, Mr. Mengers stated.

Baltimore Sun

Owens spoke from the subject, "What the Forum Has Meant to Me." Gough D. McDaniels, chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements for the banquet, told the audience of the plans for the Forum in the future. Miss Beatrice Truman rendered several piano selections and Howard Cornish, of Morgan College gave three readings from Dunbar. R. Maurice Moss presided.

RACE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED BY REVOLUTION

Forum Speaker Says Upheaval Like In Russia Is Solution

EIGHTY-FOUR ATTEND INTER-RACE BANQUET

Rabbi Israel To Talk on Religion and Labor, Sunday

Eighty-four persons of both races attended the banquet of the Interracial Forum on Sunday evening at Carpenter's Hall, 715 N. Eutaw St.

This banquet, the first of its kind to be held in Baltimore, was planned as a climax to a very successful series of talks by speakers, both white and colored, each Sunday afternoon since last October. The Forum which is an outgrowth of the Workers' Forum held by the white members last year and of the Sunday Evening Forum held by the colored group at Bethel Church.

Herald

4-7-28

Edward Marshall, of the Young Workers League, was the principal speaker at the Sunday banquet. Speaking from the subject, "The Paris Commune and its Relationship to the Race Question," Mr. Marshall asserted that only a revolution similar to that which took place in Russia would solve the race problem in America.

Baltimore

Charles Young, of Morgan College responded to a toast on the "Opportunities of Modern Youth". Carrol

he Forum will close this Sunday
r the season. The speaker at the
final meeting will be Rabbi Edward
L. Israel, whose subject will be "Re
ligion and Labor, Friends or Ene
mies?"

Racial Differences Are of Divine Origin.

By George Garner.

Of the various comments I have seen from colored persons on my article of last December, showing the evils, to both white and negro races, of the mistaken treatment of the negro by the people of the North, only one was bitter or intemperate in language. The recent comment by P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va., published in the Manufacturers Record, speaks for itself and largely for other intelligent colored commentators. All of which moves one to more profound and thoughtful study.

Races and nations are merely aggregations of individuals; hence the individual equation first must be considered. On the divine side of man, the Souls of all men are equal in value in the sight of God. On the human side, no such equality prevails on earth. Some men are born to high estate and power; others, to humble conditions. Some are born brilliant in intellect; others, in mental dullness. Almost no two men are born in equal standing in life, or in mental, physical or, possibly, moral equipment. So, too, with races, which, to repeat, simply are aggregations of individuals.

Indeed, this difference between races was recognized by God Himself, as when He picked the Jewish nation as His chosen people, "to be a peculiar people unto himself," and even forbade them to intermarry with other peoples, as in the seventh chapter of Deuteronomy. Disobedience to God wrought the earthly downfall of Israel, as it will to every race or nation which may defy Him or disregard His law.

So it is that the white race is superior to the black and red and yellow races. Whether this difference prevailed at the outset, or developed in the progress of time and civilization, may be open to question; but the fact remains that such is the actual case in these days—has been the case for centuries in the past, and at present promises to continue into an indefinite future.

But strong factors in this situation are the opportunities open to the lesser races to improve their condition and to elevate themselves, and the obligation to utilize those opportunities, and the responsibility of the white race to the other races, as their superior, to act to them as "guide, philosopher and friend."

Such relationship of the white race to the other races, however, by no means contemplates that it shall accept them as racial equals, any more than, within the white race, the master accepts the servant as a social equal. Such acceptance of racial equality, indeed, would prove disastrous, as relieving the lesser nations of the discipline necessary to their improvement and as tending to drag the superior race down to the lower level. Patience and discipline are prime requisites for the development of the lesser races, and also must be cultivated by the white race in its guidance of and relation to the others, just as patience and discipline must be practiced by both a child and the teacher who instructs it. The lesser races must be patient under their inferiority to the white race, and the white race must be patient in its treatment of the lesser races—not impetuous in altruism, but discriminating and reasonable.

Without, perhaps, going into these profound considerations, the people of the South, nevertheless, act in accord with the conclusion, and so, indeed, do also the negroes in the South. Both recognize, almost instinctively, the racial inequality, just as members of each race on earth recognize individual inequalities within itself. The people of the South decline to accept the negro as a racial, and therefore social, equal; but, they do strive, through kindness and patience and the provision of tremendous educational and other advantages, to help him "rise on stepping stones of his dead self to higher things." The result is shown in the respective racial conditions and the inter-racial relationship—all for the best. Harmony prevails. The negro presses onward and upward and his race produces such men as Prof. George W. Carver of Tuskegee Institute and Editor Young of Norfolk. The white race retains its purity unsullied and so continues best fitted to guide and help the inferior, struggling race. Each race works on the line as defined in the Episcopal Catechism, "To do my duty in that state of life into which it shall please God to call me."

On the other hand, in ignorance and thoughtlessness—mayhap, in the sentimentalism of "liberalism," or "tolerance" or mistaken kindness—the people of the North pamper and pet the negro, as foolish persons spoil their children by making too much of them and permitting them to intrude into family activities at an hour when they should be in bed. As Mr. Huckins of Jacksonville has pointed out, even though the white people of the North pamper and coddle the negro, they have at the same time an instinctive racial aversion to intimate or even close personal association with him—except among white "moron" frequenters of black and tan cabarets. Fraternization between the white and negro races works unspeakable evil to both races as a whole and especially to the individuals involved in such fraternization.

Naturally, it is not pleasant to any member of any of the inferior races, be it black or yellow or red, to accept such inferiority; but that condition actually prevails and must be faced and accepted. After all, membership in any particular race may seem to be incidental, or even accidental. The human mind cannot fathom, for instance, why Dr. Carver and Editor Young were born in the black race and Mr. Huckins and myself in the white, instead of vice versa; but, such is the fact, and each of the four must face it.

Nor should the white race take undue advantage of its superiority and bulldoze or mistreat the lesser races. For the good of all the world, it must recognize and maintain its superiority, but at the same time it must do so with reason and with the true welfare of both races in mind—just as the people of the South do in their relationship with the colored race.

IGNORANCE CAUSE OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Representatives From Three Races Discuss Prejudice At Y. M. C. A. Forum

LEVIN IS SPEAKER

State Senator Says Negroes Are Not Only Persecuted Race

Education was advanced as the only solution to the race problem by representatives of three races, who spoke at the Y. M. C. A. Forum, Sunday.

State Senator Harry O. Levin was the principal speaker, and was ably assisted by students from Morgan College and Johns Hopkins University. They were, Herbert Klememe and Randolph Mengers, both white, and William McLeod and Howard Cornish.

Mr. Levin stated, that he spoke as a member of one persecuted race to another. The prejudice against the Jew, he declared, has not abated during thousands of years, but many of the races who despised the Hebrew race have vanished from the earth, while the latter still exists, because they trust in God.

An understanding and appreciation of the better things of other races will lead to tolerance, it was agreed, as ignorance of one another was admitted to be the chief cause of racial differences. Knowledge of the arts and literature of the Negro race always tends to bring about a keener interest and more tolerant attitude from white people, Mr. Mengers stated.

RACE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED BY REVOLUTION

Forum Speaker Says Upheaval Like In Russia Is Solution

EIGHTY-FOUR ATTEND INTER-RACE BANQUET

Rabbi Israel To Talk on Religion and Labor, Sunday

Eighty-four persons of both races attended the banquet of the Interracial Forum on Sunday evening at Carpenter's Hall, 715 N. Eutaw St.

This banquet, the first of its kind to be held in Baltimore, was planned as a climax to a very successful series of talks by speakers, both white and colored, each Sunday afternoon since last October. The Forum which is an outgrowth of the Workers' Forum held by the white members last year and of the Sunday Evening Forum held by the colored group at Bethel Church.

Edward Marshall, of the Young Workers League, was the principal speaker at the Sunday banquet. Speaking from the subject, "The Paris Commune and its Relationship to the Race Question," Mr. Marshall asserted that only a revolution similar to that which took place in Russia would solve the race problem in America.

Charles Young, of Morgan College responded to a toast on the "Opportunities of Modern Youth". Carrol Owens spoke from the subject, "What the Forum Has Meant to Me." Gough D. McDaniels, chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements for the banquet, told the audience of the plans for the Forum in the future. Miss Beatrice Truman rendered several piano selections and Howard Cornish, of Morgan College gave three readings from Dunbar. R. Maurice Moss presided.

The Forum will close this Sunday for the season. The speaker at the final meeting will be Rabbi Edward L. Israel, whose subject will be "Religion and Labor, Friends or Enemies?"

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

SNORTING SOUTHERN SENATORS!

Fearful that his Southern senatorial colleague from Alabama (Senator Thomas Heflin) would gobble up the calcium light in the big show now being held on Capitol Hill at Washington, D. C., Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina has vainly attempted to have the spotlight hurled on him, and to this end has introduced a bill to provide "jim-crow" street cars in the national capital—something on the order of Southern street cars, with markers separating the two races.

Informer

The fiery solon from the Palmetto State has also introduced a measure to make the intermarriage of races a federal offense, and to invoke the machinery of national government to maintain "white supremacy" and "keep the 'nigger' in his place."

O, how some of our scintillescent Southern senators strut their stuff in the senate chambers!

2-11-28

How happy the Nordic citizens of Alabama, South Carolina and other Dixie commonwealths must feel of "Hell-Hollerin'" Heflin and "Beefing Blurting" Blease!

Wouldn't those two "Bam bull-shooting boys" make a headliner on some vaudeville circuit, particularly in certain Southern communities whose sentiments these blatant blatherskites represent and typify?

Houston, Texas

With Heflin fighting and anathematizing the Catholics; with Blease opposing, jim-crowing and outlawing the Negroes; and with Swanson and Glass of Virginia upholding the Southern species of racial disfranchisement and class proscription, the U. S. senate should not suffer a dull or droll moment; and "100 per cent Americanism" should soon cover both the length and breadth of this republic as the "waters that cover the deep." (Mirable dictu!)

If the South needed drastic legislation to keep the Negro out of politics and insure "white supremacy," judging from the calibre and cavortings of some of our 'steemed Southern solons, both in our state and national law-making bodies, it appears as if our white friends need to enact some type of legislation to keep some of these prejudicial politicians and sulphuric swashbucklers from our legislative halls.

As long as the South elects men to high office, whose greatest asset is their ability to fan the fires of racial antipathy and class distinction, this section might as well be prepared to be humiliated and stultified upon many and sundry occasions by oral outbursts and official actions on the part of such narrow-minded bigots and political opportunists.

As long as Heflin belched forth his poison against the Negro race, the Southern spectators, supporters and sympathizers cheered and applauded him quite vociferously; but, when, encouraged by such applause and endorsement, the Alabama senator directed his venomous darts and senatorial tirades at the Catholics, these selfsame Southern supporters (at least a few of them, for The Informer still contends that Heflin's attack upon Al Smith for his religious belief represents the sentiment and attitude of the majority of white Southerners) became righteously indignant and attempted to read "Uncle Tom" out of both the Democratic party and his sectional habitat.

Let these Southern senators snort and raise unadulterated hades; for the law of compensation (balancing of accounts) is slow but sure, and no man has ever been able to defeat or foil this inexorable and immutable statute!

Woe unto him who breathes out poison against his fellowman, for in the end he shall be destroyed by his own poison! Selah!

THIS SECTIONAL NULLIFICATION!

Judging from editorial comment in some of our Dixie daily newspapers, the recent conference of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ—which became deadlocked when Negro delegates and some of the more liberally-minded white messengers insisted that, if the meeting were to go on record as favoring the strict enforcement of the eighteenth (prohibition) amendment to the United States constitution, it should also urge the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the same federal constitution—committed a grave error when its leaders permitted the endorsement of the suffrage amendments to be injected into the discussion and resolution regarding the prohibition issue.

Informer

It appears that so many of the proponents of the prohibition amendment are rather shortsighted and inconsistent, contending with all the power at their command for the strict observance and enforcement of one constitutional amendment to the utter exclusion of others just as important, fundamental and far-reaching.

2-11-28

The Informer admits that neither the North nor East has the legal, moral or political right to nullify and disregard the eighteenth amendment to the national constitution; and by the same manner of reasoning, the South has neither the legal, moral nor political right to nullify and circumvent the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to this same constitution!

The nullification and circumvention of these so-called Civil War suffrage amendments constitute just as much of a moral and legal issue as the ignoring and nullifying of the now celebrated and much discussed prohibition amendment.

The Informer has repeatedly contended and insisted that as long as one section can nullify and ignore, with impunity, certain basic and constitutional provisions, such agitation and action will encourage and embolden other sections to nullify and disregard certain national laws which do not meet their sectional approbation.

Houston, Texas

It is nonsense of the rankest type for any national, state, county or municipal government to enact and enforce laws and measures which meet the hearty endorsement of every person.

Why, even some murderers hold to the opinion that the law should not interfere with them when they slay their fellowmen in cold blood; and, it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of these criminals reach such conclusions when they observe how lightly life is esteemed and with what ease minority groups can take the law into their own hands and do as they please with and upon certain American citizens!

We presume that the hijackers, burglars and other members of the looting gentry believe that they have as much right to ply their nefarious trade as hooch hounds, and moonshine makers and bootleggers; that if the federal law establishing prohibition is a "mere scrap of paper," and to be regarded and treated as a national joke, then the statutes seeking to define a criminal and assessing his penalty for infractions of certain criminal laws, should be similarly regarded.

The strict enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of this republic is just as important, of imperative and essential as that of the eighteenth amendment, notwithstanding sectional resentment of and objection to such national provisions; and the American citizen, organization, publication or whatnot, that can not discern this patent fact, has never truly sensed the fundamental principles on which American ideals and institutions have been founded, viz: Popular government, respect for constituted authority, strict observance of the law by all citizens, impartial enforcement of all laws by law-enforcing agencies, and equality before the law for all citizens of the national commonwealth.

If the republic is to survive and citizens respect the laws of the land, there can be neither double standard of constitutional enforcement nor of citizenship, and there must be no dissimilarity between the political morality of the several states in the union.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

SNORTING SOUTHERN SENATORS!

Fearful that his Southern senatorial colleague from Alabama (Senator Thomas Heflin) would gobble up the calcium light in the big show now being held on Capitol Hill at Washington, D. C., Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina has vainly attempted to have the spotlight hurled on him, and to this end has introduced a bill to provide "jim-crow" street cars in the national capital—something on the order of Southern street cars, with markers separating the two races.

Informer

The fiery solon from the Palmetto State has also introduced a measure to make the intermarriage of races a federal offense, and to invoke the machinery of national government to maintain "white supremacy" and "keep the 'nigger' in his place."

O, how some of our scintillescent Southern senators strut their stuff in the senate chambers!

2-11-28

How happy the Nordic citizens of Alabama, South Carolina and other Dixie commonwealths must feel of "Hell-Hollerin'" Heflin and "Beefing Blurting" Blease!

Wouldn't those two "Bam bull-shooting boys" make a headliner on some vaudeville circuit, particularly in certain Southern communities whose sentiments these blatant blatherskites represent and typify?

Houston, Texas

With Heflin fighting and anathematizing the Catholics; with Blease opposing, jim-crowing and outlawing the Negroes; and with Swanson and Glass of Virginia upholding the Southern species of racial disfranchisement and class proscription, the U. S. senate should not suffer a dull or droll moment; and "100 per cent Americanism" should soon cover both the length and breadth of this republic as the "waters that cover the deep." (Mirable dictu!)

If the South needed drastic legislation to keep the Negro out of politics and insure "white supremacy," judging from the calibre and cavortings of some of our 'steemed Southern solons, both in our state and national law-making bodies, it appears as if our white friends need to enact some type of legislation to keep some of these prejudicial politicians and sulphuric swashbucklers from our legislative halls.

As long as the South elects men to high office, whose greatest asset is their ability to fan the fires of racial antipathy and class distinction, this section might as well be prepared to be humiliated and stultified upon many and sundry occasions by oral outbursts and official actions on the part of such narrow-minded bigots and political opportunists.

As long as Heflin belched forth his poison against the Negro race, the Southern spectators, supporters and sympathizers cheered and applauded him quite vociferously; but, when, encouraged by such applause and endorsement, the Alabama senator directed his venomous darts and senatorial tirades at the Catholics, these selfsame Southern supporters (at least a few of them, for The Informer still contends that Heflin's attack upon Al Smith for his religious belief represents the sentiment and attitude of the majority of white Southerners) became righteously indignant and attempted to read "Uncle Tom" out of both the Democratic party and his sectional habitat.

Let these Southern senators snort and raise unadulterated hades; for the law of compensation (balancing of accounts) is slow but sure, and no man has ever been able to defeat or foil this inexorable and immutable statute!

Woe unto him who breathes out poison against his fellowman, for in the end he shall be destroyed by his own poison! Selah!

THIS SECTIONAL NULLIFICATION!

Judging from editorial comment in some of our Dixie daily newspapers, the recent conference of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ—which became deadlocked when Negro delegates and some of the more liberally-minded white messengers insisted that, if the meeting were to go on record as favoring the strict enforcement of the eighteenth (prohibition) amendment to the United States constitution, it should also urge the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the same federal constitution—committed a grave error when its leaders permitted the endorsement of the suffrage amendments to be injected into the discussion and resolution regarding the prohibition issue.

Informer

It appears that so many of the proponents of the prohibition amendment are rather shortsighted and inconsistent, contending with all the power at their command for the strict observance and enforcement of one constitutional amendment to the utter exclusion of others just as important, fundamental and far-reaching.

2-11-28

The Informer admits that neither the North nor East has the legal, moral or political right to nullify and disregard the eighteenth amendment to the national constitution; and by the same manner of reasoning, the South has neither the legal, moral nor political right to nullify and circumvent the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to this same constitution!

The nullification and circumvention of these so-called Civil War suffrage amendments constitute just as much of a moral and legal issue as the ignoring and nullifying of the now celebrated and much discussed prohibition amendment.

The Informer has repeatedly contended and insisted that as long as one section can nullify and ignore, with impunity, certain basic and constitutional provisions, such agitation and action will encourage and embolden other sections to nullify and disregard certain national laws which do not meet their sectional approbation.

Houston, Texas

It is nonsense of the rankest type for any national, state, county or municipal government to enact and enforce laws and measures which meet the hearty endorsement of every person.

Why, even some murderers hold to the opinion that the law should not interfere with them when they slay their fellowmen in cold blood; and, it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of these criminals reach such conclusions when they observe how lightly life is esteemed and with what ease minority groups can take the law into their own hands and do as they please with and upon certain American citizens!

We presume that the hijackers, burglars and other members of the looting gentry believe that they have as much right to ply their nefarious trade as hooch hounds, and moonshine makers and bootleggers; that if the federal law establishing prohibition is a "mere scrap of paper," and to be regarded and treated as a national joke, then the statutes seeking to define a criminal and assessing his penalty for infractions of certain criminal laws, should be similarly regarded.

The strict enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of this republic is just as important, and imperative and essential as that of the eighteenth amendment, or notwithstanding sectional resentment of and objection to such national provisions; and the American citizen, organization, publication or whatnot, that can not discern this patent fact, has never truly sensed the fundamental principles on which American ideals and institutions have been founded, viz: Popular government, respect for constituted authority, strict observance of the law by all citizens, impartial enforcement of all laws by law-enforcing agencies, and equality before the law for all citizens of the national commonwealth.

If the republic is to survive and citizens respect the laws of the land, there can be neither double standard of constitutional enforcement nor of citizenship, and there must be no dissimilarity between the political morality of the several states in the union.

EXPRESSED BY OUR CONTEMPORARIES

The Negro and Our Sahara

(From the Pittsburgh Eagle.)

The shadow of the suppressed Negro, falling pitfully on the sandpiles of our Eighteenth Amendment Sahara, amuses the moralist who is given to metaphors. There's always an African in the bushes and he springs out to cast the shadow, whenever the "enforcing of all laws" is invoked as a principle to keep moisture out of the sandpiles.

By a curious coincidence, on the same day that the Negro's shadow darkened counsel at the Cleveland conference of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, it was clouding discussion in the Senate of the United States. There isn't any flesh-and-blood Negro in the Senate, but in the Council the Afro-American Churches cannot be wholly ignored.

So at Cleveland a resolution of compromise had been drawn up advocating "an honest enforcement of the amendments to the Constitution, including especially the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments." Representatives of the white churches of the South were up in arms at once, declaring that this was "introducing politics," and they were strong enough to have the resolution recommitted to the sub-committee. The representatives of the colored religionists urged in vain that the resolution should be passed "on the ground that it would give the colored Churches confidence, in a sense of security of co-operation by the white Churches, on one of their major problems." The white religionists insisted that no State in the South had any election law that was not within the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, otherwise the law would have been voided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Precisely the same point was made by Senator Glass of Virginia on the floor of the Senate. Senator Borah agreed. He had examined every one of the Southern election laws and found nothing unconstitutional in them. Senator Swanson had precipitated the debate by treating seriously a Republican threat to cut down the representation of the Southern States where the Negroes do not vote. Glass said: "I am tired of this threat of universal Negro suffrage. I want to serve notice that neither the Senator [he was answering Bruce of Maryland] nor any of his associates can constrain or restrain Virginia in her attitude upon this question." Swanson said:

"The South is resolved and determined . . . that the sores of reconstruction shall never reappear to afflict her. Suffrage laws, legal and constitutional, are and always will be invoked to save this fair portion of our Nation from being again blighted by the rule of corruption and ignorance."

Yet there was no real answer to the hint of Bruce that if by legal ingenuity the South could nullify two amendments, "we have the right by any lawful means to escape the tyrannous oppression of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act."

Both at Cleveland and in the Senate, of course, the Southerners were begging the question. No constitutional provision is self-enforcing. Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment says that when the right to vote is denied (not "denied by law") to any of the male inhabitants of a State over 21 years of age, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State." Denial by chicanery or force is ground for the congressional action not yet taken. Denial by laws otherwise constitutional offers such ground. And Swanson and Glass boast in effect that just such denial is in existence.

Federal Council of Churches Has Discovered Sex and the 14th and 15th Amendments.

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, meeting the other day in Cleveland, did two things that are least provocative of thought. It passed, first, the following resolution:

"In view of the influences tending to lower the ideals of marriage, weaken the sense of marital, parental and social responsibility and undermine the home, the Executive Committee would emphasize the urgent importance of making ample provision in the church's program of religious education for the cultivating of wholesome relationships between the sexes and the development of Christian attitudes and ideals respecting marriage and the home."

The churches, with few exceptions, have been the traditional opponents of any proposal to cultivate genuinely wholesome relationships between the two sexes. They have frowned upon all efforts to have removed from the legal codes the foolish ban upon the teaching of methods of birth-control. They have held aloof from and usually condemned before-hand any tendency to experiment—to take note of the numerous new factors that affect marriage, the home, the relations between young people of opposite sex and to adjust those relations and institutions to the new factors. An honest regime of sex education, taught by a competent authority, would probably even yet astound the average clergyman past recovery. If back of the resolution of the Federal Council of Churches there is a willingness to approach new problems without the burden of prior prejudices, the action taken at the Cleveland gathering is most heartening.

The second action was rejection of a resolution having to do with enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Many of the delegates had already asked passage of a declaration "for honest enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment" but limiting the declaration to that amendment, when other delegates introduced the following resolution:

"The question of enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment has become an outstanding moral issue in America today, and has raised the question of obedience to the fundamental law of our land, including all amendments to the Constitution, particularly the Fourteenth and Fifteenth.

"We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Committee of this body go on record as indorsing an honest enforcement of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, including especially the Fourteenth and Fifteenth and Eighteenth."

The resolutions was rejected partly because Negro delegates and others, "arrayed against representatives of the Southern white churches", insisted on placing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments in the same category with the Eighteenth.

Despite the eloquent defence made in Congress recently by Senator George and, later, by Senators Swanson and Glass, of Virginia, and Borah, of Idaho, it remains true that the election laws in Southern states were primarily designed to deprive the Negro of the ballot. It is our belief that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments should never have been put into the Constitution. Nevertheless those amendments are in the Constitution, *they are exactly as holy as the Eighteenth*, and they were designed to give the Negro the ballot—a "right" of which Southern election laws have deprived him.

But if the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments should never have been written into the Constitution, neither should the Eighteenth. We are glad to find that there is an "insurgent" wing in the Federal Council of Churches, even though we do not accord with its views regarding the sacredness of the Eighteenth amendment; and we are also glad that the "insurgents" are forcing Southern churchmen to recognize the anomaly of their stand on Prohibition.

INHIBITIONS

Eugene Gordon has gone just a step too far. If he thinks he has raised himself in the estimation of his own people, or in the estimation of the people who bribed him into penning his "The Negro's Inhibitions" in the February American Mercury, he has reckoned without either of the two major factions to be considered. For a man who has made his mark in life—who has so far demonstrated his ability to do something in a literary way—who has "found" himself—who has through his own efforts commanded a respect for what he has to say and has developed a well balanced way of saying it, it must be a sad awakening to realize that he has used his great weapon for the idle purpose of ridiculing his people.

Anyone can ridicule. What form of literary expression is the easiest one for man to handle. Even the savage could "make fun" of his neighbor, although he had to use signs to convey his meaning to those about him. Ridicule, as such, is for the idiot and clown. The intelligent person eschews it as poison. He scorns it because he recognizes that it neither helps nor hurts—it merely redounds to the discredit to the person employing it. If, as in rare cases, it does hurt, it does so because those affected by it are disappointed in the person who engaged in it.

Frankly, we are disappointed in Eugene Gordon. He should know better. Even if H. L. Mencken does go into details about human frailties upon occasion, and admits that he does it to shake his people out of their complacency, Gordon cannot use this as his excuse for going the lengths to which he went in his article. The reason cannot be the same, and certainly the results are not going to be the same.

When Mr. Gordon in his leading paragraph says, "Most of the Aframerican's native attributes—the inclinations, talents, preferences, prejudices and predilections that an All-Wise Creator implanted in him—are fast oozing out of him," he starts out on a major premise that is as fallacious as it is absurd. In the first place, not one of the things he mentions in his article (chicken, chitterlings, high-yellows and segregation) comes under this classification. Where does he arrive at the profound conclusion that eating chitterlings is something that we, as a group, have developed through inherent tastes or even through choice? He contradicts himself here when he explains how this particular part of a hog happened to find its way upon our table at all. Certainly it is no disgrace of ours that we tried to make the dish palatable, as long as we were forced to eat it—and it is no disgrace of ours that those of us who do not care for it refuse to eat it. On the other hand, he is absolutely wrong in his assertion that those of us who do like chitterlings hide to eat them. The same is true of chicken. We eat both chicken and chitterlings wherever we find them and happen to want them.

As to the predilection for light-skinned persons, it looks here that Mr. Gordon has tried to place himself in the position of his white brother and to see the Race through foreign eyes. That is his privilege as an individual—but it is using mighty poor judgment as a critic of the Race.

We do have inhibitions—what group does not have them? We do imagine ourselves in environments more conducive to our full cultural development than we ordinarily find in this American society. If our women try to adapt themselves to colors that blend with their complexions, are they not to be commended for it, rather than ridiculed? Are we to be laughed at because we do not flaunt red, green and purple in the faces of other people, although they are jarring to the eye in certain combinations, merely to prove that we are not afraid to wear them?

Mr. Gordon is young yet. He, more than any other individual of our day, exemplifies the remark made by Pope in his "Essay on Criticism": "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." He has penned his article for the delectation of his white readers and the envy of Mencken, who would rather have written it. He has slapped his people in the face from his vantage point of having made contact with the editor of the American Mercury, and he now congratulates himself. But as young egotists are sometimes apt to do, he has forgotten that the effectiveness of what he has to say is sometimes lost in his maner of saying it. As far as we are concerned, "The Negro's Inhibitions" is an unfortunate piece of literature—unfortunate especially for the writer. As for the white people who read the Mercury, it will furnish a few minutes of amusement, and in their serious moments they will fail to see that Gordon has bettered either himself or his Race. And we are not assuming that the intention was to aid the Race.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

Monitor
Glendive Mont
MAR 1 1928

"NO NEGROES PERMITTED IN GLENDIVE A WISE PROHIBITION"

SAYS REV. SAMUEL

A crowded auditorium greeted the message of the minister, Mr. Samuel, at the Congregational church last Sunday evening. It was an indication that the people of Glendive are not insensible to the discussion of a great and live issue when it is presented from a well-considered and patriotic basis. The choir sang some of the famous negro melodies and spirituelles. Mrs. John Samuel sang "Deep River," an old negro melody, and in the reproduction of a Southern cotton field scene, Howard Heatherington took the part of Old Black Joe, while Howard Hanson, also in costume; played several selections on his banjo.

The subject of the address was "The Soul of the Negro" and the text was "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined——the bounds of their habitation." The substance of the sermon is as follows:

No question before the United States government of today is as serious as the negro problem; and yet, it is not a negro problem; it is in essence White; and it is constantly becoming more acute and calling for a solution. There are those who dismiss it with a light, "Oh they are just niggers anyway;" while there are probably those in Glendive who because we have the rule that no colored people are permitted to reside here say it is no concern of ours. If that is our idea of a great national question, one that should be of immediate concern to us, then we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. That attitude is too provincial and it is unpatriotic. That is not the type of mind that tackles great issues and settles them aright; and the present situation calls for the keenest and the most sympathetic thinking and acting.

There are some very serious misconceptions concerning the negro which do not reflect creditably upon those who hold such views. Some call them "niggers," a very contemptuous term; treat them like animals, like curs, and as if they had no soul. And still we hear that ancient fallacy about their skull being thick and their being incapable of developing any permanent mental and constructive life. Then they point to the negro governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone; and speak of their backwardness and their indebtedness as proof positive that the black man is hopeless.

Now if; as it is pointed out, geographical and climatic conditions with a background of civilization have made England, Europe and the United States, then we can surely say that the lack of these for Liberia and Sierra Leone has hindered their progress, and hence their experience there is not an accurate index of their mental and moral acumen and stamina. And for us to despise them with the degrading term of "niggers" is certainly to place ourselves in a most unfavorable light with God and with Jesus Christ. God created all men in His image, men of all colors and nations. God gave to each a soul;and Jesus said that "God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten son that whosoever should believe on Him might not perish but have everlasting life."

There are those who condemn the negro as absolutely worthless. Yet in a very remarkably short space of time and up to the year 1927 he owned 700,000 homes; 200,000 farms and operated 100,000 farms as a renter or tenant. Educational provision for them supplies grades and high school and college education for several millions of them each year; and from their colleges alone there are graduated 700 young men and women; and their achievements in the various lines calling for educational qualifications rank very high and are most meritorious: Invention, art, poetry and music. It has been said by some musicians that the only contribution in music that the United States has made to the world is that of the spirituelles, ragtime and jazz, and these come from the negro. Again; in Harlem, New York City, we have a black population of about 200,000 souls and there we have a very distinctive cross-section of American life. There the negroes have developed a very complete and comprehensive life which they originated and promote and maintain by themselves.

It is very manifest that we are not dealing with a negligible group of people; we are dealing with a nation; with a race; and throughout the country they have developed a distinctive and deep racial and national consciousness. What education does for the white race it has done, and will continue to do for the black man. It has developed in him aspirations, ambition and hopes and ideals and these will not be and must not be suppressed, and they cannot be indefinitely crushed. These inherently demand expression, and since we cannot eliminate the negro since he is here and here to stay, then a serious problem confronts the nation and the government. (Since no problem is settled until it is settled right there is a distinctive call to men and women of sound patriotic and consecrated sympathy to engage in its solution.)

Now what particularly distresses us in our dilemma is this humiliating truth: The white man, in taking the black man out of Africa and for the infamous purpose of enslaving him, sinned against God and nature. Both God and nature made the negro and provided him with a home in Africa. The white man's treatment of him was in distinct violation of the law both of God and nature; and we have added to our sin by persecuting him, by repressing him, by lynching or burning him at the stake.

Since "No problem is settled until it has been settled right;" there is a distinctive call to men and women of sound patriotic and consecrated sympathy to engage in its consideration and solution. There are organizations such as the "Urban League" and the "Interracial Committee" composed of white and negro representatives who are doing and rendering valiant service in this respect and we in Glendive as well as those in every community in the land need to approach and regard this situation in that same spirit.

From what I have said it is apparent that I believe that the welfare of the negro race is best secured and can best be served by a concentration of him in such numbers that he will be able to develope his own economic, social, political moral, and religious life. For this reason; I have no hesitation in saying that the "Rule" of Glendive, prohibiting the negro from taking up residence here is a wise one. It is better for everybody concerned Racial prejudice which one may ignore only as an unwise risk, would condemn the black people to the most menial tasks and positions and create another source of constant irritation and trouble. However let us all in our attitude toward and in our handling of this situation, be actuated by the motive of true patriotism and animated by the gentle and sympathetic spirit of Jesus Christ.

Tuskegee Head Gives View Race Problems

In Exclusive Interview With Courier Representative In McAlpin Hotel

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

NEW YORK, Feb. 16.—One of the regrets of my life is that I never even saw the late Dr. Booker T. Washington. I have the satisfaction, however, of having talked to his successor, Dr. Robert R. Moton.

The head of Tuskegee Institute, in New York last week "incognito" in an effort to get a little rest, was "spotted" at the Hotel McAlpin and "cornered" in the library of Dr. E. P. Roberts, 130 West 130th street, for this interview. Dr. Moton, a big man physically as well as mentally, came up from the dining room table puffing gently on a big cigar. I handed him my trusty list of typed questions and as he read them I could tell he wouldn't mind answering. He said, however, "I'd like to keep this and send you the answers. It's a good list. One question here reminds me of the discussion this evening over Station WGBS by the National Republican Club. They telephoned me to come down and talk, and I went. The man in charge said had he known I was in New York he would have printed my name on the program. I told him I was glad he didn't, for I would have had to make a formal speech. As it was, I simply told them something about the race question."

Dr. Moton shifted to a more comfortable position in the chair. I enjoyed watching and listening. "As I have grown older," he continued, "I have made up my mind not to try to do as much work as I used to. I never make a speech now unless I have to. Now, this question about education—I have said many times the real purpose of education is to teach human beings to dwell together in peace. And you can't have peace with ten million of a hundred and ten million people unhappy. The ten million may acquiesce or forebear, but there won't be peace until they are treated right."

The formal answers given to my questions by Dr. Moton were these:

1. Question. What, if any, is the new trend in education as compared to, say, ten or fifteen years ago?

Answer. Education is increasingly popular. It is no longer necessary to argue with anyone as to the desirability of education for all classes.

2. Q. How does this affect Negro education?

A. The effect of this upon Negro education has been to secure increasing appropriations from state and municipal funds for Negro schools, resulting in improved facilities, higher standards, better pay and greater efficiency. Especially notable is the increase in provision for work of college grade.

3. Q. What is the present outlook for Negro business?

A. There are larger opportunities for the development of Negro business than ever before. As a matter of fact, there are not enough people of training and experience to make the most of these opportunities.

4. Q. Along what lines does the Negro business man need to improve most?

A. The situation demands a more thorough knowledge of modern, scientific business procedure. Hit-and-miss methods will no longer succeed; business today calls for the same skill and intelligence as are required in other vocations; with the same prospects of success. Such failures as occur from time to time are no more numerous than in other lines of endeavor, and are part of the normal business experience among all peoples.

5. Q. What is the outlook for the Negro farmer?

A. The Negro farmer is sharing in the general improvement of rural conditions in all parts of the country. The national government through the Department of Agriculture is doing a remarkable piece of work in assisting the Negro farmer to increase his production, to market his crops and to improve his living conditions. There is today the same opportunity for the energetic, industrious, capable Negro farmer as for any others, and thousands of them are demonstrating it.

6. Q. Would it be advisable for some who have left the farm to return, and if so, under what conditions?

A. There can be no generalization about Negroes returning to the farm. Economic conditions have generally improved throughout the South, but whether or not it is good for Negroes who have left the farm to return depends upon the individual under consideration.

7. Q. How does the Negro in the North impress you—is he alert to his opportunities, or does he tend to lag behind?

A. Since the great war there has been a marked development of enterprise among Negroes in the North. Most of those who have come recently from the South seem to have adapted themselves satisfactorily to their surroundings; and their presence has given a decided stimulus to Negro life along all lines. Negroes are more and more taking advantage of their opportunities in industry, business, education, home ownership and public welfare, as well as fulfilling acceptably their civic obligations.

8. Q. Are race relations in the South improving, and if so, to what do you attribute the improvement?

A. There is a marked and steady improvement in race relations in all parts of the South, largely the result of a determination of the sober-minded people of both races to remove the obstacles to good will and understanding, along with a steady improvement in the economic condition of all classes.

9. Q. What is your impression of present-day Negro youth?

A. My experience is that those young people whom I touch today are as fine a group to work with as any that I have known in all the years of my service among them. In them the outlook for the race is most promising.

TIMES
WASHINGTON, D. C.
APR 23 1928

NEGROES MUST GIVE MORE FOR FREEDOM, DARROW POINTS OUT

Tells Garden Audience Race Should Cut "Top-Heavy" Funds for Churches.

BISHOP HURST LEAVES AS ATTORNEY SPEAKS

Urges Greater Aid to Groups Working for Uplift Here and Not "In Clouds."

Essential differences between civil and ecclesiastical liberties, as they pertain to the negro in America, were emphasized yesterday by Clarence Darrow, of Chicago, in an open-air address at Suburban Gardens, before the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. He advised the negro to redistribute his top-heavy financial support of the church, and accord a generous measure of it to organizations designed to procure for him a measure of freedom in the world of the present.

As a basis for this advice, he called attention of his audience, approximately 600, who braved the adverse weather conditions, to the history of the negro in America and pointed out that in a period of 300 years several branches of the church had, for the most part, been aligned against wider civil liberties for the negro in the United States.

William Lloyd Garrison and others who espoused the negro's cause, he stated, had continually been denied the use of churches as places of public meeting.

Although the negro, in the past, had been aided greatly by the white people of America toward the advancement which has been made for the future, he said, the negro will be compelled to depend for a large extent on his own efforts.

Bishop Hurst Departs.

This advancement, he indicated, would be measured largely by victories won through financial support of organizations that would carry the struggle for civil liberties into the highest courts of the land.

Influence with the Creator of the Universe, Darrow declared, was limited among the clergy to white preachers and church leaders, who had obtained benefits of civil liberties for their own congregations, while negro preachers had been able to have but scant influence with heaven, as evidenced by meager civil results obtained by the negro in a half century of building of certain branches of the church.

At this point, Bishop John Hurst, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, left the auditorium.

Praises Race's Leaders.

"Your battle," the speaker stated as the bishop went down the aisle, "will be fought here on earth, and victory will never come out of the clouds, for these same heavens witnessed the slave ships in the middle passages, the jettisons and hangings and burnings of negroes at the stake, for 300 years, all in the midst of prayer on prayer, but without relief of this accord."

Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois were lauded as examples of intellectual superiority evidenced among the negro group. Their work as distinct from that of the church, was analyzed.

Neval H. Thomas, president of the Association for Advancement of Colored People, introduced the speaker, and presided. Miss Mary P. Burrill, a teacher at Dunbar High School, opened the meeting with a reading, "Abou Ben Adhem." As colored preachers had closed their churches to Darrow because of alleged agnosticism, the meeting was conducted without any form of religious services.

The Law No Respector of Persons

The following news item is from the ENQUIRER-SUN of Thursday:

"Sallie Hines, Negress, was arrested last night at her home 841 Sixth avenue, charged with violating the prohibition law. A half pint of whiskey was found. The raid was made by Detectives Deadwyler and Cambron and Officer W. C. Jones. (When Sallies Hines was arraigned in recorder's court she was bound over for superior court on a bond of $250.)

In view of what happened to Sallie Hines, a Negro, charged with possessing a half pint of whiskey the following editorial from the Sylvester Ga. *Local* will strike many readers as being to the point:

Asa Candler, Jr., rich idle son of his distinguished father, seems to have gotten off light when customs officers found on his yacht at Miami beach an assortment of wet goods, ranging all the way from fine champagne down to common moonshine. Last reports were that no arrests had been made nor the boat seized. The leniency extended Mr. Candler was probably due to his prominence, or rather the prominence of his family connection. We leave the reader to guess what would have happened if the boat and liquor had belonged to common folks. More than likely the boat would have been seized, and the owner would be in jail awaiting trial and a trip to the federal pen at Atlanta.

Maybe that is what's the matter with the enforcement of the prohibition law—and all other laws as for that matter. It becomes more apparent every day that we have laws for the rich and laws for the poor.

In Georgia we have laws for the rich and influential, laws for the whites, and laws for the Negroes. Rich and influential men charged with crime with a few exceptions manage in some way to escape punishment. White men committing murder are hardly ever executed. Only those without money and influence go to the chair. Negroes are executed promptly. White men violating the prohibition law with few exceptions retain their liberty by paying a fine. Negroes without money or influence go straight to the gang.

Thus is it proved without referring to the Sinclair farce that all men are equal before the law; and, it should be added, that obviously justice is color-blind.

Race Problem - 1928
United States.

Memphis and the Changing South

By N. B. BOND

AFTER almost a decade of wanderings North, East, and West, the National Conference of Social Work again comes South to meet in Memphis, May 2-9. The discerning social worker who looks out over the Mississippi from the Memphis bluffs will see a rapidly changing economic, industrial, and social order now transforming the conservative and relatively isolated South of the past into a land of expanding industry and new social situations. That a new day is dawning no one questions; just what its sun will disclose is anybody's guess. Survey

Previous to 1915 the South experienced a half century of thwarted aspirations which resulted in a psychology that bordered on fatalism. Religionists seized upon the situation and made great headway with predestinarianism and other forms of other-worldliness. Scarcity of coal and iron deposits seemed to close the door to economic freedom; single-crop agriculture with planter, Negro, and poor whites, built class and race traditions doubly fortified by antebellum and reconstruction memories; and, finally, there was set up that peasant-producing process of draining off from a rural South the best of its young men and women. 4-15-28

The psychology and biology of this combination of circumstances was deadening to the entire social structure. The South was in a rut that was becoming a grave. To be sure, in some fertile areas there continued to flourish a local culture and social order but little different from that of the pre-Lincoln era; and these areas have, until the adoption of the direct primary, furnished most southern political leaders. But these areas and leaders have never more than partially represented the real South. The old leadership took all bearings from an order that had passed. and it largely overlooked the great masses of small white farmers in the hills and timbered regions who alone afforded the human potentiality for the building of the New South. These had little or no leadership. Their agriculture was not business enterprise but a self-sufficing farming which afforded only a bare existence. By and large they had no outlook, and an introverted psychology dominated. Hence the natural urges found expression in channels not altogether wholesome. Vol. LX, No. 2.

Slowly capital from the North began to seek the pine and hardwood forests of the South, limited however to extractive phases. Thus the process of industrialization began. Then followed a period marked by a gradual comprehension of the industrial possibilities of the South and a slow emerging of the new southern bourgeoisie. Agricultural colleges were teaching diversification and the benefits of dairying. New York, N.Y.

Then came the most potent factor that has yet appeared in southern life, namely, high tension transmission of hydro-electric power. This opened the door to economic freedom, and it has made possible a wholesome balance between agriculture and manufacturing. It has revolutionized the entire southern outlook and is rapidly affecting industrialization with its concomitant and resultant situations. While the South is predominantly rural and agricultural and will doubtless continue so in large degree, it is now recognized by all who carefully view the possibilities that industrialization and urbanization will be limited only by the energy and initiative of Southerners and any greater desirability of agriculture that may develop. Add to this the congestion of population, industry, and capital now being felt in some other sections and it becomes (*Continued on page* 133)

MEMPHIS AND THE CHANGING SOUTH

(*Continued from page* 89)

apparent that a new epoch of southern history is in the making. It is charged with dazzling possibilities, and it stands as a unique opportunity for social engineering which is without parallel in American history. Survey

If southern people will see the new economic order as but the foundation of a new social order that may be largely reshaped as they choose, they can direct the course of developments and build as they will the New South. 4-15-28

Hitherto social work has been little better than taboo in some sections of the South. To many it suggested the Freedman's Bureau and kindred ideas. Thus mutual aid has persisted long after it ceased to meet adequately the social problems of a complex society. Some southern states are doing practically nothing about feeblemindedness, and some with a population of one million Negroes have not a single child-caring institution for Negroes. On the other hand, there are some excellent examples of pioneering, and it may be boldly stated that some valuable contributions to social technology have been made by the South. These facts only emphasize the need and opportunities in the social field which now confront southern people. While in point of time the South has been slow to employ the social worker or even to teach the social sciences, this backwardness today is but a virgin field for policies and techniques that have been tested elsewhere.

The benefits of the meeting of the National Conference in Memphis will be in proportion to the attendance of southern leaders. Institutions, civic organizations, luncheon clubs, professional societies, churches, colleges, and universities should see to a full and representative attendance. The South can now adopt policies of prevention that will save millions of dollars in remedial expense and effect vast social conservation. And Southerners will give the conference a great southern welcome. New York, N.Y.

(*In answering advertisement.*

14th, 15th And 18th

It is remarkably strange how strong partisan adherance to any cause, good or bad, may warp the balance of logical thinking.

Liberty that mushroom like progeny of modern magazine journalism, has an editorial page in which at times it says some interesting things. In its June 2nd issue, in an attempt to flay present day prohibition and the 18th Amendment it has the following:

"The question asked by some people about these amendments to the Constitution is: If the Fourteenth and Fifteenth can be nullified by States which do not want the Negro to vote, why cannot the Eighteenth be nullified by States which do not want to be told what they shall do about drinking?

"To this the proponents of enforcing the Eighteenth reply that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth are not nullified in the letter of the law—only in spirit.

"Mr. Dooley, that sapient philosopher, observed that not only does the Constitution follow the flag, but the Supreme Court follows the election returns.

"This is what has happened. The South has announced that it will not deal with any party that gets the Negro vote. The North, while permitting the Negro to vote, sees what happens in the South and adopts a policy of "hands off."

"And let us say right here we think they are right in doing it. In view of the horrors of Reconstruction, we do not believe the Negro should vote in the South. When he did vote there, he brought civilization almost back to savagery.

Few Caucasians in this country seriously believe that the Negro should vote in any State where he is apt to get control. And the Caucasians of this country have lived up to that belief.

In such States the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendements have been nullified and the Supreme Court has sanctioned such annulment.

* * * * * *

"We believe the time is coming when States that want it will be allowed latitude in interpreting the Constitution. The South will have no Negro suffrage. The urban East will be wet. And the agrarian Western States which believe in all three of these amendments, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Eighteenth, will be permitted to enjoy them to the full within their own borders."

Despite the existence of much evidence to show that political leaders, parties and governmental agencies have lacked the courage to enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments, it is difficult to believe that the dominant American spirit follows the above deduction and logic.

In plainer language it means that any section of the country may make a scrap of paper out of any part of the Constitution which does not agree with its own conceived wishes.

Such a course might easily degenerate into a condition where not only sections of the country defied laws, but groups and even individuals would claim the right to disregard any law that did not coincide with their own selfish interests.

There may be two sides to the question as to the 18th Amendment, in its attempt to cram its dose of morals down the throats of individuals, but there can be but one safe side to the question that as long as it is a law on the statute book of this country, it should be enforced. As to the 14th and 15th Amendments, there can be no question either as to their wisdom or enforcement if the fundamental American ideals are to endure.

And speaking of the reconstruction period when the group voted in the South, it may be admitted that at that time they were untutored in the devious ways of politics and made the same mistakes that any similarly trained group would make, but a careful study of the records will show that even so, they never sunk to the depths of governmental prostitution that some other Americans have done since reconstruction.

They never produced a Tweed nor Tammany; They never instituted a machine gun government nor a teapot dome administration. At heart the majority of Negro reconstruction leaders were true hearted Americans.

Race Problem - 1928
United States.

Memphis and the Changing South

By N. B. BOND

AFTER almost a decade of wanderings North, East, and West, the National Conference of Social Work again comes South to meet in Memphis, May 2-9. The discerning social worker who looks out over the Mississippi from the Memphis bluffs will see a rapidly changing economic, industrial, and social order now transforming the conservative and relatively isolated South of the past into a land of expanding industry and new social situations. That a new day is dawning no one questions; just what its sun will disclose is anybody's guess. Survey

Previous to 1915 the South experienced a half century of thwarted aspirations which resulted in a psychology that bordered on fatalism. Religionists seized upon the situation and made great headway with predestinarianism and other forms of other-worldliness. Scarcity of coal and iron deposits seemed to close the door to economic freedom; single-crop agriculture with planter, Negro, and poor whites, built class and race traditions doubly fortified by antebellum and reconstruction memories; and, finally, there was set up that peasant-producing process of draining off from a rural South the best of its young men and women. 4-15-28

The psychology and biology of this combination of circumstances was deadening to the entire social structure. The South was in a rut that was becoming a grave. To be sure, in some fertile areas there continued to flourish a local culture and social order but little different from that of the pre-Lincoln era; and these areas have, until the adoption of the direct primary, furnished most southern political leaders. But these areas and leaders have never more than partially represented the real South. The old leadership took all bearings from an order that had passed, and it largely overlooked the great masses of small white farmers in the hills and timbered regions who alone afforded the human potentiality for the building of the New South. These had little or no leadership. Their agriculture was not business enterprise but a self-sufficing farming which afforded only a bare existence. By and large they had no outlook, and an introverted psychology dominated. Hence the natural urges found expression in channels not altogether wholesome. Vol. LX, No. 2.

Slowly capital from the North began to seek the pine and hardwood forests of the South, limited however to extractive phases. Thus the process of industrialization began. Then followed a period marked by a gradual comprehension of the industrial possibilities of the South and a slow emerging of the new southern bourgeoisie. Agricultural colleges were teaching diversification and the benefits of dairying. New York, N.Y.

Then came the most potent factor that has yet appeared in southern life, namely, high tension transmission of hydro-electric power. This opened the door to economic freedom, and it has made possible a wholesome balance between agriculture and manufacturing. It has revolutionized the entire southern outlook and is rapidly affecting industrialization with its concomitant and resultant situations. While the South is predominantly rural and agricultural and will doubtless continue so in large degree, it is now recognized by all who carefully view the possibilities that industrialization and urbanization will be limited only by the energy and initiative of Southerners and any greater desirability of agriculture that may develop. Add to this the congestion of population, industry, and capital now being felt in some other sections and it becomes (*Continued on page* 133)

MEMPHIS AND THE CHANGING SOUTH

(*Continued from page* 89)

apparent that a new epoch of southern history is in the making. It is charged with dazzling possibilities, and it stands as a unique opportunity for social engineering which is without parallel in American history. Survey

If southern people will see the new economic order as but the foundation of a new social order that may be largely reshaped as they choose, they can direct the course of developments and build as they will the New South. 4-15-28

Hitherto social work has been little better than taboo in some sections of the South. To many it suggested the Freedman's Bureau and kindred ideas. Thus mutual aid has persisted long after it ceased to meet adequately the social problems of a complex society. Some southern states are doing practically nothing about feeblemindedness, and some with a population of one million Negroes have not a single child-caring institution for Negroes. On the other hand, there are some excellent examples of pioneering, and it may be boldly stated that some valuable contributions to social technology have been made by the South. These facts only emphasize the need and opportunities in the social field which now confront southern people. While in point of time the South has been slow to employ the social worker or even to teach the social sciences, this backwardness today is but a virgin field for policies and techniques that have been tested elsewhere.

The benefits of the meeting of the National Conference in Memphis will be in proportion to the attendance of southern leaders. Institutions, civic organizations, luncheon clubs, professional societies, churches, colleges, and universities should see to a full and representative attendance. The South can now adopt policies of prevention that will save millions of dollars in remedial expense and effect vast social conservation. And Southerners will give the conference a great southern welcome.

(*In answering advertisement.*

14th, 15th And 18th

It is remarkably strange how strong partisan adherance to any cause, good or bad, may warp the balance of logical thinking.

Liberty that mushroom like progeny of modern magazine journalism, has an editorial page in which at times it says some interesting things. In its June 2nd issue, in an attempt to flay present day prohibition and the 18th Amendment it has the following:

"The question asked by some people about these amendments to the Constitution is: If the Fourteenth and Fifteenth can be nullified by States which do not want the Negro to vote, why cannot the Eighteenth be nullified by States which do not want to be told what they shall do about drinking?

"To this the proponents of enforcing the Eighteenth reply that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth are not nullified in the letter of the law—only in spirit.

"Mr. Dooley, that sapient philosopher, observed that not only does the Constitution follow the flag, but the Supreme Court follows the election returns.

"This is what has happened. The South has announced that it will not deal with any party that gets the Negro vote. The North, while permitting the Negro to vote, sees what happens in the South and adopts a policy of "hands off."

"And let us say right here we think they are right in doing it. In view of the horrors of Reconstruction, we do not believe the Negro should vote in the South. When he did vote there, he brought civilization almost back to savagery.

Few Caucasians in this country seriously believe that the Negro should vote in any State where he is apt to get control. And the Caucasians of this country have lived up to that belief.

In such States the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendements have been nullified and the Supreme Court has sanctioned such annulment.

* * * * * *

"We believe the time is coming when States that want it will be allowed latitude in interpreting the Constitution. The South will have no Negro suffrage. The urban East will be wet. And the agrarian Western States which believe in all three of these amendments, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Eighteenth, will be permitted to enjoy them to the full within their own borders."

Despite the existence of much evidence to show that political leaders, parties and governmental agencies have lacked the courage to enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments, it is difficult to believe that the dominant American spirit follows the above deduction and logic.

In plainer language it means that any section of the country may make a scrap of paper out of any part of the Constitution which does not agree with its own conceived wishes.

Such a course might easily degenerate into a condition where not only sections of the country defied laws, but groups and even individuals would claim the right to disregard any law that did not coincide with their own selfish interests.

There may be two sides to the question as to the 18th Amendment, in its attempt to cram its dose of morals down the throats of individuals, but there can be but one safe side to the question that as long as it is a law on the statute book of this country, it should be enforced. As to the 14th and 15th Amendments, there can be no question either as to their wisdom or enforcement if the fundamental American ideals are to endure.

And speaking of the reconstruction period when the group voted in the South, it may be admitted that at that time they were untutored in the devious ways of politics and made the same mistakes that any similarly trained group would make, but a careful study of the records will show that even so, they never sunk to the depths of governmental prostitution that some other Americans have done since reconstruction.

They never produced a Tweed nor Tammany; They never instituted a machine gun government nor a teapot dome administration. At heart the majority of Negro reconstruction leaders were true hearted Americans.

Heflin Renews Tirades On Al Smith; Takes Racial Question For Remarks

By RUSSELL KENT
Special Correspondent for The Montgomery Advertiser

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Taking a new course in his attempts to head off Gov. Al Smith from the Democratic presidential nomination, Senator Tom Heflin, of Alabama, today presented a series of questions to the New York executive regarding his attitude on the race question in a speech in the Senate

When the Dyer anti-lynching bill was up for passage, the Alabama senator said, "Tammany Democrats in the House failed to vote against the measure with their Democratic colleagues from the South."

"Gov. Smith, what is your position and the position of your so-called Tammany Democrats, Mayor Walker and others, on the question of social equality between negroes and white people?" asked Senator Heflin. The speaker quoted from the Manufacturers Record to the effect that a representative of that publication recently visited three public dance halls in New York City and saw negroes and whites dancing with each other.

Senator Heflin first launched into an analysis of the California primary result, saying that less than half of the Democratic voters participate, which to his mind indicated a dangerous tendency of Democrats to remain away from the polls in fear of an unwelcome candidate being forced upon them. Smith could not carry 13 states, Senator Heflin predicted, though he avoided saying he would either bolt the party or refrain from voting if Smith were the nominee. He declared "vast sums" were being spent in Smith's behalf in North Carolina and elsewhere and demanded a close inquiry into this "slush fund" by the senatorial committee. "Small states which never cast more than a handful of Democratic votes are giving Smith their convention delegates," he continued, touching then upon the Roman Catholic political machine. When it came to the race question, Senator Heflin read his remarks from a prepared speech, an extremely unusual course with him and one regarded as significant of his desire to make this point an issue and to be assured of absolute accuracy in the quotations from his remarks. This section of the speech started with an assault upon Secretary of Commerce Hoover for his non-segregation order, then rapidly came to the questions seeking to put Gov. Smith on record.

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, followed with a comment that he had been told, friends of both Hoover and Smith had promised that a negro would be put in the cabinet if either were elected president. But said he didn't believe the report although ready to believe it at least about Hoover.

The impression from Senator Heflin's remarks today was that he has gone even farther from any possibility of supporting the Democratic national ticket this year if Gov. Smith heads it.

INTELLIGENCER
WHEELING, W. VA.

APR 25 1928

NEGRO RESENTS DARROW'S VIEW

CHURCH BISHOP LEAVES AUDIENCE AS ATTORNEY CITES RACE ADVANCEMENT

SIDES ENTRENCHING FOR COMING BIG BATTLE OVER LIQUOR QUESTION

By CHARLES BROOKS SMITH
(Staff Correspondent)

Washington, D. C., April 24.—The Association for Advancement of Colored People was not successful in securing one of the local churches of the race in which to present Clarence Darrow, so he spoke to a large audience of colored folk outdoors at Suburban Gardens, summer amusement park for colored Washingtonians.

"Your battle," he told them, "will be fought here on earth, and victory will never come out of the clouds, for these same heavens witnessed the slave ships in the middle passages, the jettisons and hangings and burnings of negroes at the stake for 300 years, all in the midst of prayer on prayer, but without relief of this accord."

As this was being spoken, a fine figure of a black man, head held high and eyes flashing, walked down the aisle and out. He was the Rev. Dr. John Hurst, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

Driving a Wedge.

The organization referred to has been recently successful in making definite progress toward abolishing segregation of races in several of the bureaus of the government and is following up its initial victories with encouraged energy. Taking advantage of Secretary Hoover's great ambition to be President, the two races are no longer separated in the Census Bureau. They are mixed. This is the reason why Senator Cole Blease has been attacking Mr. Hoover from his place in the upper chamber of the Congress. The new order is not popular in Washington, it goes without saying. Indignation of the local public is aroused. While the policy of segregation of races in the government departments may be abolished, it will be restored. It may not take place until after next November. But it will take place.

Another aim of the organization in question is to force a reluctant government to take steps to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. They are dead letters down South. Acting through Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts, the organization is asking Hoover, Lowden, Curtis, Watson, Goff, Norris, Smith, Reed, Ritchie, and Walsh what they would do about it if President. Letters from Tinkham to them have gone forward. He declares that the two amendments are nullified in the South and that this "nullification results in dishonest and unconstitutional elections to Congress and saints with fraud and illegitimacy the election of a President."

Big Battle Brewing.

The Anti-Saloon League's most formidable rival in the political field —the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment— makes formal announcement to the public of a reorganization. Coming at this time, the captains of the two major parties are probing suspiciously to ascertain what, if any, significance this reorganization may have in relation to their respective plans and concerns.

The list of the new board of directors reads like "Who's Who" or pages from Dunn's and Bradstreet's. They number 100, all noted financial and industrial leaders, representing forty billion dollars and employing 2,000,000 people, it is estimated. Reading the list of names, we are inclined to believe that the estimate is not too much over-done. Major Henry W. Curren supplants Captain William H. Stayton as president. The latter becomes chairman of the board.

There is mystery here. Something big is on. Men of the high standing and tremendous power represented by these picked 100 do not band together except when they "mean business." The statement issued by Major Curran seems restrained; there is a feeling that it does not tell all, not by a long shot.

The League, as this is written, no doubt is preparing its interpretation for the public. It's a safe guess it scents a Titanic struggle forthcoming. When two such mighty organizations as these two get set for a fight, the public may with good reason expect to see a "battle of the century" which will out-Rickard any thing of the kind ever staged by that $2,000,000 gate impresario.

A Million In a Week

Two days after adjournment of the thirty-seventh Continental Congress of the D. A. R. the high officers meet to plan to spend $1,000,000 which they raised at the Congress on a new building to be known as Constitution Hall. It is one of the proofs of the greatness of this women's organization, as well as one of the sure indexes to the amazing wealth of this country, that it is able to raise $1,000,000 "in no time." It is a reasonable guess that no other women's organization in the world—and few organizations of men—could equal this feat.

"When greater perils men inviron,
Then women show a front of iron;
And, gentle in their manner, they
Do bold things in a quiet way."

This society of 168,000 women, bound by the common tie of sound and commonsense patriotism, sharing on terms of equality in the same ancestry, has long ago outgrown the capacity of spacious and beautiful Continental Hall. Now they must have a more spacious and more majestic chamber in which to hold their annual Congress. What more appropriate name could they select for their new edifice than Constitution Hall!

Wild Woods

This is Forest Week, formally opened by the President. One hundred organizations will in many ways attempt to arouse public interest in tree-planting and forests preservation. Preparations have been in progress for it for months, the Federal government acting through the Department of Agriculture leading the way. American soldier boys who fought for and lived with the French learned lots about trees and to appreciate their value to a nation and its people. They learned it from the French pepple. In France, when one tree falls or is cut down, there is one planted to take its place. It is the law of that land. There, the most ignorant peasant has an intelligent comprehension of the utilitarian value of trees; such being true he must instinctively feel the spiritual and beauty value of them, as well.

Bryant wrote this "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood:"

Stranger, if thou hast learned a truth which needs
No school of long experience, that the world
Is full of guilt and misery, and hast seen.
Enough of all its sorrows, crimes and cares,
To tire thee of it, enter this wild wood
And view the haunts of Nature. The calm shade
Shall bring a kindred calm, and the sweet breeze
That makes the green leaves dance, shall waft a balm.
To thy sick heart.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

THE BLACK FOOTBALL

Pittsburg Courier 1/28/28

It is very evident that there is a national political campaign approaching. Our newspapers are beginning to carry political propaganda for one candidate or another and the colored men are beginning to collect on street corners to discuss the merits and demerits of candidates; and our newspapers are being flooded with propaganda by cheap hirelings who get a few dollars for boosting certain candidates. In addition to this type of activity we note our senators are arising on the floor, pretending serious attitudes toward the rights of the Negro and threatening the South with certain political punishment in order to make themselves temporarily popular.

We note with considerable amusement that the Senate is being entertained again by southern senators who seem to get considerable enjoyment out of kicking the Negro voter around as a pretext for white supremacy. It seems to us that the southern senators are unfair to the Negro when they proceed to kick him around simply because some northern senator talks about Negro disfranchisement in the South. We have often wondered whether the southern senators ever thought of the real cause back of the reconstruction evils. The Negroes were used as governors, senators, congressmen and whatnot, but the North was responsible and not the Negro. The South, after the reconstruction, cleaned house and drove all Negroes from office and they passed certain qualification laws in order to prevent a return of the Negro to public office in the South. The records do not disclose that Negroes themselves have attempted to take over the South. The records do not show that Negroes in the North have attempted to overthrow white supremacy. The records do not show that Negroes have sought to violate any of the laws enacted against them. The Negroes, on the other hand, have submitted calmly and without violations to every type of law the South has enacted for the purpose of maintaining white supremacy.

We cannot understand nor can we appreciate why the South insists upon kicking the Negro for something the white North has done. The South seems to think that the Negro should be punished for the sins of the white North. Every time somebody mentions Negro disfranchisement the South very guardedly refrains from attacking the North, but jumps headlong upon the Negro and heaps all kinds of vituperations upon the Negro; refers to him in all kinds of uncomplimentary terms and issues new declarations of opposition and does other frothing which would lead the world to believe that the Negro is threatening to take the United States Government in hand sometime during the year 1928. This is veritable bunk.

The more intelligent men of the South are seeking cooperation between the races and were it not for such men as Heflin and Blease—and thank God they are passing—there would be a better understanding between the races in the South as well as between the races of the North, and the Negro would cease to be the football for cowardly senators who really want to cuss the North but for want of courage pick out the Negro as their object of attack. A case in point arises out of the state of Virginia. Just last week a real white man, with the good of his state and nation at heart, offered a resolution intended to abolish lynching in the state of Virginia. We refer to Governor Byrd. Governor Byrd has the support of the well-thinking white people of Virginia and if allowed to proceed in an orderly fashion he would set a precedent in this country which would bring about a better understanding and a closer co-operation between the groups without any injury to the so-called white supremacy of this country. But a senator from Virginia arises in the Senate and leads the country to believe that the only thing to do is to remind the world that the Negro is to be oppressed, kept down and kicked about as the real national menace. The better element of the whites of this country don't agree with this attitude and ere long the young blood of the South is going to recoil from the Heflins and the Bleases and their kind, and they are going to take charge of their country and assert themselves for right, and justice, and a square break for all citizens; and when they do, this country will get started toward the goal of an improved civilization.

N. Y. WORLD

JAN 26 1928

WHEN CHURCHMEN GET TOGETHER

An interesting sidelight has been thrown on "nullification" and "enforcement" by events taking place in the annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, now being held in Cleveland.

On Monday it was proposed to adopt a resolution demanding enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Sentiment on this point was reported to be unanimous. A hitch occurred, however, when delegates of some of the Negro churches proposed that the committee also go on record as demanding enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, giving Negroes in the South the right to vote. No sooner had this proposal been made than the Rev. Dr. George C. Summy of New Orleans was on his feet with an objection. "Now, let's be careful," Dr. Summy said, "lest we touch matters of a political nature and commit ourselves to something that will soil the garments of the Bride of Christ." It does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Summy that there was anything "of a political nature" in Prohibition. At any rate, consideration of the whole question was deferred till Tuesday.

On Tuesday the matter was brought up again and two resolutions were adopted. One demands "effective enforcement of the Prohibition Law." The other demands "honest enforcement of the Constitution, including all the amendments," but fails to specify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in particular, despite the fact that the Negro delegates pleaded that this special mention was the whole point of their effort.

It seems, therefore, the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches can name names in the matter of the Eighteenth Amendment, but not in the matter of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth. The incident is instructive.

FEDERAL COUNCIL URGES THAT ALL LAW BE ENFORCED

Negro Delegates Win In Fight For 14th and 15th Amendments

Cleveland, O.—Negro delegates to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America won a decided victory here on Tuesday when they forced the adoption of a resolution calling for the strict enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments, as well as the 18th, contrary to the wishes of many of the Southern white delegates.

The original resolution covered only the 18th (the prohibition law), but Bishop George C. Clement of Louisville, Dr. Joseph I. Vance of Detroit and Dr. Charles C. Morrison of Chicago made a strong fight for inclusion of the 14th and 15th as well, and the fight was carried over from Monday to Tuesday before it was settled. 1-29-28

The resolution as adopted reads:

"The question of enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment has become an outstanding moral issue in America to-day and has raised the question of obedience to the fundamental law of our land, including all amendments to the Constitution, particularly the Fourteenth and Fifteenth.

"We therefore, recommend that the executive committee of this body go on record as indorsing an honest enforcement of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, including especially the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth."

TIMES

JAN 25 1928

CHURCHMEN BACK ALL AMENDMENTS

Federal Council Amends Dry Resolution to Meet Negro Delegates' Demands.

KELLOGG TREATY ENDORSED

Proposal to Give the President Power to Suspend Naval Building Is Approved.

Special to The New York Times.

CLEVELAND, Jan. 24.—"Honest enforcement of the Constitution, including all amendments," was today endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which yesterday failed to endorse enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment because a division arose among the delegates over the inclusion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in the same resolution.

The same resolution was submitted in revised form today, not specifically designating any amendment, and passed. Negro delegates expressed frank disappointment that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were not specifically mentioned in the resolution but, nevertheless, supported it.

Near the close of the session Bishop James A. Cannon Jr. of Richmond, Va., representing the Southern Methodists, introduced a long statement on prohibition which embodied a resolution which was also passed. It pledged the Federal Council to the "hearty, active, continuous cooperation with the Federal and State Governments to secure the observance and effective enforcement of the prohibition law."

The council, through the Executive Committee, reaffirmed its stand for international peace and the reduction of armaments. The committee in its resolution also approves the "proposal to give to the President the authority to suspend or restrict our naval building program when, in his judgment, such suspension or restriction will lead to corresponding action by other nations."

Peace Treaty Endorsed.

The committee also pledged its support to President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg in efforts for the negotiation of a "multi-lateral treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy."

The committee failed to pass any resolution concerning the policy of the United States toward Mexico and the Latin countries, referring this question to the Administrative Committee to be reported on at a later meeting.

Approval was given to a movement to have the children of the United States send friendship school bags to the children of Mexico on much the same basis as the "good-will dolls" were sent to Japan.

Cleveland was proposed today as the site for a great interdenominational church congress in 1930 to develop a spiritual and evangelical program that would "recapture the imagination" of the youth of the United States.

"We must heed the challenge of the increasing number of young people who are wandering away from the church, embracing agnosticism and atheism and becoming permanently lost to the church," said the Rev. Dr. William R. King, Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council, in urging the need for such a congress.

The congress was also endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Women's Council for Home Missions. All three church bodies closed their annual meetings here today.

Appeal to Youth Planned.

Six commissions will spend the next two years in working out a program that will appeal to youth, which will be presented at the congress two years hence. Student religious groups from all over the United States will be asked to contribute suggestions of religious appeals that would attract youth.

"We, the churches of the United States, must do something big and adventurous to appeal to the spirit of youth," said Dr. King. "It has been our fault that the young people have lost their former zeal for the Church and its work. We must win them back, and we can by matching their intelligent constructive thinking with a program equally intelligent."

A program for extending the Christianizing of young Jews in the United States who have wandered away from their synagogues brought about a sharp division of opinion at sessions of the Home Missions Council.

"Thousands of Jews are wandering away from their synagogues and present a challenge to the evangelization program of the Christian Church," declared the Rev. Dr. John S. Conning, superintendent of Jewish evangelization of the Presbyterian Church.

Rev. Dr. Ernest M. Halliday, General Secretary of the Church Extension Board of the Congregational Church, took sharp issue with Dr. Conning.

"When it comes to going to the Jewish people and trying to get them to give up their faith, the background of our own religion, I would have no faith in such a program. Their modern church is influenced by ours, they sing the same old religious songs and worship the same God. I would say to a young Jew who has left his synagogue: 'Go back to your rabbi and your synagogue, and the God you and I hold in common.'"

Consideration of juvenile problems and law enforcement occupied attention of the Women's Council for Home Missions today.

The Federal Council's total estimated budget of $301,820 for 1928 was approved. The invitation of Rochester, N. Y., for the Federal Council to hold its quadrennial meeting in that city beginning Dec. 5 was accepted. This meeting will also mark the twentieth anniversary of the council.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JAN 24 1928

THE NEGRO AND OUR SAHARA.

The shadow of the suppressed negro, falling fitfully on the sandpiles of our Eighteenth Amendment Sahara, amuses the moralist who is given to metaphors. There's always an African in the bushes and he springs out to cast the shadow whenever the "enforcing of all laws" is invoked as a principle to keep moisture out of the sandpiles.

By a curious coincidence, on the same day that the negro's shadow darkened counsel at the Cleveland conference of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, it was clouding discussion in the Senate of the United States. There isn't any flesh-and-blood negro in the Senate, but in the Council the Afro-American Churches cannot be wholly ignored.

So at Cleveland a resolution of compromise had been drawn up advocating "an honest enforcement of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, including especially the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth amendments." Representatives of the white churches of the South were up in arms at once, declaring that this was "introducing politics," and they were strong enough to have the resolution recommitted to the sub-committee. The representatives of the colored religionists argued in vain that the resolution should be passed "on the ground that it would give the colored churches confidence, in a sense of security of co-operation by the white churches, on one of their major problems." The white religionists insisted that no State in the South had any election law that was not within the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, otherwise the law would have been voided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Precisely the same point was made by Senator Glass of Virginia on the floor of the Senate. Senator Borah agreed. He had examined every one of the Southern election laws and found nothing unconstitutional in them. Senator Swanson had precipitated the debate by treating seriously a Republican threat to cut down the representation of the Southern States where the negroes do not vote. Glass said: "I am tired of this threat of universal negro suffrage. I want to serve notice that neither the Senator [he was answering Bruce of Maryland] nor any of his associates can constrain or restrain Virginia in her attitude upon this question." Swanson said:

> The South is resolved and determined * * * that the sores of reconstruction shall never reappear to afflict her. Suffrage laws, legal and constitutional, are and always will be invoked to save this fair portion of our Nation from being again blighted by the rule of corruption and ignorance.

Yet there was no real answer to the hint of Bruce that if by legal ingenuity the South could nullify two amendments, "we have the right by any lawful means to escape the tyrannous oppression of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act."

Both at Cleveland and in the Senate, of course, the Southerners were begging the question. No constitutional provision is self-enforcing. Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment says that when the right to vote is denied (not "denied by law") to any of the male inhabitants of a State over 21 years of age, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State." Denial by chicanery or force is ground for the Congressional action not yet taken. Denial by laws otherwise constitutional offers such ground. And Swanson and Glass boast in effect that just such denial is in existence.

HARTFORD, CONN

Courant

APR 13 1928

Political, Not Social Equality Negro Aim Pastor Tells Women

Equality in civil rights rather than social equality with their white neighbors is what the educated and self-respecting Negroes demand, Rev. William N. DuBarry, pastor of St. John's Congregational Church, Springfield told members of the race relations committee of the Hartford Y. W. C. A. at the association Thursday night.

No self-respecting Negro, Mr. DuBarry said, would want to intrude where his presence would be offensive to others. But at the same time, he argued, whites who treat Negroes as social equals should not be penalized by other white men for so doing.

Negroes do demand political rights, Mr. DuBarry declared; the right to vote and to share in the public benefits to which they contribute in taxes. He reminded his hearers of the part played in the war by Negro soldiers and of the successes Negroes are making in the sphere of business, telling of the growth of Negro insurance companies, banks and manufacturing establishments.

Mr. DuBarry has been pastor of the Springfield church for 28 years and recently was awarded the Harmon Prize, given for outstanding accomplishment in religious work by a member of the Negro race. He spoke Thursday in place of Miss Crystal Bird, who was unable to appear.

Miss Emma Welcher presided in place of Mrs. Edward H. Lorenz, and the speaker was introduced by Mrs. Walter Murray. Music was furnished by a trio composed of Miriam Gulesserian and Gerald Gregor, violinists, and Saturn Hagopian, pianist.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

The Political Pot and Kettle

By KELLY MILLER

WHO are the more unpatriotic—those who nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, or those who nullify the Eighteenth Amendment? Is William A. McAdoo or Nicholas Murray Butler the greater defender or defamer of the Constitution? The ex-Secretary of the Treasury declares that those who nullify the prohibition amendment are traitors. The rejoinder is certain and swift. Mr. McAdoo sought the presidency on the overt proclamation basis of ignoring the Civil War amendments. If President Butler is not a traitor, then what is he?

N.Y.

The pot calls the kettle black as a protective device against the stigma of its own blackness. When the ugly epithet is applied, however justiably, the uncomfortable recipient relieves his feelings by calling his assailant "another one."

For more than two generations the Democratic Party has had a traditionally bad reputation. It has been stigmatized as the party of slavery, disunion and rebellion. Its name has been stained by its espousal of the unrighteous cause in the Civil War. On the other hand, the Grand Old Party was conceived in righteousness and nurtured in liberty. The two moral attitudes have been regarded as being as far apart as right and wrong in ethics.

The late Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, is said to have asserted, in the heat of a campaign, that a Republican horse thief was better than a Democratic Sunday school superintendent. On being taken to task by a sensitive personal Democratic friend, he sought to appease the offended party by explaining that the validity of a logical deduction depends upon the correctness of the premise. Since there was no such thing in Kansas as a Republican horse thief or a Democratic Sunday school superintendent the comparison had no validity.

But since the early day the Republican Party has been sinking in the scale of moral reputation while its adversary has been steadily rising. Indeed the minority always has the moral advantage over the responsible majority. The party harnessed with concrete responsibility will use expedient means to accomplish governmental ends which the irresponsible minority will criticise as unethical.

The Grand Old Party has proved apostate to the rights of man. It has allowed the Democratic adversary to jockey it into the less righteous side in almost every controversy. It has opposed freer trade, which merely means fairer trade. It took away the independence of Hawaii, the Philippines, Hayti, San Domingo, Mexico and Nicaragua, while the Democrats for the most part stood for self-sovereignty. The Republican Party would make the stars and stripes a trademark to build up mammoth wealth and material aggrandizement, according to the charge of its political adversary. The League of Nations was espoused by the party of Jefferson Davis and John C. Calhoun, and frustrated by the followers of Lincoln and Sumner.

For the past three years the Democrats have been turning heaven and earth to expose graft and corruption in the Govemnment under the preceding administration; the Republicans have stood by without a word of moral indignation. The Democratic Party, four years ago, split over the issue of the Ku Klux Klan; the Republican majority started an investigation in the Senate which came to a sudden and fruitless end under circumstances which gave rise to suspicion of guilty complicity.

On the issue of prohibition, which is merely a question of obedience of the law, the anchor of the Grand Old Party will be made to hold within the veil, while that of its rival threatens to be rent in twain. On the matter of excessive campaign funds, the moral advantage falls on the side of the Democratic Party. In face of all of these things the party of Lincoln, Grant and Sumner can no longer fall back on the moral grandeur of days past and gone, but must face the judgment in its more recent commitments. As the parties now stand, there is crimination and recrimination with like justification on both sides.

The Negro race has been fed on partisan prejudice from time immemorial. The Negro politician's mind is of the Bourbon type; it

— Kelly Miller —

neither learns nor forgets; it merely remembers. In my boyhood days in South Carolina I was fed on the doctrine of political prejudice. No good thing could come from Democrats and no evil thing from the Republicans. At that time the one was at its best, while the other was at its worst. The two have been gravitating to a common moral plane ever since.

And yet it still seems true that the Grand Old Party seems to be the black man's best friend. The Negro's mind is hardly given to profound analysis. He usually takes occurrences on their face value. Nearly every unfriendly measure introduced in Congress and every unkindly word uttered against the colored race comes from one section of the Democratic Party. But after all this is a matter of latitude rather than political alignment. I can recall but few exceptions to the general rule.

The Negro citizens of the Distict of Columbia woke up one morning and found that an anti-miscegenation bill had been introduced by Republicans that had passed that body almost unanimously without discussion. I can also recall that Congressman Sears, of Texas, saved the appropriation to Howard University against the assault of an aggressive group of western Republicans. It might also be stated in this connection that the late Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, upon his own request, introduced a bill carrying half a million dollars for a new Freedmen's Hospital building. Congressman Blanton, of Texas, the other day, made a spirited defense of the Howard University appropriation when it was objected to by a fellow Democrat from Mississippi.

These instances are like the oasis in the desert. But even the reflecting Negro cannot go on forever repeating poll-parrot-like the political maxims of two generations ago. He must catch the political mannas living as they rise. He must learn to appraise and opportion good and evil according to their present worth.

The Republican Party is charged with bad faith in reviving agitation over the enforcement of the Civil War amendments as retaliation for being accused of failure to uphold the prohibition provision. The poor Negro had been deprived of his consitutional rights for fully a generation without any serious protest. The North had become as silent as the grave over this dead political issue. The South might go on violating the Constitution to its heart's content, so long as it remained silent on the political sins of the North. Is this retaliatory threat in good faith, or is it merely a meaningless gesture to forefend southern criticism?

The die is cast. Senator Swanson, of Virginia, has declared from his place on the floor of the Senate that the South neither intends to obey the spirit of the Fifteenth Amendment nor to accept the penalty of the Fourteenth. For the sake of saving discussion, let us grant that the revised constitutions do by devious devices square themselves with the technical letter of the Fifteenth Amendment, whose validity has been repeatedly upheld by the Supreme Court.

Yet the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment is as plain as the fingers on the hand. The Constitution provides that any state which cuts down the franchise for any reason whatsoever shall have its representation cut down in proportion. Any state which excludes citizens of the proper and of the male sex must suffer the penalty for such exclusion. Now there are at least seven southern states which overtly make such exclusion on grounds of property and intellectual tests. The Congress is given power to enforce this amendment. But Congress does not exercise this obligation and the law remains unenforced.

No one expects the culprit to execute the law against himself. None but the political fool would expect the South to urge reduction against its own weight and influence in the Government. But when a representative of the South, speaking for that section, defiantly declares that they will not stand for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is high time for the majority to act or forever thereafter hold its peace as to the sacredness or integrity of the Constitution.

The Constitution will become a scrap of paper indeed if the South can violate the Fourteenth Amendment and the North the Eighteenth Amendment with impunity and with impudence. The pot and the kettle are equally black. The voice of Senator Borah sounds like one crying in the wilderness—"keep the path straightened, force the whole Constitution"—otherwise this nation will be stultified in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world.

Amid all of these accusations and counter-accusations the Negro stands as the innocent victim or beneficiary. When northern and southern nullifiers begin to vilify each other, the black may be manipulated into his constitutional rights.

NEWS
OMAHA, NEB.

JAN 18 1928

"Color Line."

Omaha—To the Editor: 4,000,000 colored people were freed by the emancipa proclamation of January 1, 18 have now grown to about 12, 000,000, about one-tenth of the entire population.

What is the answer to the problem? Is it separate schools, separate churches, separate parts of all public conveyances to ride in, separate part of town to live in, which is the custom in the southern states? Or is the northern position of the same school, the same church, the same part of

town to live in, the answer?

The American people can be led but they cannot be driven, and inasmuch as there is a vast difference of opinion on the subject, I believe that it would be wise to have some discussion on the subject. From my point of view, the question should be decided on the basis of character rather than color. The colored man is no more responsible for his color than the white, red, yellow or brown men are for theirs.

EDGAR ROBERTS.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

News

JAN 23 1928

WOMAN DISCUSSES NEGRO PROBLEMS

A capacity audience of 350 greeted Miss Mary White Ovington at the Third Baptist church on William street yesterday at 3.30. Miss Ovington, chairman of the executive committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was the speaker at a public mass-meeting of the local branch of the association and outlined the purposes and work of the organization.

Miss Ovington stressed particularly the legal work in which her organization had engaged in its battle for the rights of the Negro, more especially as regards protection of the rights of the race as citizens. There is great need of such protection, peculiarly in the southern states where segregation laws and other discriminatory measures were often passed to the detriment of the Negroes.

She described the long legal battle in the case of Dr Sweet of Detroit, where the residents of a neighborhood attempted to prevent the Negro doctor from establishing a residence. This case was won for the association by Clarence Darrow, famous attorney. Miss Ovington spoke on the defeat of the Louisville and New Orleans segregation ordinances that attempted to set aside sections of the cities as exclusively Negro and to bar them from making their homes outside of the proscribed limits. These cases were tried before the supreme court and the contention of the association that the acts were illegal was upheld.

Another example cited by Miss Ovington was the case of a Negro who was barred from the Democratic primaries in Texas. As the result of the primary in Texas is equal to election the rule virtually deprived the Negroes of the constitutional right of the ballot. This case was also decided in favor of the Negro. Today the association is waiting to see the result of this decision in the coming presidential election.

Miss Ovington has been connected with the association since its inception in 1909, being with William English Walling, one of the founders. She is also an author of some note and has written several books on the lives and problems of the race. Among her recent books is a collection of short biographies of some of the outstanding Negroes in this country. This includes among other noted examples a chapter on Roland Hayes the famous singer, who appeared here last year.

PENSACOLA, FLA.

Journal

JAN 9 1928

Views of Others

"THE SOLID SOUTH"

You hear talk of the Solid South, meaning a section dominantly Democratic as much as New England is solidly Republican.

The South is solid in other ways. It is solid in energy and enterprise and in achievement of the most valuable sort.

Throughout the South education and industry are advancing at prodigious rates. Factories are being built and enlarged. Motor roads are being built. Enormous sums are being spent for schools and for higher education.

Reporters who traveled the fifty miles from Montgomery to Luverne a month ago to attend the Klan flogging trials there passed over a roadway that was being widened and straightened and cut through giant hills, at a cost approaching three quarters of a million. In that very state of Alabama, where flogging has flourished, all convicts were taken out of the state's mines seven days ago so that 1928 might open without that blemish. They are to be set to road labor for which they will be paid.

Every town in North Carolina is connected with adjoining towns by cement roads costing a quarter of a billion dollars, to be paid off, by a gas tax, within thirty years. Children are carried along these roads in huge public busses ten or fifteen miles to and from union primary schools. The Greensboro state college for women has an attendance of not less than 2,000 Southern girls.

"Manufacturers' Avenue" is the name given the big road which stretches from Virginia through the Piedmont sections of North and South Carolina and Georgia to Atlanta. In North Carolina alone Ashmun Brown, a newspaper correspondent, counted 128 cotton mills on this great highway.

The standard of living for negroes as well as whites is being lifted and a veritable revolution is being effected in the lives of people previously kept poor by unprofitable forms of agriculture. New miles are being developed, water power is being put to work.

Horace Greely sensed the opportunity in the West of gun fighters, Indian massacres, gold rushes and Vigilantes and he penned his famous line, "Go West, Young Man!"

The enterprising youth of today can find opportunities not less inviting to his best energies in that South which, oldest in time of actual settlement, is now once more young and virile in its challenge to ambition.—Collier's Weekly.

NO ANALOGY?

ALL WHO WISH to see how far a hair-splitting lawyer can go should read the article in last week's Liberty on the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Senator George of Georgia boldly admits that the South is violating the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and says it will continue to do so. In this there is nothing new; but he goes on to say that the South is right in violating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the Northern Wets are wrong in violating the Eighteenth Amendment.

Winterburn News

HE SAYS: "There is no honest analogy between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the Eighteenth. In the former certain rights were specified, and no duties placed on anybody to enforce them. In the latter amendment specific duties were set forth, and the Volstead Act passed to describe the manner in which these duties were to be carried out. . . . It is a simple thing to kill the Eighteenth Amendment. All the Wets have to do is to elect a House of Representatives and a Senate to repeal the Volstead Act and refuse to pass any enforcing measure in its place. There will then be no way of compelling obedience to the Eighteenth Amendment."

4-19-28

IN OTHER WORDS, no matter what the Constitution says, a man has the right to do anything he can get away with. If the law against robbery and murder is not strictly enforced, a man has a perfect right to rob and kill his neighbors. The Senator is trapped by his own logic; he admits that it would be right to violate the Eighteenth Amendment if the Volstead act were repealed. By inference he upholds the violation of any constitutional amendment and of the body of the Constitution itself.

New York,

IN SPITE of the Senator's quibbling, he knows that there is a decided analogy between the three amendments. Each of them is a part of the United States Constitution—the supreme law of the land—and each of them is expressed in unmistakable language. The fact that two of them are not buttressed by appropriate legislation does not give any man the moral or legal right to defy them. If it is wrong to violate the Eighteenth it is wrong to violate the Fourteenth and Fifteenth.

MAY LOSE PASTORATE FOR SPEECH TO NEGROES

White Pastor Assailed for Sermon in Negro Church

Old Church, Va., July 26 (PNS)—The deep-rooted "prejudice" has so intrenched itself in the minds of the white boodlums of the South that the Rev. T. E. Upscomb, pastor at a local white church here, may lose his pastorate because he accepted an invitation to preach at a nearby Negro church.

It is said that during the past 15 years four white ministers have been fired from the pulpit of this church for addressing Negro congregations. The members of this church will not stand for their pastor to preach to Negroes. Several years ago the pastor of the church chided them for this un-Christian spirit and when he, over their protest, preached in the Negro church, was discharged. Three other ministers have met the same fate.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

"Cracker" Propaganda in France

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

THE real American invasion of France has just begun! Good old Southern propaganda against the Negro, published by the leading French firm—Larousse—and written by a professor of literature and American civilization at the Sorbonne, is as effectively being used in France as in America. The French people are thirsty for information on the American Negro, and they are getting it from Larousse, from Van Vechten and also from the black Van Vechten, soon to follow.

The article mentioned appears in a profusely illustrated study on the United States by Prof. Charles Cestre. As far as the Negro is concerned, the study is a mixture of truths, inaccuracies and exploded theories, some of the vintage of 1800.

In many parts Prof. Cestre speaks like a regular "cracker." In many parts, however, he denounces some of the evils with vigor, though he avoids the more glaring ones as concubinage and peonage, and speaks not too favorably of those who protest against white injustice. 5-23-28

The following are some of the more glaring errors in his works:

(1) That the original Ku Klux Klan, formed in Reconstruction Days, had as its purpose the correction of disorders caused by carpet-baggers and Negro legislators in the South, and that it was an error to give the Negro the vote. This matter has already been gone into thoroughly by John R. Lynch, Negro Congressman of those times, by the writer and others.

As to the Klan, its real purpose was to do by underground method what the Confederacy had failed to do by force of arms—to create a separate republic in the South with slavery. This matter of Reconstruction has a profound bearing on the treatment of the Negro today. The moral, say the Dixonites, is: "Keep the Negro from the vote at all costs. You gave it to him once and he used it to crush you. What he has done once he will do again." Prof. Cestre uses the argument himself.

Napoleon said something to the effect that history is a lie agreed on—a lie agreed on to maintain in power the dominant party. Sir Walter Raleigh, while at work on his History of the World, tore up his manuscript, it is said, because looking out on an accident he heard each bystander giving a separate account of the affair. "How then," he said, "can I write a history of the world, the events of which I did not see, when, as regards what I actually saw, no two witnesses would agree?"

Prof. Cestre, however, writes with great assurance. He goes on to justify the attitude of the whites in the South by saying that the number of Negroes there "equals nearly the population of the whites," while the fact is—according to the last census—the whites or the white classed as whites outnumber the Negroes at least three to one. In two states only do the Negroes outnumber the whites—and the 1930 census will show, no doubt, a balance in favor of the whites.

He also advances the hoary argument about preserving white civilization. Being a Latin, he said nothing about preserving Anglo-Saxon civilization as a Southerner would naturally.

In his own words: "One cannot deny the avowed intention of the whites to deprive the blacks of their citizenship rights by all means. That is neither good nor just. However, when one considers that the black population in the South nearly equals in number that of the whites, and in certain spots is greater, one can excuse the whites from delivering themselves tied hands and feet to an electorate notoriously incapable of exercising the franchise. The white race must hold the strong arm in politics."

This is precisely the sort of argument one would expect from Blease, Heflin, et al, who usually speak as if it was the Negro who had been standing still for the last fifty years, instead of themselves. In at least two French colonies Negroes are in power; would he say the same regarding them?

— J. A. Rogers —

(2) Prof. Cestre tells us that Negro lawyers, doctors and dentists "have a clientele exclusively black." The fact is that many Negro doctors in the South have more white clients than colored, as this writer has personally seen; the great majority of these clients being white men with venereal diseases caught in many cases from Negro prostitutes.

(3) The more intelligent Negroes, we are told, are generally the illegitimate offspring of the whites. "These individuals, exceptionally endowed, are generally mulattoes, born of illegitimate relationship." Here is a fact that was slightly true sixty years, given out for present day consumption.

(4) The whites, he says, are very skilled in telling persons with a drop of so-called black blood. "Some," he says, "by the light color of their skins would be able to pass for white in other countries. But the American can discover the least presence of pigment under the skins, and apply without pity the social law. Very few quadroons or octoroons who change from city to city have ever succeeded in passing for white."

Now the fact is that each of the ten millions or so Negroes know at least one so-called Negro who "passes for white," while others have met scores, as this writer. At least 60 per cent of the whites of the South are Negroes, according to their own dictum.

The same old erroneous views are held by Prof. Cestre regarding the cause of lynching, the laziness of the blacks. This study on the United States by Prof. Cestre is to appear in twenty-one volumes, one of which appears each week. Considerably much more than one volume treats of the Negro.

UNITED OR UN-TIED STATES

Liberty, a magazine, in discussing the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth amendments, says of the Fifteenth: "We do not believe the Negro should vote in the South." Then continues: "Few Caucasians in this country seriously believe that the Negro should vote in any state where he is apt to get control." It concludes: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments have been nullified and the Supreme Court has sanctioned the annulment."

The magazine then proceeds to draw an analogy between the Civil War amendments and the prohibition law, saying: "And just as the North has stopped insisting that states which don't have Negro suffrage, should have it, so the time will come, we believe, when the rest of the country will permit those parts of the country which are wet, to do as they please about it." It restates the same idea in a more general way: "We believe the time is coming when states that want it, will be allowed latitude in interpreting the Constitution."

Such frankness is rare, and is therefore a valuable contribution to the political thought of the day. Nullification does not admit its identity. Usually it unctiously denies any intent to break the law. Liberty not only tells the truth about the three amendments, but it makes clear its agreement with the states which in their enforcement have taken "lattitude in interpreting the Constitution." Possibly it is a true prophet when it says the time will come when the Constitution itself will mean one thing in the manufacturing east and another in the agricultural west, just as "equality before the law" a constitutional provision for Negroes, already is one thing in the north and quite the opposite in the south.

But Liberty stops with prophesy, it tells what the American people will do with their Constitution. It does not go on and tell what the country will come to, when lattitude in interpreting the law prevails. Yet nothing is more certain than progressive nullification, once it is conceded that Negroes may be hurt, or liquor drinkers supplied by violation of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth amendments. Tariff or any other revenue legislation will come to be disregarded in sections. Already interstate relations give trouble. Free movement of citizens within the nation is hampered by arbitrary interpretations of the law such as Oklahoma makes when it arrests Missouri motorists for having licenses good enough in Missouri, but not to Oklahoma's liking. The overwhelming massing of public opinion has brought about better industrial conditions, such as the child labor law, but if "lattitude of interpretation" is to prevail, the South will again drive the children to the field and factory. Even the courts, the bulwark of the weak against the strong, in states like Pennsylvania may be expected to reflect not the enlightened spirit of the age, but the will of big business. In short, democracy, long extolled as man's best expression of his relations to his fellows, in America will give way to sectional preferences

The law nullified in the case of the Negro because he is held in small esteem, is certain to be less and less valued as a whole. Men by the millions offered their lives that the slave might be freed, yet in sixty years such outstanding organs of opinion as Liberty, and such judicial authority as the Supreme Court interpret that sacrifice "with lattitude". Workingmen's compensation, collective bargaining, and all other legislation designed to smooth out the inequalities of life, are equally susceptible to interpretation "with lattitude."

There is no limiting injustice to the Negro. Once it is permitted and accepted, it will reach forth after other victims. No feudal baron was ever more ruthless than are "the people," unchecked by experience and majority judgment. America has been the land of opportunity, the outstanding example of progress, under the rule of law. Either democracy is workable or it is not. If it is, its laws should be enforced or repealed by due process. To say it is workable, only so long as it leads to white supremacy, is to deny it. We go back to first principles when we say that the rape of the Negro's rights, brings the nation to the place of decision. It faces universal law observance and national vigor, or nullification and national extinction. Either United States or un-tied states.

A JUST JUDGE

From Vicksburg, Miss., is reported an incident described as unprecedented in Federal Court annals there. Federal Judge Edwin R. Holmes set aside a verdict for $167.33 returned by a jury for a negro in a suit against a lumber company, on the ground that it was "grossly inadequate and evinced injustice, bias and passion on the part of the jurors."

The negro, Ike Johnson, was suing the company for $10,000 damages for injuries suffered when a company foreman struck him over the head for refusing to work on Sunday. When the jury returned the verdict in the amount given, Judge Holmes said that "although Johnson is a negro, the jurors were white men and Johnson was represented and prosecuted by white men before a white judge, it is the solemn duty of the judge to see that he is granted a fair trial." Accordingly he set aside the verdict and ordered a new trial.

Of the merits of the case we know nothing. The dispatch telling of it does not mention the extent of the negro's injuries. But judging from what Judge Holmes has said, his injuries were such as to justify a verdict for more damages than the jury allowed. If the trial was unfair, and the verdict "evinced prejudice, bias and passion on the part of the jurors," as the judge said, then Judge Holmes is to be commended for his action in high terms.

"Social Equality Ideas Of Governor Smith Hurtful In The South," Says Heflin

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 17.—Continuing his attacks on the Catholic Church and Governor Alfred E. Smith in the Senate last Tuesday, Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat, of Alabama, repeated his criticisms of the New York governor because of racial equality in New York City and the support of the Dyer anti-lynching bill by Tammany Democrats in Congress.

Heflin charged that the "social equality ideas" of Governor Smith are hurtful in the South. Dance halls in New York City where Negro men dance with white women, Heflin said, "present a mean and contemptible form of social equality."

The effort of Governor Smith to have the anti-lynching bill passed when Democrats from Tammany would not vote with southern Democrats in the House against the measure, Heflin asserted, "was putting a premium on the crime of rape, and sowing dragon's teeth in the paths of white women in the South and in other sections of the country."

Replying to the diatribe of Heflin, Senator William C. Bruce, Democrat, of Maryland, declared that he was beginning to believe that the abusive allegations of the Alabaman were the fictions of an almost 'deranged intellect."

THE MELTING POT AT WORK.

Within this generation America has counted it a tragedy for men to be white in training but not in blood. The play, "Strongheart," was generally acclaimed because of its philosophy that race was a barrier which the Indian lover should not cross to marry the sister of his white chum, with whom he attended an eastern college. Yet today Charles Curtis, admittedly part Indian, not only is not limited by reason of his birth, but is actually the center of a romantic picture because of it. His Indian kinsmen are celebrating his rise, and white America cares not a whit. A hundred years ago the white trapper took wives among the Indians. Again public sentiment has become complacent at such intermarriage to the extent of rejoicing in the rise of Curtis.

We see no reason why Charles Curtis should not be permitted to rise through his own endeavors. It is not only good principle, but it is the only workable practice. Superiority, under a claim of being God's chosen people, held good for the Jews in Moses' time, but has fallen flat since then, by whomsoever made. Every race has produced its men of mark. Every race has its failures, even among the children of those who themselves were notable. There is no heaven-sent blessing which relieves the individual of the need to struggle. A man of part Indian blood admitted to the inner circle of official America, is a step toward more wholesome public opinion about the funcitons of the melting pot, as our conglomerate citizenry is called.

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM

JUL 18 1928

CITY NO PLACE FOR NEGRO, SAYS OCTAVUS ROY COHEN

"THE WHITE MAN can never know the negro," says Octavus Roy Cohen, well known writer of the negro an his life.

"The white man can see the negro's external actions, hear the black man's voice and put his own interpretation on the negro thought but he can never know the negro who actually is." says Cohen.

"The South has no negro problem," says Cohen, who lives in Birmingham. "There the negro lives and is happy in his own estate. He never tries to trespass.

"The happiest person in the world is the Southern negro. He has lots more joy than grief in his makeup. I have never seen, except for brief periods of mourning, an unhappy black man in the South.

"Joy is their primary emotion and they express it freely and exquisitely. When they do have grief they express it just as readily and then forget about it.

"IN THE NORTH it is different. Here the negro becomes unhappy by associating with white men, for the contact sows the seed of class consciousness and inferiority.

"The white man makes a mistake when he visualizes the negro as wishing that he were white. I think this is one of the primary mistakes of our study of negro psychology.

"Of course any black man would prefer to be white, but since he is not he does not fret and brood about it. He dismisses the fact that he is not and goes about being happy in his own life."

Cohen seldom visits Harlem when he comes to New York, for he finds it a false study of colored conditions. When he does go there it is to discover what happens to the Southern negro when he comes North.

* * *

HIS OBSERVATION from this study is that the visitor from below the Mason and Dixie line becomes miserable and returns to his home or stays and becomes iconoclastic.

"Another falsity in the many negro studies which have been made is that they all express what the white man would feel if he were a negro," he says. "And then it becomes even more amusing when the critics get hold of the work and pronounce it either 'real negro' or 'not real negro.'"

Cohen studies the negro first hand in his native State and over the whole South, which he knows well. Among his negro friends he praises most Dr. Robert Russa Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute.

"I think Dr. Moton is one of the greatest living Americans," says Cohen. "As successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee he has built a splendid institution and is one of the finest gentlemen I have met."

COHEN DEALS principally with the humorous side of negro life, for he feels that, since joy is the most natural expression of the colored man, it is in this mood that he should be portrayed.

All of his writing he does in his home in Birmingham. "I have hours just like a real estate agent or an accountant," he says. "I work regularly and attend to business much as they do. Writing is not an excuse for being slothful or eccentric."

One of the favorite recollections of his life is a writing group which he began in Charleston, S. C., many years ago. A group of young men gathered with him, and they read and criticised one another's short stories. The result of this experiment is that each of the members of the early group is now selling material to the better magazines.

The law nullified in the case of the Negro because he is held in small esteem, is certain to be less and less valued as a whole. Men by the millions offered their lives that the slave might be freed, yet in sixty years such outstanding organs of opinion as Liberty, and such judicial authority as the Supreme Court interpret that sacrifice "with lattitude". Workingmen's compensation, collective bargaining, and all other legislation designed to smooth out the inequalities of life, are equally susceptible to interpretation "with lattitude."

There is no limiting injustice to the Negro. Once it is permitted and accepted, it will reach forth after other victims. No feudal baron was ever more ruthless than are "the people," unchecked by experience and majority judgment. America has been the land of opportunity, the outstanding example of progress, under the rule of law. Either democracy is workable or it is not. If it is, its laws should be enforced or repealed by due process. To say it is workable, only so long as it leads to white supremacy, is to deny it. We go back to first principles when we say that the rape of the Negro's rights, brings the nation to the place of decision. It faces universal law observance and national vigor, or nullification and national extinction. Either United States or un-tied states.

A JUST JUDGE

From Vicksburg, Miss., is reported an incident described as unprecedented in Federal Court annals there. Federal Judge Edwin R. Holmes set aside a verdict for $167.33 returned by a jury for a negro in a suit against a lumber company, on the ground that it was "grossly inadequate and evinced injustice, bias and passion on the part of the jurors."

The negro, Ike Johnson, was suing the company for $10,000 damages for injuries suffered when a company foreman struck him over the head for refusing to work on Sunday. When the jury returned the verdict in the amount given, Judge Holmes said that "although Johnson is a negro, the jurors were white men and Johnson was represented and prosecuted by white men before a white judge, it is the solemn duty of the judge to see that he is granted a fair trial." Accordingly he set aside the verdict and ordered a new trial.

Of the merits of the case we know nothing. The dispatch telling of it does not mention the extent of the negro's injuries. But judging from what Judge Holmes has said, his injuries were such as to justify a verdict for more damages than the jury allowed. If the trial was unfair, and the verdict "evinced prejudice, bias and passion on the part of the jurors," as the judge said, then Judge Holmes is to be commended for his action in high terms.

"Social Equality Ideas Of Governor Smith Hurtful In The South," Says Heflin

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 17.—Continuing his attacks on the Catholic Church and Governor Alfred E. Smith in the Senate last Tuesday, Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat, of Alabama, repeated his criticisms of the New York governor because of racial equality in New York City and the support of the Dyer anti-lynching bill by Tammany Democrats in Congress.

Heflin charged that the "social equality ideas" of Governor Smith are hurtful in the South. Dance halls in New York City where Negro men dance with white women, Heflin said, "present a mean and contemptible form of social equality."

The effort of Governor Smith to have the anti-lynching bill passed when Democrats from Tammany would not vote with southern Democrats in the House against the measure, Heflin asserted, "was putting a premium on the crime of rape, and sowing dragon's teeth in the paths of white women in the South and in other sections of the country."

Replying to the diatribe of Heflin, Senator William C. Bruce, Democrat, of Maryland, declared that he was beginning to believe that the abusive allegations of the Alabaman were the fictions of an almost 'deranged intellect."

THE MELTING POT AT WORK.

Within this generation America has counted it a tragedy for men to be white in training but not in blood. The play, "Strongheart," was generally acclaimed because of its philosophy that race was a barrier which the Indian lover should not cross to marry the sister of his white chum, with whom he attended an eastern college. Yet today Charles Curtis, admittedly part Indian, not only is not limited by reason of his birth, but is actually the center of a romantic picture because of it. His Indian kinsmen are celebrating his rise, and white America cares not a whit. A hundred years ago the white trapper took wives among the Indians. Again public sentiment has become complacent at such intermarriage to the extent of rejoicing in the rise of Curtis.

We see no reason why Charles Curtis should not be permitted to rise through his own endeavors. It is not only good principle, but it is the only workable practice. Superiority, under a claim of being God's chosen people, held good for the Jews in Moses' time, but has fallen flat since then, by whomsoever made. Every race has produced its men of mark. Every race has its failures, even among the children of those who themselves were notable. There is no heaven-sent blessing which relieves the individual of the need to struggle. A man of part Indian blood admitted to the inner circle of official America, is a step toward more wholesome public opinion about the funcitons of the melting pot, as our conglomerate citizenry is called.

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM

JUL 18 1928

CITY NO PLACE FOR NEGRO, SAYS OCTAVUS ROY COHEN

"THE WHITE MAN can never know the negro," says Octavus Roy Cohen, well known writer of the negro and his life.

"The white man can see the negro's external actions, hear the black man's voice and put his own interpretation on the negro thought but he can never know the negro who actually is." says Cohen.

"The South has no negro problem," says Cohen, who lives in Birmingham. "There the negro lives and is happy in his own estate. He never tries to trespass.

"The happiest person in the world is the Southern negro. He has lots more joy than grief in his makeup. I have never seen, except for brief periods of mourning, an unhappy black man in the South.

"Joy is their primary emotion and they express it freely and exquisitely. When they do have grief they express it just as readily and then forget about it.

"IN THE NORTH it is different. Here the negro becomes unhappy by associating with white men, for the contact sows the seed of class consciousness and inferiority.

"The white man makes a mistake when he visualizes the negro as wishing that he were white. I think this is one of the primary mistakes of our study of negro psychology.

"Of course any black man would prefer to be white, but since he is not he does not fret and brood about it. He dismisses the fact that he is not and goes about being happy in his own life."

Cohen seldom visits Harlem when he comes to New York, for he finds it a false study of colored conditions. When he does go there it is to discover what happens to the Southern negro when he comes North.

* * *

HIS OBSERVATION from this study is that the visitor from below the Mason and Dixie line becomes miserable and returns to his home or stays and becomes iconoclastic.

"Another falsity in the many negro studies which have been made is that they all express what the white man would feel if he were a negro," he says. "And then it becomes even more amusing when the critics get hold of the work and pronounce it either 'real negro' or 'not real negro.'"

Cohen studies the negro first hand in his native State and over the whole South, which he knows well. Among his negro friends he praises most Dr. Robert Russa Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute.

"I think Dr. Moton is one of the greatest living Americans," says Cohen. "As successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee he has built a splendid institution and is one of the finest gentlemen I have met."

COHEN DEALS principally with the humorous side of negro life, for he feels that, since joy is the most natural expression of the colored man, it is in this mood that he should be portrayed.

All of his writing he does in his home in Birmingham. "I have hours just like a real estate agent or an accountant," he says. "I work regularly and attend to business much as they do. Writing is not an excuse for being slothful or eccentric."

One of the favorite recollections of his life is a writing group which he began in Charleston, S. C., many years ago. A group of young men gathered with him, and they read and criticised one another's short stories. The result of this experiment is that each of the members of the early group is now selling material to the better magazines.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

Racial Equality Is Mere Bugaboo to Scare South

Memphis, Tenn., July 18.

To The Commercial Appeal:

The venerable bishop of Georgia says he has received "so many letters inquiring concerning his position on pending matters political and asking advice upon the same" that he feels a statement should be made. Of course the inquiries were whether or not he would support Al-cohol Smith. Instead of replying "yes" or "no" he has published a column of open letters telling what a general conference in 1866 had to say about issues growing out of the Civil War and what another conference in [illegible] had to say about promoting "the highest good of our country and race" and concludes with this illuminating bit of information about his position. Says he: "I propose to abide unfalteringly by the principle 'my kingdom is not of this world,' discharging conscientiously my duties as a citizen and fulfilling with fidelity my commission as a minister of Jesus Christ. . . . I cannot do otherwise. May the Lord help me to serve my generation by the will of God."

The good bishop's many inquirers and also readers of his message cannot possibly misunderstand this clear explanation of his attitude on pending matters political, but just how they are going to follow his example of abiding unfalteringly by the principle "my kingdom is not of this world," in casting a conscientious vote is not entirely clear to an ordinary layman. The bishop says he will discharge his duty as a citizen but seems a little bit uncertain at this time what his duty is, for he reverently and dubiously adds that the Lord may help him to serve his generation by the will of God, whatever that may prove to be.

To one familiar with the bishop's record on another question involving the "highest good of our country and race" that of unification—it is not difficult to predict whom he will vote for. A leader who lacked the wisdom, statesmanship, vision and religious zeal to heal the breach in Methodism and join with his brother Methodists of the North to fight with united front against the forces of evil under the banner of his Lord could hardly be expected to have the courage, candor, independence and patriotic fervor to join with his brother Protestants of the north to repel the forces of rum and Romanism that have captured the political machinery of the solid south and by uniting with the notorious political machine of Tammany Hall will attempt the degradation of the nation as it has already accomplished the degradation of the the Democratic party.

Anti-unificationists by appeals to race hatred and war prejudice were able to postpone the inevitable reunion of Methodism. The same appeals will be made to whip former Democrats into line in support of Al-cohol Smith. Dr. "Gumbo" Steel has already sounded the alarm. He won't vote for a wet and says he can't vote for Hoover because female white and colored workers use the same room in Washington. He calls this social equality. If Dr. Steel will go into almost any large laundry establishment in the southern states he will find colored women toiling side by side with white women, yet we never hear of anti-unificationists and political demagogues objecting to this kind of social equality.

This bugaboo of social equality along with the mirage of negro domination and the phantom of "the bloody shirt" has lost its potency as a political scarecrow except with human jaybirds. In the November election, therefore, we may confidently count upon enough Southern Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Christians who are genuine and sincere believers in the great moral and economic worth of prohibition, to make it the paramount issue in this campaign and rally to the support of Herbert Hoover as the best and surest method of promoting the highest good of our country and race and of preserving real tolerance and religious freedom for all in these United States.

HUNTINGTON MANGUM.

STAR

Scale Pla

JUL 2 1928

NEGRO IS THE GOAT

While it is undoubtedly true that the negro has a failing for getting into all sorts of trouble that lands him in the courts, there are times when it would seem that a white man should be the defendant on trial, rather than a colored man. A case in point happened a few days ago in the recorder's court when a negro was arraigned on a charge of driving an automobile truck with the exhaust open.

It was learned after the case was disposed of that the truck was owned by a white man, who knew that the muffler was gone and that the exhause was open, but it was stated that he told the negro, who was employed to drive the truck, that he would have to drive as it was or quit the job.

The negro needed the work and took a chance, with the result that a policeman came upon him and arrested him, as the law required the officer to do. Then in court the negro entered a plea of guilty before the facts were brought out. This made it necessary for the court to impose a penalty, as the law is mandatory on both officials.

Thus it may be seen that while the negro was legally guilty of breaking the laws, it was his white employer who commanded him to do the illegal act. It also appears that the negro was legally guilty of breaking the law, while the white employer was the one morally responsible for the act. The negro was fined, while the white man escaped. Does that seem either right or in the interest of justice?

ITEM

Huntsville - Tex -

JUL 26 1928

NEW YORK WOMEN DANCE WITH NEGROES

"In New York one sees apparently respectable and well-to-do white men and women dancing with negro partners in negro cabarets. In three negro cabarets, I found each one filled with a crowd of patrons, about 50 per cent of each black and white. White women with every appearance of refinement danced and chattered almost intimately with the negro men; white men with every appearance of prosperity and social standing, danced and chattered, often, really intimately, with negro girls and women. Negro girl dancers circled the room, making suggestive movements of their bodies and suggestive gestures to the white men. The sight was too repulsive for detailed description in a decent publication.

"Speaking as a veteran newspaper man who knew New York inside and out in the old wide-open days, I can say with emphatic confidence that old New York would not have tolerated such dives and such racial intercourse and, if there had been any lynching the white offenders would have been the victims.

"New York state has a Tammany Governor, a Tammany mayor and city council.

"If Tammany permits such scenes in a city and state which it controls, what would be the result if the presidency was turned over to Tammany and one of its proteges and products?"—From the Manufacter's Record.

NEWS

Austin A

JUN 24 1928

WILLIAM FLEMING ROBINSON

William Fleming Robinson was born in slavery. Soon after reaching his majority he escaped to Canada by the underground railroad and in 1855 he came to Oberlin. He had lived here more than man's allotted threescore and ten years. He bought a home, which he paid for by his industry. He engaged in gardening and he made it pay. He married early in life and he and his wife reared a family of children, several of whom were students in the college here. He was a Negro, and was neither ashamed or proud of the fact. Robert G. Ingersoll shocked an older generation with the more or less accurate statement that a man's religious beliefs are largely a matter of geography. If this be true, it must certainly be true that color is a matter which should not in the business of life have a great deal of attention. The captious will say that Robinson never did a great deal. But he accomplished, under the handicap of birth and early training in a land where he and his kind were regarded as chattels, as much as the average man of any race can hope to accomplish. He made his way in the world. He cared for his family. He met his debts. He maintained a modest dignity which might well grace any man, and he enjoyed the friendship of his neighbors, white and black. He did not argue the case for his race, but he proved the worth of individual manhood by his living. Some have done more; many have not done as much.

Pointed Points

By George A. Singleton

The Weekly Text: Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! Nahum 1:15.

Palmetto

If the prophet Nahum lived in a day like this he would not have opportunity to glory often. Instead of proclaiming real peace, or those things upon which a lasting peace must be established the would-be prophets are saying things that the powers that be and men in the amen corner want said, and in the way they want them said. The task of the prophet is the most important in all the world, and social problems will not give way to solution until he leads.

Columbia

6-30-28

There is no reason for becoming discouraged over the seeming delay of justice in America. Regardless to how you are treated there is a better day ahead, but you must help bring it about. Just how, is the task of your leaders. Don't let anyone fool you into thinking that "God's going to change our station after a while." Nothing of the kind. You have the strength, and power, and we hope the courage. Why expect God to do what you are capable of doing? In the army the boys called it "passing the buck."

You can talk about crowns, thrones, milk and honey as much as you please to be had when done with the "sin-cursed world", but would it not be better to have some of things while in this world. The prophet who comes

along and talks about what the people are interested in, hungering and thirsting for, and points the way to more full and complete living, will in the sight of all, appear with "beautiful feet." When I am regarded as less than a man, treated worse than a brute, hungry and naked, don't tell me about the "land of pure delight" somewhere "beyond this vale of tears."

This is a great old world. Great with crime, race hatred, envy, jealousy and downright cussedness. Man's inhumanity to man is the strongest argument possible in favor of the argument that he descended from some four-footed ancestors. The vestige of the beast is still in him. Months ago it came to the surface in Aiken, and just recently it cropped out in Houston, Texas, in the form of lynching. Yes, this is a great old world, and the prophets, white and black, russet and brown will get up a great big shout next Sunday over what awaits us after "our feet shall have brushed the dews of Jordan."

Horatio is wondering what Jesus would do were he here in the flesh. We can only predict some things he would not do. He would not disregard the social condition of his people, but where there is segregation, perversion of justice civil and political, he would not remain silent. His straightforwardness and zeal, uncompromising attitude toward wrong and meanness might land him in jail, but he would cry out just the same. In some churches he could not hold membership, others he could not join, especially if his face happened to be like that of his great ancestor, King Solomon. This seems hard, Horatio, but you must have the truth. It alone will make you free. You, and your people have been fooled long enough, and since you desire more light, we will do our best to remove the hoodwink of darkness and superstition.

Incidentally we dropped into a church service the other Sunday night and the minister was baptizing in a pool. In his harangue to the candidates he stressed the necessity of going under the water as the only means of salvation. The listeners clapped and said "Amen." But his salvation consisted in getting to heaven after you are denied a fair opportunity for your children to be educated, after you are denied the ballot, forced to live in sections of the city and town without sidewalks, electric lights, and decent sewer facilities. This illustrates, Horatio, what we are trying to have you see.

Every now and then you read articles in the press about the attitude of the youth toward the church. There is nothing wrong with the young people, but the church will have to approach the problem of religion from an angle which will grip the interests of the young people. A youngster with a twentieth century mind will not care about the tenth century theology. There will not be ten readers of this column who can intelligently discuss nominalism and realism, yet once upon a time they were engaging questions in the church, but all will understand the problem of food, shelter and clothing.

Cotton, steel, oil, rubber, transportation reveal the highest possibilities for the outreaching of religion in their effective use for the good of man. Mechanical invention and the conquest of nature, a veritable romance, is the story of a progress. In these youth is interested. Youth might be interested in Jesus way of living as the highest and best, as an example of self-control, and neighborliness. Let this extend to all groups until it girds the globe. The man who gives himself to thse tasks is just as religious, just as much of a prophet a the starch-shirted, white-collared divine in clerics who lines the hymn next Sunday: "Shine on me." In the long run, Horatio, every life is a sermon; every day is a discourse. "Ye are living epistles."

John Wesley said: "Think, and let think." The great contribution of the Baptist Church in America is the fight for religious liberty; the outstanding contribution of the Presbyterian Church is political freedom. It is common knowledge why the Congregationalists fled from England to Holland, and later to America. The first amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees liberty of conscience and religion, yet it is a sin and a crime to think out loud both in church and state. Statesmen who dare to think out loud are put in jail, if he has dark skin he will be lynched; if he be a member of some religious denomination he will be "turned out." If you do not believe it call the roll and history will bear witness. Begin with Jesus and Paul.

"Their Negroes"

"The Asheville conference, while not large in numbers, is bulging with important personalities in the Methodist and Baptist organizations and with Dry workers. Its consequences may be serious. But no more serious consequence—in the Southern point of view—could come than enfranchising the Negroes, for in many Southern States they hold the balance of power. Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Texas and Virginia—ten great states—would face a condition far more momentous than prohibition if the Dry split should bring their Negroes to the polls.

"For this reason anti-democratic movements in the South have always failed, and this is the chief bar to the effectiveness of the conference engineered by Bishop Cannon and the Rev. Dr. Barton. How close to the surface the menace lies is shown by the fact that the conference was just gathering at Asheville when the Negro question instantly arose."

The above golden words from our esteemed contemporary, the New York Times, throw a peculiarly interesting light on the attitude of the capitalist class of the United States toward the enslaved Negro masses in the South and toward all questions of "democracy" and "constitutional rights" when it comes to any portion of the exploited masses that slave to make the capitalists rich.

We say the attitude of the capitalist class, North and South. For the fact is that the ruling class located in the Northern states is as much responsible for the disenfranchisement of the Negro workers and farmers of the South as is the Southern ruling class. It is by the action of the capitalist class as a whole, through the capitalist federal government, senate, house of representatives, president and judiciary—republican and democratic parties alike—that the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution are nullified so as to rob the Negro of the South of all civil rights.

The Asheville conference of holy men, opposed to anti-prohibition candidate of the classic "Southern" political party, are mortally fearful of the prospect of any controversy that might result in civil rights for the masses of Enslaved Negro laborers and tenant farmers on whose labor these holy men and their parishioners grow fat.

These parasites would not only give up 39 articles of faith, but would swallow the saloon, liquid contents, bar-room pictures and all, rather than give one inch of freedom.

Civil rights for the Negro of the North and South, full political and social equality, will come to the Negro masses only through the program of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The Jim-Crow Republican Convention is over. Your newspaper men were not permitted at the press table. Some of these good old days they will be more than glad to have them at the table and on the platform. But remember one of you did have the opportunity to second the nomination of the presidential nominee. Take heart and move forward.

Speaking about conventions reminds us that the Dimycrats are gittin' ready fur er big time in Houston. A most fitting introduction to the party was a lynching bee a few days ago. Delegates in attendance will feel perfectly at home. A lynching is nothing new to them. Incidentally they are up in the air against Al Smith because he is a CHRISTIAN, a Roman Catholic and slightly wet. The second represents the largest Chirstian roganization in the world, and they do practice brotherhood more than the Protestants. "I am bold." The last—outwardly dry and inwardly soused. Consistency, thou art a brass tack. The Christian part is what they can not stand. I'm sorry Al is a Dimycrat fer I want to fer 'im. Fred Douglass once said: "The Republican Party is the ship, all else is the sea." Du Bois commenting upon it remarked: "Great God, give us the sea." Really we are between the devil and the deep blue sea. Want to try the devil? There is little differnce between the two men, so far as you are concerned, but oceans of difference between the class of which either will have around him when elected. Imagine a presidential cabinet with Heflin a member, etc. Have mercy.

Race Problem 1928

United States.

N.Y. TIMES

JAN 8 1928

TRANSCRIPT MAN WINS PRIZE FOR BEST STORY

Bookman's First Award Goes to Boston Reporter's Account of Florence Mills's Funeral.

The first award of The Bookman's monthly prize of $100 for the best newspaper story of the month has been made to W. A. Macdonald of the Boston Evening Transcript, according to announcement yesterday.

The prize was for the best newspaper story in November. It was an account of the funeral of Florence Mills, the negro actress, and was published in The Transcript on Nov. 7. Mr. Macdonald has been with The Transcript since 1911.

As explained by the editor of The Bookman, the prize is awarded "for work that is properly literature even while it is, at the same time, daily journalism." Paul Patterson, editor of The Sun papers, Baltimore, who judged the newspaper stories of November, explains in the February number of The Bookman that in making the award he gave first consideration to the work of regular reporters on the staffs of daily newspapers or press associations in preference to syndicate or specialty writers.

The second consideration, Mr. Patterson explains, was the importance of the stories. "It is more difficult," he said, "to get a finely written story showing the proper restraint on a big news event than one dealing with some incidental phase of daily life." The prize-winning story was not only a description of the funeral of Florence Mills but of scenes in the cabarets and streets of Harlem.

Paul Morand Writes About the Negroes

PARIS.

DURING the past few years M. Paul Morand has visited the following places: in 1925, Djibouti; in 1926, Havana, New Orleans, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, the Carolinas, Charleston, and Harlem; in 1927, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Trinidad, Curacao, Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba, Alabama, Mississippi; and, in 1928, Dakar, Guinea, Fouta-Djallon, the Sudan, the southern Sahara, the Niger, Timbuctoo, the Mossi country and the Ivory Coast. A total of 50,000 kilometers and 28 negro countries. I take the author's word for this, and have not checked up on his calculations.

I confess that I must take his word not only for his mathematical operation, but for the essentials as well. I have never been in any of these twenty-eight places, or covered any of these 50,000 kilometers, with the exception of the distance between Paris and Le Havre, Bordeaux and Marseille, the principal French ports of embarkment for those who would visit the negroes in the place where I have seen the greatest number of negroes and negresses (such as Josephine Baker) is Montmartre. From time to time I enjoy their dances and jazz; but I cannot pretend to have any deep-going knowledge of their mode of life. From Taine I know that men cannot be studied properly outside their natural environment. And for these artists of color Montmartre evidently is only an accidental environment.

***

I ALSO know, from Gobineau, that the black race was the first of all the human races to manifest definite artistic feeling; and as I was not there to see it, I take Gobineau's word in this matter. But the author of the "Essai sur l'inégalité des races" adds that these rudiments were developed to a higher degree, and, finally, perfection, only by the white race, especially the Greeks, because this required an intellectual element which was lacking in the negroes. I agreed with this latter opinion when I saw several exhibitions of negro art which some Montparnasse painters wanted to make fashionable.

However, I can only report to you, without disputing them, the views which M. Paul Morand has brought back from his 50,000-kilometer trip through these twenty-eight places: You are better able to judge them than I. Moreover, the witty author of "Ouvert la nuit," "L'Europe galante," and "Rien que la terre" here gives us not an ethnological and sociological study, but simply eight stories whose charm and humor can be enjoyed by every one. The volume is entitled "Magie noire."

***

THE first of these little stories, "Le Tzar noir," is what H. G. Wells calls an anticipation. The action is laid in Haiti. The negro Occide, who has had a certain amount of European education, hates the whites in general, and, since the occupation, the Americans in particular. This hatred has made him an anarchist. He blows up the American group with dynamite, and succeeds in escaping the police by losing himself among some negro plantation workers. In the 1930s he takes advantage of a war between the United States and Japan by bringing about a revolution in Haiti, and becomes a sort of Haitian Lenin. He introduces a reign of terror, and commits a number of excesses of every kind, not to mention some ludicrous masquerades. His people soon weary of him, but have not the energy to get rid of this bloodthirsty and ridiculous despot. After the end of the Pacific war the United States comes back to restore order in Haiti and to occupy it anew; but Occide manages to flee to Europe.

***

"CONGO" is a dancer who has created quite a stir in the music halls and dancing places of Europe; but, tormented by superstitions, she consults some witch doctors, and returns to the banks of the Mississippi, where she was born, to consult her grandmother also. When she finds that the grandmother has died, she drowns herself in the river. "Charleston" presents a white American woman of the South who is divided between negrophobia and a quasi-Freudian attraction. The tragic ending is laid in the French Côte d'Azur. "Excelsior" tells of one Bloom, an American with a very little black blood in his veins; he tries to pass as a white man, and succeeds at first, but he is soon unmasked. In "Syracuse" an acknowledged but civilized negro, the founder of an American institution for the emancipation of his race, is delegated to a pan-African congress in Brussels. There he visits the Negro Museum established by King Leopold, and, seized by the primitive instincts of his people, strips off the thin veneer of civilization and goes mad in the crowd. In "Adieu, New York," a wealthy and cosmopolitan octoroon, Mrs. Pamela Freedman Orfei, who has managed to get on an American tourist ship and who was, by a ruse, "planted" in a small French African port, also undergoes the awakening of atavistic instincts, and soon leads the life of a full-blooded negress in a negro village. "Le peuple des étoiles filantes" tells how two Syrian colonists in Equatorial Africa are ruined because a stupid superstition has suddenly impelled the blacks to destroy and burn everything. "La chèvre sans cornes" is the story of the murder of a negro king who has become too old, and describes a cannibalistic funeral ceremony.

I am sure that M. Paul Morand's book is entertaining. I do not know whether it is true. But I may say that it does not conflict too much with the current notions.

PAUL SOUDAY.

Paul Morand.
From a Painting.

Great Victory for Local Minister Last Friday in Snyder Avenue Police Court

Dr. Harten's Fight for Justice for Colored Women Carried to a Successful Finish in Case of Marie Munnings Against John Turkel

Rev. Thomas S. Harten, D.D., national president National Afro Equal Rights Protective League and pastor Holy Trinity Baptist Church, DeKalb near Franklin avenue, scored a great victory Friday in the Snyder avenue Police Court, Honorable Judge Jacob Eilperin, City Magistrate, presiding, in his fight for the protection of colored women.

The young woman in the case, Mrs. Marie Munnings, as told in this paper at the time, was assaulted by John Turkel, a white man, during the latter part of July, on account of some dissatisfaction between his mother and the maid. No one would give Mrs. Munnings any encouragement, and she was told from leading sources that her case was hopeless because she had no witnesses and that it would be best to let it drop. Someone suggested that she carry her case to Rev. Harten, who, after some reluctance, went to the front.

Dr. Harten went to court with Mrs. Munnings, had Turkel arrested and put under a thousand dollar bail bond until the trial. Mrs. Munnings did not have any money and no way to get any and was a total stranger to Rev. Harten; but because of his interest in the welfare of his people he raised money and secured the services of Counsellor Luke O'Reilly, 44 Court street. The case was called to court a number of times, and for awhile seemed hopeless, but Dr. Harten, with his bulldog-like tenacity, held on and was determined to "see it through."

Mrs. Munnings had no witnesses. Not even her pastor, Rev. Moses Paylor, pastor Antioch Baptist Church, Duffield street, who stated in the beginning that she was a loyal and devout missionary worker, devoted to the prayer meeting and Sunday school, was present to give testimony in her behalf. The well-standing John Turkel, a Jew, had four witnesses. Notwithstanding, decision was rendered in her favor.

Counsellor Luke O'Reilly needs to be highly commended for the skill he displayed in court. He quizzed and cross-questioned every witness to the last point, and in the summary of the case did not leave a stone unturned. When the case was over more than a dozen lawyers rushed outside, reaching for the hand of Counsellor O'Reilly, in order to congratulate him, saying it was one of the greatest victories they ever seen.

Mr. Turkel is a law student and manager of a chain of stores. He had two lawyers to defend him and four well-tutored, refined witnesses. Some of the most absurd charges ever heard of were brought against Mrs. Munnings. Turkel declared he went to the rescue of his mother, as he saw her life was in danger, and took a vase from Mrs. Munnings and escorted her to the door. He said he did not strike her. This statement was verified by the other witnesses. But in the cross-examination Counsellor O'Reilly brought out some points that were sufficient to convince the court that Mrs. Munnings was really assaulted.

Judge Eilperin, a Jew, cited to the court that in this case the Jew, gentile and colored race was involved and that it was his desire to administer the law, not according to race creed or color, but with fairness and justice to all concerned.

Judge Eilperin diretced Turkel in open court to apologize to Mrs. Munnings and to say he was sorry for having offended her, shaking her hand. In addition to this to pay her $25.

"It is certanily gratifying to the colored people, not only in New York, but throughout the country, in these crucial days of racial and religious prejudice," said an observer, "to find a man so absolutely free from any taint of this very prevalent disease called prejudice." Judge Eilperin, before going upon the bench, was one of Brooklyn's most distinguished lawyers. He is a gentleman of rare erudition, with a profound knowledge of the law. He was also assoicated in the practice of law with some of Manhattan's most distinguished lawyers. It is said of him that there is no lawyer at the bar today his equal in briefing a difficult question of law.

THE NEGRO AND THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Calvin Coolidge, the President of the United Sates, in his last annual message to Congress before retiring from office, saw fit to devote two hundred and eight words to "The Negro."

Starting out with the time-worn platitudious recanting of the history of the Negro for the past sixty-five years, he winds up a general recommendation that "such immediate remedial legislation as the Federal Government can extend under the Constitution" be passed by Congress. Although he states that "The colored people have been the victims of the crime of lynching," he fails to even recommend that a Federal anti-lynching law be passed.

In view of the record of Calvin Coolidge in his dealings with the Negro for the past seven years he has been President, his message to Congress is about what could be expected. Unless a miracle happens between now and the fourth of March, next, he will go out of office with a record of having done less for the Negro race directly or indirectly than any of his predecessors. Not even did the brief but hectic administration of Warren G. Harding equal Coolidge's for its coldness and disinterestedness to the race who's condition practically made the Republican party possible.

In one sentence the President stated that "Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race." The question naturally arises here, what has he, Calvin Coolidge or his immediate advisors done to encourage this development?

Not even the President of the United States can pass laws per see, but so far as encouraging the development of the Negro, President Coolidge does not need more laws, he already possesses enough power to do a whole lot on his own accord. As President he can issue an executive order abolishing all forms of racial segregation in the Government service. He could order the Inter-State Commerce Commission to investigate the operation of jim-crow cars in the South which is in direct violation of the inter-state traffic laws; he, as commander of the Army and Navy, could see that Negro soldiers who have bared their breasts on a hundred battlefields, in defense of this, their country, receive the full and proper promotions due them; he could nominate Negro youths from the District of Columbia for entrance to Annapolis and West Point; he could order an investigation of the abuse of the use of the photograph in making selections from the Civil Service list for appointments; he could insist that Negroes in all branches of the Federal Government service get the promotions their years of faithful service entitles them to; he could order the Marines fram Haiti; he could give appointments to worthy representatives of the Negro race in all branches of Governmental service. In short, there are many ways Mr. Coolidge could start this encouragement business righ in his own executive office.

If Mr. Coolidge is sincere in his message about wishing to give the Negro encouragement, he has greater opportunity and power than any other person in America. If he does not set the example, then his leadership is a failure.

Without sincerity, nothing even the President of the United States says, carries any weight. It appears as though Mr. Coolidge is guilty of the very thing he says in his message is being abandoned, "Exploiting the Negro problem for political ends."

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

NEGRO IN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The message of President Coolidge, this last message of his administration, a long tenure of presidential responsibility, hands out this juicy sop, easy of digestion, after being gulped down. It is a word-picture that our hearing and eyes have canvassed so thoroughly and so analytically that we all know it intimately. We, as a people, have come somewhere, even from yonder to here, and it is a far cry from there to here.

The President must have felt some fine touch of conscience in portraying the two-paragraph picture of—"The Negro"— and we are crediting him in a good natured way with what he possessed of a friendly spirit in his mental effort to say something inspiriting and benignly encouraging. The paragraphical utterances do not sufficient justice to so great a subject—"The Negro." Well the President did the best he could under the prevailing "pale cast of thought." Here we present the two paragraphs:

THE NEGRO

For 65 years now our Negro population has been under the peculiar care and solicitude of the national government The progress which they have made in education and the professions in wealth and in the arts of civilization, affords one of the most remarkable incidents in this period of world history. They have demonstrated their ability to partake of the advantages of our institutions and to benefit by a free and more and more independent existence. Whatever doubt there may have been of their capacity to assume the status granted to them by the Constitution of this Union is being rapidly dissipated. Their cooperation in the life of the nation is constantly enlarging.

Exploiting the Negro problem for political ends is being abandoned and their protection is being increased by those states in which their percentage of population is largest. Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race. The colored people have been the victims of the crime of lynching, which has in late years somewhat decreased. Some parts of the South already have wholesome laws for its restraint and punishment. Their example might well be followed by other states, and by such immediate remedial legislation as the federal government can extend under the Constitution.

IS THE HAND OF THE GOVERNMENT TOO SHORT?

Again the President of the United States has publicly acknowledged that the colored people of this country are denied the full protection of the Constitution and laws of the land and suggests Congress take a hand in this matter, based upon the powers granted it by the United States Constitution.

At first sight, we were inclined to accept Mr. Coolidge's word in this matter at its face value, but upon reflections, we are beginning to wonder aren't they meaningless, so far as being backed by sincerity and conviction. If the president is sincere, why doesn't he act? Why doesn't he use the power of his good office to bring about a change in this matter, which he acknowledges, is so far wrong until the national government must take public notice of it. What has he done during his tenue of office that has resulted in restoring these rights to twelve million loyal citizens? When we face these facts, then we can't but wonder what does the president mean by mentioning this prevailing condition.

We note that Mr. Coolidge hinted that the arms of the government might be too short to reach and protect the Negro citizens in some parts of this country. To this, we contend that the United States Constitution provides ample protection for all citizens in all the states and that all is necessary is a President in the White House at Washington and a Congress, who have respect enough for their oath of office, to enforce it.

May we cite here, section one of the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which reads:

> Rights of citizens—due process of law—equal protection of the laws.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction there of are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The language in the above section of the Constitution is very plain to us. It states clear and specifically that NO state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Everybody knows that many of the states make or enforce laws which abridge the privileges of a certain class of the citizens of the United States. It is equally well known that such is done in direct violation of the Federal Constitution, yet, nothing is done about it.

One part of the Constitution is just as binding upon the people as another part of it. If the United States government can spend fifty million dollars to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, why can't it also enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. If the government is able to reach one class of law violators, we don't see how its arms are too short to reach lynchers, who number over a hundred thousand in the United States.

Then too, there is the question of voting. It is a well known fact that most of the southern states have disfranchised the Negro citizens, solely on account of race and color. No other pretex is offered. The President of the United States knows this

He, as chief executive of the nation has the right to summon all the powers of the government to break up that sort of thing. He can tomorrow call this matter to the attention of the attorney general with instructions to act and a mighty change will take place in a very short time.

In this connection, may we call attention again to Article Fifteen of the United States Constitution which reads:

> Section 1. Elective franchise.—The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any state, on account of race or color, or previous conditions of servitude.

In the face of these plain facts, we do not see how this government can continually dodge behind states rights in the matter of protecting the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

NEGRO IN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The message of President Coolidge, this last message of his administration, a long tenure of presidential responsibility, hands out this juicy sop, easy of digestion, after being gulped down. It is a word-picture that our hearing and eyes have canvassed so thoroughly and so analytically that we all know it intimately. We, as a people, have come somewhere, even from yonder to here, and it is a far cry from there to here.

The President must have felt some fine touch of conscience in portraying the two-paragraph picture of—"The Negro"— and we are crediting him in a good natured way with what he possessed of a friendly spirit in his mental effort to say something inspiriting and benignly encouraging. The paragraphical utterances do not sufficient justice to so great a subject—"The Negro." Well the President did the best he could under the prevailing "pale cast of thought." Here we present the two paragraphs:

THE NEGRO

For 65 years now our Negro population has been under the peculiar care and solicitude of the national government. The progress which they have made in education and the professions in wealth and in the arts of civilization, affords one of the most remarkable incidents in this period of world history. They have demonstrated their ability to partake of the advantages of our institutions and to benefit by a free and more and more independent existence. Whatever doubt there may have been of their capacity to assume the status granted to them by the Constitution of this Union is being rapidly dissipated. Their cooperation in the life of the nation is constantly enlarging.

Exploiting the Negro problem for political ends is being abandoned and their protection is being increased by those states in which their percentage of population is largest. Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race. The colored people have been the victims of the crime of lynching, which has in late years somewhat decreased. Some parts of the South already have wholesome laws for its restraint and punishment. Their example might well be followed by other states, and by such immediate remedial legislation as the federal government can extend under the Constitution.

IS THE HAND OF THE GOVERNMENT TOO SHORT?

Again the President of the United States has publicly acknowledged that the colored people of this country are denied the full protection of the Constitution and laws of the land and suggests Congress take a hand in this matter, based upon the powers granted it by the United States Constitution.

At first sight, we were inclined to accept Mr. Coolidge's word in this matter at its face value, but upon reflections, we are beginning to wonder aren't they meaningless, so far as being backed by sincerity and conviction. If the president is sincere, why doesn't he act? Why doesn't he use the power of his good office to bring about a change in this matter, which he acknowledges, is so far wrong until the national government must take public notice of it. What has he done during his tenue of office that has resulted in restoring these rights to twelve million loyal citizens? When we face these facts, then we can't but wonder what does the president mean by mentioning this prevailing condition.

We note that Mr. Coolidge hinted that the arms of the government might be too short to reach and protect the Negro citizens in some parts of this country. To this, we contend that the United States Constitution provides ample protection for all citizens in all the states and that all is necessary is a President in the White House at Washington and a Congress, who have respect enough for their oath of office, to enforce it.

May we cite here, section one of the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which reads:

> Rights of citizens—due process of law—equal protection of the laws.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction there of are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The language in the above section of the Constitution is very plain to us. It states clear and specifically that NO state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Everybody knows that many of the states make or enforce laws which abridge the privileges of a certain class of the citizens of the United States. It is equally well known that such is done in direct violation of the Federal Constitution, yet, nothing is done about it.

One part of the Constitution is just as binding upon the people as another part of it. If the United States government can spend fifty million dollars to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, why can't it also enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. If the government is able to reach one class of law violators, we don't see how its arms are too short to reach lynchers, who number over a hundred thousand in the United States.

Then too, there is the question of voting. It is a well known fact that most of the southern states have disfranchised the Negro citizens, solely on account of race and color. No other pretex is offered. The President of the United States knows this

He, as chief executive of the nation has the right to summon all the powers of the government to break up that sort of thing. He can tomorrow call this matter to the attention of the attorney general with instructions to act and a mighty change will take place in a very short time.

In this connection, may we call attention again to Article Fifteen of the United States Constitution which reads:

> Section 1. Elective franchise.—The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any state, on account of race or color, or previous conditions of servitude.

In the face of these plain facts, we do not see how this government can continually dodge behind states rights in the matter of protecting the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The 70th Congress of the United States is in session and Calvin Coolidge as Chief Executive has addressed that body for perhaps the last time. The entire nation and perhaps a goodly part of the world through the daily press is by now well acquainted with its contents.

We, like many others, have indulged in this privilege and noted among the various points driven home by the President are five which we have selected because of their bearing on our racial interests.

In speaking of the Constitutional amendment, President Coolidge said: "The country has duly adopted the 18th amendment. Those who object to it have the right to advocate its modification or repeal. Meantime, it is binding upon the national and state governments and all our inhabitants." In this we heartily agree with the president and the same may be said of other constitutional amendments, such as the 14th and 15th. This is a matter which should be kept constantly before the minds of our people and should be the slogan in all their political battles. In speaking of the Black Man and his steady advance in his short 65 years of freedom, the president mentioned the fact "that the exploiting of the Negro problem for political ends is being abandoned and their protection is being increased by those states in which their percentage is largest. Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race." Our interpretation of this phrase is to the effect that at last the Republican party has determined to become the party of the people regardless of their RACE, CREED OR COLOR, and in order to do so extend its activities earnestly and diligently into the Southland and destroy that mockery of republicanism which has stood like a giant spectre in a petrified forest (a remnant of the old carpet bag rule) from which the Black Man has suffered more than he has gained.

One of the most vital points scored by President Coolidge, which should be of interest to all citizens of this great nation as well as our own group, was: "With respect to the work of the bureau of education of the department of the interior, President Coolidge reminded Congress that while this province belongs peculiarly to the states, yet the promotion of education and efficiency in educational methods is a general responsibility of the federal government." We all know the value of education and the gradual increase of the efficiency of free school education in the various states under the guidance of the federal government is bringing to the realization of both races, BLACK AND WHITE, the necessity of proper safeguarding of this institution for the furtherance of the efficiency of our citizenry. This is a matter which our leaders should at all times be most interested in; and fight to retain ALL OF THE OPPORTUNITIES in various states to train our children in a most democratic manner which is for the purpose of developing the idea of EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL; and fight most assiduously any effort made anywhere by anybody to segregate the youthful citizens of this great nation through the drawing of color lines.

In pursuance of this thought the president has further stated: "For 65 years now our Negro population has been under the peculiar care and solicitude of the national government. The progress which has been made in education and professions, the wealth and arts of civilization, affords one of the most remarkable incidents in this period of world history. They have demonstrated their ability to partake of the advantages of our institutions and to benefit by a free and more and more independent existence."

Most significant was the president's statement concerning lynching, in which he said: "The Colored people have been the victims of lynching, which have in late years somewhat decreased. Some parts of the South have already wholesome laws for its restraint and punishment. Their example might well be followed by other states, and by such immediate remedial legislation as the federal government can extend under the constitution." We said significant was the expression on the matter of lynching, for true to his general disposition, the president has been most cautious in his expressions on this subject; and most cleverly did he weave the thought of the states taking the proper action in this matter for the protection of its citizens; but gave Congress to understand that it should not fail to provide a means for actions in these matters by federal government.

Ten years is a short space of time, and yet in that period we have seen many changes come; the lowering of the bars that let into the great industrial centers of the North millions of Black workers automatically wiping out that disgraceful "Mason-Dixon Line." And at last an awaking of the great Republican party to its responsibility to the nation, in daring to invade the solid South with its great, powerful political machinery; breaking up this deadly menace to the fulfillment of the CONSTITUTION AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION.

Race Problem 1928

United States.

CESTRE'S STUDY OF U. S. BUNK

Pittsburg Courier 6/2/28

By W. A. ROGERS

PARIS, May 31.—The real American invasion of France has just begun! Good old Southern propaganda against the Negro, published by the leading French firm and written by a professor of literature and American civilizations at the Sarbonne.

The firm is Larousse, whose publications are the most important and the most widely read in France and her colonies. In addition to the Larousse encyclopedia, perhaps the most famous in existence, there are the new Larousse, the illustrated Larousse, the Larousse on the countries—in short, a Larousse on almost everything under the sun. The French people are thirsty for information on the American Negro, and they are getting it from Larousse, from Van Vechten and with that of our black Van Vechten soon to follow.

The article above mentioned appears in a profusely illustrated study on the United States by Prof. Charles Cestre. So far as the Negro is concerned, the study is a mixture of truths, inaccuracies and exploded theories, some of the vintage of 1800. In many parts Prof. Cestre speaks like a regular cracker, and if he is not American-born it is easy to see into whose hands he fell if he was ever in the United States. In many parts, however, he denounces some of the evils with vigor, though he avoids the more glaring ones as concubinage and peonage, and speaks not too favorably of those who protest against white injustice. One, however, would like to believe that his errors, which are numerous, are not deliberate, rather the result of misinformation and of not getting hold of the books stating the Negro's side.

The following are some of the more glaring errors: Dealing with the period of reconstruction, Prof. Cestes makes the same error that the Encyclopedia Brittanica, Thomas Dixon, the New York Times and World, Woodrow Wilson, and a host of others have done, namely, that the original Ku Klux Klan had as its purpose the correction of disorders caused by carpetbaggers and Negro legislators in the South and that it was an error to have given the Negro the vote. This matter has already been gone into thoroughly by John R. Lynch, Negro congressman of those times, by the writer and others, and it will be sufficient here to say that the truth regarding those times is simply this:

The South had waged four years of war trying to retain its slaves. When the Negroes were finally freed at the point of the bayonet the Southern whites, still with the craving for Negro labor, set about doing the next most effective thing, forcing the Negroes by "black laws" to engage only in field labor. Once or twice it was necessary for the Union army to invade the South after 1865 to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment and finally, to save expense, the vote was given to the Negro, in the hope that he would be able to protect himself. The struggle of the Negroes and the so-called carpetbaggers was a purely defensive one against the land-holding Southerners and others who were doing their best to re-establish slavery. As to the Negro legislators, sufferers themselves, they gave to the South some of the wisest and most humane laws, tending not only toward the betterment of the Negroes but of the oppressed poor whites. And the further fact is that, far from rushing to the polls and creating black supremacy, the majority of the Negroes were even more apathetic about voting than now.

As to the Klan, its real purpose was to do by underground methods what the Confederacy had failed to do by force of arms, namely, to create a separate republic in the South, with slavery—a fact that cannot escape anyone who has done even so much as read its constitution, not to speak of being acquainted with its machinations.

The fact is that all the thinking people of the North, like Grant, Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Sumner, were opposed to the Klan. The Northerner of today, with his prejudices, swallows wholesale, however, the Thomas Dixon version about white supremacy.

This matter of reconstruction has a profound bearing on the treatment of the Negro today. The moral, say the Dixonites, is "Keep the Negro from the vote at all costs. You gave it to him once and he used it to crush you. What he has done once he will do again. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. Do not let any sentiments about justice lead you into downing yourself." Prof. Cestre uses the argument himself, as will be seen very soon.

And this is why the enemies of the Negro and his pseudo friends desperately maintain that the first Klan was justified.

Prof. Cestre accounts for the origin of the Klan as follows:

"Selfish politicians and idealistic missionaries, coming from the North, invaded the South, armed with full powers to organize the new society upon principles entirely new. The politicians had in view only their own interests under color of favoring the Republican party of the North against the Democratic party of the South. They enrolled the Negroes, who did not know what was wanted of them in the ranks of the Republican party, and tricked the elections in order to give power in the states and municipalities to members of their party. The blacks thus found themselves not only electors but elected. They naturally did what their political patrons told them to do. For ten years the political power was maintained artificially in the hands of the blacks. The whites were systematically thrust out of positions that were their right by culture and morality. In the law courts the whites were regarded as suspects. The missionaries, on the other part, broke away the social barriers that the whites had always maintained against the blacks. They treated them as equals, came to them with outstretched arms, spoilt them as unfortunate brothers. They did not know the mentality of the Negro and did not know that like advances to a debased race could provoke sudden and regrettable reactions. When the Federal troops, in 1874-1876, were withdrawn from the Southern states and the conditions had again become normal, the situation grew so bad, due to the pride that had grown in the dull brains of the blacks, that the whites were forced to defend themselves against the menace of oppression held over their heads."

After this one is not surprised at Prof. Cestre's statement that some of the backbone shown by the Negro in resisting mobs was due to the association of Negro soldiers with white French women during the war, and which "mounted to their heads." But more of that in its proper place.

Prof. Cestre continues: "They reacted often with excess; from which a new anarchy arose, this time on the part of the whites."

All of the foregoing, of course, has been preceded by the whiskered old statement of what Abraham Lincoln would have done, etc., etc., precisely as if the Dixonites actually knew what would have happened had Lincoln lived.

Accounting further for the Klan, he says: "During the reign of the carpetbaggers the whites had not renounced all efforts to save themselves; but they could have recourse only to underhand and extra-legal methods. It is because of this arose the secret society that took the strange name of the Klan."

Napoleon said something to the effect that history is a lie agreed on—a lie agreed on to maintain in power the dominant party. Sir Walter Raleigh while at work on his history of the world tore up his manuscript, it is said, because, looking out on an accident, he heard each bystander giving a separate account of the affair. "How, then," he said, "can I write a history of the world, the events of which I did not see, when, as regards what I actually saw, no two witnesses would agree?" Prof. Cestre, however, writes with great assurance.

He goes on to justify the attitude of the whites in the South by saying that the number of Negroes in the South "equals nearly the population of the whites," while the fact is that, according to the last census, the whites, or rather the people classed as whites, outnumber the Negroes at least five to one—8,000,000 Negroes to 39,000,000 or more whites. In two states only do the Negroes outnumber the whites, and as to those there is little doubt that the 1930 census will show a balance in favor of the whites. He also advances the hoary argument about preserving white civilization. Being a Latin, he said nothing about Anglo-Saxon civilization, as a Southerner would, naturally. In his own words:

> "One cannot deny the avowed intention of the whites to deprive the blacks of their citizenship rights by all means. That is neither good nor just. However, when one considers that the black population in the South nearly equals in number that of the whites, and in certain spots is greater, one can excuse the whites from delivering themselves, tied hands and feet, to an electorate notoriously incapable of exercising the franchise, and who would have all power to spend the taxes by white property owners, and who would again, as in the time of reconstruction, divide among themselves the public funds under pretext of grants and alms. The white race must hold the strong arm in politics."

This is precisely the sort of argument one would expect from Blease, Heflin et al, who usually speak as if it was the Negro who had been standing still for the last fifty years, instead of themselves.

Prof. Cestre tells us that Negro lawyers, doctors and dentists "have a clientele exclusively black." The fact is that many Negro doctors in the South have more white clients than colored, as this writer has personally seen, the great majority of these clients being white men with venereal diseases caught, in many cases, from Negro prostitutes.

The more intelligent Negroes, we are told, are generally the illegitimate offspring of the whites. "These individuals, exceptionally endowed, are generally mulattoes, born of illegitimate relationship." Here is a fact that was slightly true sixty years ago, given out for present-day consumption.

The whites, he says, are very skillful in telling persons with a drop of so-called black blood. "Some," he says, "by the light color of their skins would be able to pass for white in other countries. But the Americans can discover the least presence of pigment under the skins, and apply without pity the social law. Very few quadroons or octoroons who change from city to city have ever succeeded in passing for white." Now the fact is that each of the 10,000,000 or so Negroes know at least one so-called Negro who has "passed for white," while others will have met scores, as this writer has. At least 80 per cent of the whites of the South are Negroes, according to their own dictum.

STATE
COLUMBIA, S. C.

MAY 24 1928

Carter Glass and the Negroes.

The attitude of Senator Glass of Virginia toward Negroes is under warm discussion in some parts of the Old Dominion. The State is somewhat surprised that The Norfolk Journal and Guide, doubtless the ablest, most sanely and constructively edited Negro journal in the country, should fall so short of its opportunities as is evidenced in the following criticism:

The impression which Negroes of Virginia have of Mr. Glass, and which was reflected in our editorial comment of May 5, has been gained through close observation of his record on the Negro question as congressman and United States senator. His gift for "salty speech" when he has had occasion to discuss our group publicly has not enhanced admiration for him on the part of colored people. During a debate in the senate last fall on the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, in which he and his adversaries interjected the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, he is quoted as having called the war amendments "unspeakable crimes" intended to foist upon the South "an Ethiopian state, ignorant, profligate and corrupt." Then regarding Negro suffrage in the present times, he went on to say substantially what he is quoted as having said in the Liberty interview, except of course, his language was more decorous. What the senator has said, from time to time, that has been offensive to self-respecting Negroes everywhere is printed in the Congressional Record, where al' who wish may read. It is this phase of his political trend of mind—the political Mr. Glass—which led finally to his association by Negroes with other Southern senators and congressmen who openly and defiantly berate our group, and who hurl contempt at that part of the organic law which gave us the restricted measure of civil liberty which we now enjoy.

Senator Glass was not there criticising Negroes, but indicting the Republican party for a crime not only against the civilization of the South but against the newly freed slaves.

Those amendments were not "war measures"; they were South-subjection measures.

Why should intelligent Negroes take umbrage at obvious facts which in the circumstances, are no discredit to their race? What qualifications had those several million of emancipated Negroes for government in 1868? They had no background in America save that of slavery, and they were rought here from bar-

barism in Africa. Yet it was upon those people that the Federal government forced the responsibilities not only of self-government but of the government of their late masters who had represented before the cataclism of war the finest civilization known in America! And the Federal government did more in its vindictive hatred of the whites of the South; it encouraged white carpetbaggers and scalawags to use the Negroes for their corrupt, selfish and government-debauching purposes; it encouraged those corruptors in their set purposes to turn the Negroes against white Southerners and so to create animosities that have proved the greatest burden the Negroes have had to carry.

The record of government by Negroes under guidance of Northern carpetbaggers is writ. In the circumstances that record was inevitable. No intelligent persons blame the ignorant, unlettered and deluded freedmen. They fix the crime of the centuries upon those at Washington who were so incited by hatred toward their own race in the South that they were blind and deaf to the teachings of sense and history. It is those whom Carter Glass indicts and history will bring in a true bill on that indictment.

The State believes that had sanity ruled in Washington and race-hatreds not been fostered by the government's course, Negroes would now be taking a much freer part in government in the South.

Instead of resenting references to ignorant and corrupt government in the South during reconstruction which are facts of history, Negroes should cite the truth, point out the responsibilities forced upon them when mentally and morally wholly unprepared to meet them; and then point to their progress along all lines in 60 short years. Being in a "white man's country" has helped them, for no Negroes standing alone have, since the world began, approached these in general advancement. With fine sarcasm they could point to the record of corruption in the Harding administration, and more recently in Indiana, Illinois and other states; also to the witch-burning proclivities of the early New Englanders who were even then centuries removed from bondage.

What an opportunity they miss!

"In Fairness To Senator Glass"

UNDER the above caption the Virginian-Pilot takes exception to our bracketing of Senator Carter Glass with the late Senator Tillman and with ex-Senator Vardaman, as we did in a criticism last week of Senator Glass' recent remarks concerning the Negro, as published in Liberty magazine in what purported to be an authorized interview with Sidney Sutherland. Senator Glass has since repudiated the language attributed to him by Mr. Sutherland in this wise: "Nobody who knows me or my habits of speech could believe that I had ever been guilty of the coarse, almost brutal utterances attributed to me." The article he further objects, according to the Virginian-Pilot, depicts him as "a sectional ruffian, speaking harshly and intemperately as well as ungrammatically, of those whose views on the question involved differ from my own." The Virginian-Pilot says that "it is not to be believed that he made the statement about 'brutish Africans' that Mr. Sutherland attributes to him."

When the **Journal and Guide** editorial was written and printed we had not seen, nor had there been any mention made in the press of Mr. Glass' statement. In view of his own strong characterization of what he was quoted as having said there should be no surprise that the **Journal and Guide** associated him with Tillman and Vardaman, nor do we comprehend how we could have been unfair in doing so. Extracts from the Liberty article were published in nearly every important daily paper in the country, including one of the Norfolk papers, which not only gave additional circulation to the statements alleged to have been made by Mr. Glass, but gave them the stamp of authenticity. If we were misled by an interview, which Mr. Glass now asserts was "inaccurate and largely fictitious," we are only one of a great many that were likewise imposed upon. That Liberty is a reputable magazine and Mr. Sutherland a man of integrity and good standing in his profession are factors which had not, up to this time been questioned.

We are glad to accord Senator Glass the correction to which he is entitled in these columns, as to the inaccuracy and coarseness of the language attributed to him in the Liberty article. We quoted very little of the language attributed to him except the reference to our group as "brutish Africans." As the Virginian-Pilot makes it very plain that the convictions concerning the circumvention of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments which the Liberty article gave ventilation to, are those of Mr. Glass, and a majority of Southern politicians and "unquestionably represent the prevailing Southern view of political and social expediency," there is only one other modification which our criticism seems to require, and that is that we went too far in diagnosing present liberal trends in the South, and in dissociating Senator Glass with the growth of that liberalism. We confess to a disillusionment on that point. If prevailing Southern sentiment holds to the conviction that it is necessary to carry on political malpractices in the South in these times, or in the future, that is a matter for the Southern conscience to deal with.

The suffrage in America will beyond any question of doubt be surrounded in future with such safeguards and restrictions as to make impossible its corruption to the extent of taking away from the South, or of any part of the country the power of the people to keep the government in the hands of those most capable of governing. How the admission of one-tenth of the population to the reasonable exercise of the suffrage, under proper restrictions, could justify a continuance of a policy of political and social expediency, that makes it encumbent upon Senator Glass and all the other members of the Congress who have the inclination to do so, to pillory the Negro to the detriment of his normal existence every time any one mentions the propriety of respecting the constitution as a whole, can be explained only by racial bias and outworn traditions. It cannot be logically defended by any considerations of political or social necessity.

Senator Glass is unquestionably a more able man than Vardaman, but he permits himself to fall into the Vardaman habit of Negro-baiting. A casual reading of his part in recent debates on the eighteenth amendment, or of his unrepudiated newspaper and magazine articles will confirm this.

Yes, "Justice Is Lame As Well As Blind, Amongst Us."

IT is interesting to drop in on the courts occasionally to observe the mills of justice grind. Whether it is in a lower or higher court, one is impressed with the ascending importance of prohibition enforcement as compared with the cheapness with which the law regards human life and the elemental human rights.

The other day a colored man employed as chauffeur for one of Norfolk's most outstanding white citizens entered a local hotel lobby on a call for his employer. The hotel clerk ordered him to take off his cap. While in the act of doing so, according to the testimony, a guest in the hotel knocked the colored man cold with a wallop to the jaw. The victim's employer inquired of the pugilistic hotel guest why he assaulted his chauffeur and his reply was that he "allowed no nigger to stand before him with his hat on." A warrant was sworn out and the defender of white supremacy was haled into police court where the trial justice fined him $5.

A few days later a Volstead hound sniffed liquor in a white gentleman's car. The occupant of the machine declared that he was drinking a celebrated brand of pop and that the sudden interruption by the cop caused him to inadvertently drop the bottle and break it. No liquor was salvaged by the prohibition sleuth. The charge was breaking glass in the street. The trial justice taxed the man $40.00. No doubt he thinks he got a raw deal, but according to the prevailing standards of jurisprudence he got justice. Breaking a mere "nigger's" head may be of no importance, but breaking glass on a public thoroughfare is a symptom of anti-Volsteadism, which requires heroic legal treatment in dry America. The one is vested privilege, the other is defiance of the holy conscience of this Christian country.

The colored man should have had a glass face and a cork jaw. Under the Layman act his assailant could have been fined forty dollars had that been true.

Here is another typical case related by Crawford's Weekly, (white) published at Norton, Va.:

> A Negro comes to Wise county seeking employment. That, at least, is what he said. He was penniless. The law says a man going about broke, in a respectable community, is a vagrant. He is regarded as a menace. Especially if he is a "nigger."
>
> The town officer did his duty as laid down by law. He arrested the Negro and took him before the mayor.
>
> The mayor did his duty as prescribed by law. He found the Negro guilty of vagrancy and put him on the streets.
>
> This dismayed the Negro. Bewildered, he groped around the mayor's office. "Dam de law!" he muttered. "Heah Ise just got tru servin' sixty days at Welch for huntin' wuck and now you gimme de same t'ing here!"
>
> Well he wouldn't starve. And wuckin' is wuckin' whether for de law or for the big cawperations."

The three cases serve to draw attention to the fiction that the Negro gets equal justice in the courts. It is romance pure and simple, invented to salve the uneasy conscience of America. There are times, it is true, when the scales of justice are evenly balanced in causes affecting individual Negroes, and this happens often in Norfolk courts, where the character and calibre of the jurists are unusually high, but as a general average it is far, far from being true. It is almost never true where the controversy is between white and black. The scales are more evenly balanced where litigants are black vs black, but then, it is many times a matter of grave doubt if the right black got the square deal. Some of the obvious miscarriages of justice that have occurred in the courts of Virginia within the past two years are focussing nation-wide discussion of this travesty on the blind goddess upon the Old Dominion. "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just," was Thomas Jefferson's warning to Virginians. The distinguished lamented statesman has every right to shimmy in his grave.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

NEWS
TARENTUM, PA.

JUL 5 1928

THE COLORED RACE

Bishop Heard, who preached at the Union service at Riverview Memorial Park on Sunday evening, was twice a slave during his boyhood, he told his congregation. And the thought that followed this declaration was that the colored race has made amazing progress when we take into consideration the fact that there are men and women living today who once languished under the bonds of human slavery.

Human progress is slow, very slow. And when we consider this fact, the wonderful progress made by the colored people is brought home to us with great force.

And it is wonderful, to, how the attitude of the people can change during a few years. The thought of slavery is abhorant to every American today. Yet, less than 65 years ago a large part of the population of the United States was so firmly convinced that the practice was right that they were willing to shed their blood in defense of it. The people of the South are today just as firmly convinced of the error of slavery as are those of the North.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Tuesday, July 31, 1928

The Negro In Domestic Service

Who that has been long accustomed to good Negro servants in the home, and humanly knows and is known by them, would be willing to change them for any other? Who knows any such domestic servitor as the thoroughbred colored man and woman of the South, proud of the state of their birth? The Chinese and Japanese make good cooks and houseboys, but if one is looking for the intimate and attached family type, is it not to be foud nearer home?

The domestic colored indispensable is by no means the "pud'n head" those who have not discovered by association the secret of him may imagine. The Scot himself is not more canny than are many of them. The only cloudy thing about him is his skin, and the only kinky thing his hair. His vernacular has become classic. He appraises human values by native instinct, and can detect the merely pretentious or patronizing. He has his quiet eye discriminatively on every guest he serves at the table, and quickly discovers "who's who." And while observing unimpeachable form because he is waiting on guests of the home whose esprit de corps is part of his religion, he can be in his inner attitude as secretively supercilious of the unapproved as any lackey of dukedom. He knows the significance of the grading indicated by the hostess in the placing at the table, and would by no means fail to act up to the expectations of "Ole Mis": but has done his own grading before the dinner is over, and rarely makes a mistake. He has a personal stake in that home.

We hear of the decadence of the breed in the multiplication of the species. In the meaning of the word in this relation, we doubt there is more of it in any race than is to be found in the ranks of the dusky domestic of the South. There still obtains here a certain solidarity of spirit and revered use deep rooting. Not a few of these humble people exhibit and maintain qualities worthy of their best traditions. They have brought along out of the past a charming, intriguing, childlike dependence on and confidence in those who really value under first appraisement the best in them for what it is, and are anxious to play fair, showing unmistakable appreciation of the simple-hearted devotion rendered.

Crudely religious is the Negro, perhaps—for he is religious—but not insincerely according to his lights, nor hypocritically. Superstitious all, but so are their employers, only less picturesquely. Facile fibbers, some say, as are imaginative children; but not dangerous liars. They have a great pride in trust. They believe in hell-fire and the devil strenuously, but also in heaven and the angels, and a good God. They are swayed by convictions where many of their superiors hold only opinions — very anxious to make a respectable exit from the world at death. A docile race, a responsive sort, a trustful people where their confidence is not abused or exploited. No race is more evenly submissive to authority that refuses to neglect its proper obligations to its wards. Emotional, sentimental, glad to pay homage where homage has been earned. A liability and charge, but also an asset that more than breaks even.

When it comes to sound elementary education, the well-remembered Judge Feagin of this city, presiding once at the anniversary of a well-known school for colored youth, combining the academic and religious, testified that over an extended period of years no pupil who had gone through its courses had ever come before his court. They are not constitutionally vicious. In melodious harmony the Negro revels and excels, chiming his work to measured chant.

Whatever contempt may have been engendered through mixed parentage, assuredly cannot fall on the colored side. The darkey is not moodily resentful. On occasion, he may have been offensively aggressive, no doubt, but in all probability on the initiative of somebody else who should have known better. The son of Ham, in his proper Southern habitat, is punctiliously respectful to those who know how to rule him with friendly consideration, and is jealous for those who have won his affectionate esteem. As to his alleged craving for racial social equality, that is little more than a fictional bugaboo. Both parties know that the colors can best live in harmony unmerged.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Age

AUG 1928

THADDEUS LUTHER ROSE.
Georgiana, Ala.

* * *

THE NEGRO AS A SERVITOR

Editor The Birmingham News:

Please accept my thanks for the wonderful tribute paid my race (the negro) in your editorial of July 31, headed "The Negro In Domestic Service."

Of all the great souls who have atempted to champion the cause of my people, it seems to me that you tower above them all. In order to show our worth, others have cited our record as soldiers, etc., but you struck the kepnote when you named the negro a loyal and unselfish servant. Of all the vocations of life in which the negro has been allowed to participate he has always shone brightest in the field of industry.

Your article makes you appear as a brave pioneer, venturing into a worthy territory that must some day be explored—for the world must know of the type of servants such as you describe—who serve faithfully and uncomplainingly, despite the fact that they are sometimes ignored and rejected by the very ones whom they serve—and love.

Surely the world should know of these servants, and use them as examples!

Your article is also very timely, because just now, owing to the "color question," some of our voters seem to be baffled as to which of the presidential candidates to support in November. One man would support Mr. Hoover. He learns that Mr. Hoover is of the Quaker stock, and he understands that the Quakers have always been friendly to the negro. So he wants no Hoover.

Another voter would support Gov. Smith, but he reads that a negro bishop in New York told his congregation that Gov. Smith was the negro's friend, and offered them more than Mr. Hoover offered. So this man says, "Away with Smith."

ALBERT J. HOBSON.
Birmingham, Ala., Aug. 2.

* * *

METHODISM AND DEMOCRACY

To Editor The Birmingham News:

I must take issue with Bishop Cannon on the stand he is taking. It is diametrically opposite to the stand of our most wonderful old veteran of both Methodism and Democracy, Bishop Candler.

Bishop Candler has most forcefully warned not to attempt to mix the pulpit with the ballot box.

Like oil and water they will not mix.

I would as soon repudiate the old M. E. Church of my father which I have served since I was 14 years of age—am now 74—as to go back on the old Democratic party.

C. C. BAILEY.

Testing the Color Line

By HUBERT C. HERRING, in The Christian.

One hundred and seventy-three churchmen spent four days together in Chicago talking over the question of the church and race relations. In the number were ministers, laymen, women. The audience was widely representative of the white and Negro groups. The seminar began with an address from our first lady of the land, Jane Addams, and ended with a session devoted to free discussion of the immediate obligation of the church.

The object underlying the seminar was twofold—first, to find out what the Negro is thinking about the situation, and what he is achieving and hoping; and second, to discover some things which the church should do to educate her membership in better attitudes ,and to co-operate in securing a more even-handed measure of opportunity for those whose skins are black.

Call

We whose skins are white asked the leaders of the Negro group to educate us. We did not put it that way, but it came to the same thing. Education is needed rather than resolutions. Education was in the air.

For four days we listened to speakers, asked them questions, and participated in discussions. Most of the speakers were Negroes. We knew that there are able leaders among that race, but the knowledge was rather doctrinaire. Our paths do not cross as often as they should. We are busy ;most of us go on talking about Booker Washington and a few others, and do not take the time to meet the new leaders of the Negro. The seminar gave us the chance to repair this lack.

7-13-28

There was E. Franklin Frazier, for example. Mr. Frazier is a research assistant at the University of Chicago, and director of research of the Chicago Urban League. He struck bedrock in talking about "attitudes in race relations." He spoke of the self-righteousness of many whites. "I don't want any man to shake my hand for Jesus' sake," said Mr. Frazier. He had much to say of the professional enthusiasts. Their fundamental failure is to treat a Negro as a human being. "I get suspicious," said Mr. Frazier, "of a person who loves all Negroes." Speaking of the question, What can be done to wipe out these group atitudes? Mr. Frazier suggested that we look south. The southern white man says that all Negroes are no good, criminal, this and that—but the southern white man always has one Negro who is different. Why is he different? Because he knows him. There is realism. Treat the Negro as an individual, and it wil lnot be necessary to sentimentalize and genarlize. "Don't love all of them, just love one of them, one next door ,on eacross the street."

There was Akintude Dipeolu, born in Nigeria West Africa, a student in the Chicago Theological Seminary—handsome, keen, penetrating. He spoke with restraint, but he gave a picture of America as he sees it, and questioned whether Christian America has any right to lecture to the world, so long as it clings to its un-Christian racial attitudes. "We are beginning, over in Africa, to ask why it is that you send missionaries to convert two millions of Negroes when six hundred run away from one Negro when he moves into their neighborhood; we are beginnng to question the

sincerity of the people of America."

George E. Haynes, of the Federal Council of Churches, brought an illuminating analysis. Dr. Haynes is one of the keenest students of interracial relations, and renders conspicuous service as the head of the council's commission on race relations. In his survey of the present status of the Negro in America, he sketched in the historical background, indicating the changing status of the Negro from the colonial period to our own time. He dealt with the present geographical distribution of the Negro, south and north. He spoke of the civil status of the Negro, and the economic status of the Negro. He insisted that the church has the largest opportunity to deal with interracial attitudes because the church enters with an ethical and religious appeal. He argued for a reasonable emotional appeal—the appeal that digs down into the personality of a man. The church has the strongest appeal because it exalts personality and concerns itself with the motivations of human conduct.

Alexander L. Jackson, a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa member, with a background of social work, editorial experience, and as a Y. M. C. A. secretary, spoke on "How It Feels to Be a Problem." He told his own story ,of his home, of his schooling. He described the way in which a Negro learns that he must "watch his step." "And I have been watching my step ever since." He is reminded that he is a problem every time he enters a street car, a dining car, a railroad train. If he enters a first class hotel, he is met with a stare. All this enters into the soul of a man, determining his attitudes, limiting his development.

Mr. Jackson went on to speak about the difficulty a Negro family faces in the training of children ."I should like to have my children grow up to be decent, self-respecting American citizens. I would like to have them develop according to their knowledge, ability and character—not as Negroes or Chinamen, but as themselves; it is a difficult thing to bring about . . . how it came to be that he is what he is . . . other questions. He is disturbed . . . so am I. I do not know that there is any remedy, except to build up a new attitude among the more liberal-minded and intelligent white people . . . I know of no other way of getting around being a 'problem'. "

Dr. Carl Roberts, a surgeon, told us of the difficulties which the Negroes faces when accident or sickness overtakes him. "John Smith, colored," is admitted to but eight and one-half per cent. of the hospitals of Chicago. No matter what his condition, ninety-one and one-half per cent. of Chicago hospitals are closed to him. These facts Dr Roberts gave without passion. He told of the difficulties which the colored doctor faces. Out of 4,32% hospitals, 4,301 are closed to colored internes. He told in personal terms of the discriminations which are practiced against colored patients and doctors. The Roman Catholic church has the best record, and the Negro has learned that Catholic hospitals are most apt to extend even-handed justice. No wonder the Catholic church wins the affection and respect of many Negroes who do not accept her rites!

We heard from the lips of leading Negro artists of other achievements. William Farrow told us of the Chicago Art League: Charles Dawson, a painter of distinction, brought the reassuring word that Negro artists are not excluded from exhibitions. Race prejudice is breaking down before appreciation. Donald Hayes, the poet, reminded us of the growing list of poets and novelists among the Negroes.

We heard about the political situation in Chicago, and the part which is played by the Negro. The spokesman was a young lawyer, William Haynes. He had just come out of the political campaign of April. He told of the peculiar obstacles which face the Negro in politics, and of the difficulty in defining the issues.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was represented at another session. Twenty of their members were our guests, and their spokesman was Milton P. Webster, the Chicago representative of the brotherhood. He gave us an eloquent and moving account of the struggle of the ten thousand Pullman porters of the country to secure an economic status which is dignified and stable. They seek a living wage, the right to organize, and the elimination of the tipping system. We saw the Pullman porter in a new light, that day, and through him the whole question of organized labor and the Negro.

At another session we heard of the difficulties of the Ne gro in securing a satisfactory legal status. Speakers included Judge George, of the Chicago municipal court, and several officers from the juvenile and the domestic relations courts.

The social workers were heard from, both white and colored. They brought intimate flashes into the homes of Chicago Negroes, and new appreciation of the human side of poor housing, high rents, low wages.

Harold M. Kingsley, Chicago minister, came with chapters out of his own experience to tell us of "The Negro and Religion." He gave us a vivid picture of the ebb and flow of populations, and what they mean to the church which seeks to serve the Negro. He was unsparing in his characterization of many Negro churches as showing "narrow cowardice in the face of new conditions, a fundamentalist theology because of intellectual laziness, an unsocial attitude because of lagging leadership." He finds the Negro church losing its hold on its people. "The salvation of the Negro church," said Mr. Kingsley, "will be found in a frank and courageous acceptance and application of the socia lgospel."

President Jones, of Fisk University, brought reassuring word in regard to the new educational movements among Negroes. On the one hand, there is a new zeal for establishing rural schools. These schools are increasing at a rapid pace. Julius Rosenwald's name will be remembered by generations of Negroes. On the other hand is the provision for higher education in Negro colleges.

The closing discussion of the church in relation to the whole racial question was led by Albert W. Palmer, Arthur E. Holt and Ernest G. Guthrie. Dr. Holt came fortified with maps and charts, by which he was able to show in black and white the way a city grows and struggles, and the paths by which the church must set out to meet its changing task.

There was fire in that last session. Some would settle all questions in an hour, but the mood of the crowd was against "ringing resolutions." They realized that it is idle to dogmatize about any subject so intricate, so delicate. They preferred rather to jot down a few "findings"—not resolutions—and to go away in silence.

I can only speak for myself. I can but report something of the feeling of one member of the seminar. I went away sobered. For a few hours we had had laid back the garment which covers a great unhealed wound in our American life. We had seen the hurt which hate leaves; we had learned in some measure to gauge the forces which keep hate alive; we had learned of some agencies for healing. And then we had looked into the eyes of some of America's great men and women, white and black; and we could not remember which were white and which black; it made no difference. The seminar had done for us that which we would help the church to do for the world—to make the world see that character counts, not skin; that all ability merits recognition ;and that all little things fade away when one puts one's self in the way of big things.—From the Congregationalist.

FINE EDITORIAL MISREAD

That was an ably conceived and masterfully executed editorial, "The Negro in Domestic Service," in the News, July 31. Whatever anyone might think of the correctness of its philosophy or the unexpressed inference naturally assumed by those who have but one eye for viewing race discussions, it was thought through, measured up, built compactly and polished off by an artist having, at least, a good conception and a full view of his subject.

It was about the Negro in domestic service as captioned and the one best interpretation of that subject that we have read. There was no running wild in it, no allusive conclusions—nothing but just a clear-sighted, convincing classic.

Reporter

We imagine that it was misunderstood or misinterpreted by one Mr. T. B. Cullen who, writing in the Voice of the People Columns of the News of August 3, has this to say:

8-11-28

THE NEGRO IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

In "The Negro In Domestic Service," in yesterday's issue, the editor of this paper was "getting down to his knittin'."

Furthermore, it is philosophically and scientifically correct.

The "creative plan" has set the seal of servitude on the brow of "Cuffy," and he, Cuffy, is making the most of it!

Happy the hour when master and servant each know their limitations—the one a kind, patronizing, beneficent force; the other a faithful, obedient helper.

Birmingham, Ala.

Then there is harmony, peace, love!

More apprehension of this on both sides will settle forever the "race question." Such editorials help.

Birmingham, Aug. 1. F. B. CULLEN.

It appears that Mr. Cullen must have read the News editorial with his right eye closed—no, not exactly winking at himself, but closing out the compelling view to which any two open eyes might have been exposed. He either sets upon the inference in the editorial and appropriates the balm of it to salve a sore in his own experiences or he honestly limits his vision to the compass of a small circle of which he is the center and prejudices are radii.

Let us not be sure about the "creative plan" setting the "seal of servitude on the brow of 'Cuffy' ". There is a good of the wish and the guess in that. We would not think so much about, nor care so much about a creator that placed limits on things that showed so little of differences as are shown in men, and with so little of reason. We could hardly worship a creator so small or trust in his fairness. The theory of limits, as far as discovery has yet gone, is as applicable to one created entity as another in the same species. Men are limited by their own inertness, their fear of death on the one hand, and by the might and injustice of other men on the other. Removing either limit involves a struggle—a struggle against the fear within himself or the odds without. Let's not accuse the Creator of partiality. Let's not bother with the "creative plan", but let's have the harmony, peace and love" that comes only through common justice whatever is "the creative plan"; and let us remember, too, that, with common justice according to any civilized moral and legal standards, there is no "race question" and without it there is always one.

Let not Mr. Cullen kid himself into a serious vein of this created-superiority stuff and forget that there are two sides to every question and the fact that a fellow sees only one side of it is no evidence against the existence of the other. There are a thousand easily accessible evidences blasting this theory placed squarely before his prejudice-blinded open eye. There are Negroes and plenty of them that have as much of anything that can be seen or measured as Mr. Cullen and any unit of measurement applicable in science may be used to determine this fact. Moreover, they are not so far away that they might not have been seen by him on any ordinary journey with the other eye open.

sincerity of the people of America."

George E. Haynes, of the Federal Council of Churches, brought an illuminating analysis. Dr. Haynes is one of the keenest students of interracial relations, and renders conspicuous service as the head of the council's commission on race relations. In his survey of the present status of the Negro in America, he sketched in the historical background, indicating the changing status of the Negro from the colonial period to our own time. He dealt with the present geographical distribution of the Negro, south and north. He spoke of the civil status of the Negro, and the economic status of the Negro. He insisted that the church has the largest opportunity to deal with interracial attitudes because the church enters with an ethical and religious appeal. He argued for a reasonable emotional appeal—the appeal that digs down into the personality of a man. The church has the strongest appeal because it exalts personality and concerns itself with the motivations of human conduct.

Alexander L. Jackson, a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa member, with a background of social work, editorial experience, and as a Y. M. C. A. secretary, spoke on "How It Feels to Be a Problem." He told his own story ,of his home, of his schooling. He described the way in which a Negro learns that he must "watch his step." "And I have been watching my step ever since." He is reminded that he is a problem every time he enters a street car, a dining car, a railroad train. If he enters a first class hotel, he is met with a stare. All this enters into the soul of a man, determining his attitudes, limiting his development.

Mr. Jackson went on to speak about the difficulty a Negro family faces in the training of children . "I should like to have my children grow up to be decent, self-respecting American citizens. I would like to have them develop according to their knowledge, ability and character—not as Negroes or Chinamen, but as themselves; it is a difficult thing to bring about . . . how it came to be that he is what he is . . . other questions. He is disturbed . . . so am I. I do not know that there is any remedy, except to build up a new attitude among the more liberal-minded and intelligent white people . . . I know of no other way of getting around being a 'problem'."

Dr. Carl Roberts, a surgeon, told us of the difficulties which the Negroes faces when accident or sickness overtakes him. "John Smith, colored," is admitted to but eight and one-half per cent. of the hospitals of Chicago. No matter what his condition, ninety-one and one-half per cent. of Chicago hospitals are closed to him. These facts Dr Roberts gave without passion. He told of the difficulties which the colored doctor faces. Out of 4,322 hospitals, 4,301 are closed to colored internes. He told in personal terms of the discriminations which are practiced against colored patients and doctors. The Roman Catholic church has the best record, and the Negro has learned that Catholic hospitals are most apt to extend even-handed justice. No wonder the Catholic church wins the affection and respect of many Negroes who do not accept her rites!

We heard from the lips of leading Negro artists of other achievements. William Farrow told us of the Chicago Art League; Charles Dawson, a painter of distinction, brought the reassuring word that Negro artists are not excluded from exhibitions. Race prejudice is breaking down before appreciation. Donald Hayes, the poet, reminded us of the growing list of poets and novelists among the Negroes.

We heard about the political situation in Chicago, and the part which is played by the Negro. The spokesman was a young lawyer, William Haynes. He had just come out of the political campaign of April. He told of the peculiar obstacles which face the Negro in politics, and of the difficulty in defining the issues.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was represented at another session. Twenty of their members were our guests, and their spokesman was Milton P. Webster, the Chicago representative of the brotherhood. He gave us an eloquent and moving account of the struggle of the ten thousand Pullman porters of the country to secure an economic status which is dignified and stable. They seek a living wage, the right to organize, and the elimination of the tipping system. We saw the Pullman porter in a new light, that day, and through him the whole question of organized labor and the Negro.

At another session we heard of the difficulties of the Ne gro in securing a satisfactory legal status. Speakers included Judge George, of the Chicago municipal court, and several officers from the juvenile and the domestic relations courts.

The social workers were heard from, both white and colored. They brought intimate flashes into the homes of Chicago Negroes, and new appreciation of the human side of poor housing, high rents, low wages.

Harold M. Kingsley, Chicago minister, came with chapters out of his own experience to tell us of "The Negro and Religion." He gave us a vivid picture of the ebb and flow of populations, and what they mean to the church which seeks to serve the Negro. He was unsparing in his characterization of many Negro churches as showing "narrow cowardice in the face of new conditions, a fundamentalist theology because of intellectual laziness, an unsocial attitude because of lagging leadership." He finds the Negro church losing its hold on its people. "The salvation of the Negro church," said Mr. Kingsley, "will be found in a frank and courageous acceptance and application of the socia lgospel."

President Jones, of Fisk University, brought reassuring word in regard to the new educational movements among Negroes. On the one hand, there is a new zeal for establishing rural schools. These schools are increasing at a rapid pace. Julius Rosenwald's name will be remembered by generations of Negroes. On the other hand is the provision for higher education in Negro colleges.

The closing discussion of the church in relation to the whole racial question was led by Albert W. Palmer, Arthur E. Holt and Ernest G. Guthrie. Dr. Holt came fortified with maps and charts, by which he was able to show in black and white the way a city grows and struggles, and the paths by which the church must set out to meet its changing task.

There was fire in that last session. Some would settle all questions in an hour, but the mood of the crowd was against "ringing resolutions." They realized that it is idle to dogmatize about any subject so intricate, so delicate. They preferred rather to jot down a few "findings"—not resolutions—and to go away in silence.

I can only speak for myself. I can but report something of the feeling of one member of the seminar. I went away sobered. For a few hours we had had laid back the garment which covers a great unhealed wound in our American life. We had seen the hurt which hate leaves; we had learned in some measure to gauge the forces which keep hate alive; we had learned of some agencies for healing. And then we had looked into the eyes of some of America's great men and women, white and black; and we could not remember which were white and which black; it made no difference. The seminar had done for us that which we would help the church to do for the world—to make the world see that character counts, not skin; that all ability merits recognition ;and that all little things fade away when one puts one's self in the way of big things.—From the Congregationalist.

FINE EDITORIAL MISREAD

That was an ably conceived and masterfully executed editorial, "The Negro in Domestic Service," in the News, July 31. Whatever anyone might think of the correctness of its philosophy or the unexpressed inference naturally assumed by those who have but one eye for viewing race discussions, it was thought through, measured up, built compactly and polished off by an artist having, at least, a good conception and a full view of his subject.

It was about the Negro in domestic service as captioned and the one best interpretation of that subject that we have read. There was no running wild in it, no allusive conclusion—nothing but just a clear-sighted, convincing classic.

Reporter 8-11-28

We imagine that it was misunderstood or misinterpreted by one Mr. T. B. Cullen who, writing in the Voice of the People Columns of the News of August 3, has this to say:

THE NEGRO IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

In "The Negro In Domestic Service," in yesterday's issue, the editor of this paper was "getting down to his knittin'."

Furthermore, it is philosophically and scientifically correct.

The "creative plan" has set the seal of servitude on the brow of "Cuffy," and he, Cuffy, is making the most of it!

Happy the hour when master and servant each know their limitations—the one a kind, patronizing, beneficent force; the other a faithful, obedient helper.

Birmingham, Ala.

Then there is harmony, peace, love!

More apprehension of this on both sides will settle forever the "race question." Such editorials help.

F. B. CULLEN.

Birmingham, Aug. 1.

It appears that Mr. Cullen must have read the News editorial with his right eye closed—no, not exactly winking at himself, but closing out the compelling view to which any two open eyes might have been exposed. He either sets upon the inference in the editorial and appropriates the balm of it to salve a sore in his own experiences or he honestly limits his vision to the compass of a small circle of which he is the center and prejudices are radii.

Let us not be sure about the "creative plan" setting the "seal of servitude on the brow of 'Cuffy'". There is a good of the wish and the guess in that. We would not think so much about, nor care so much about a creator that placed limits on things that showed so little of differences as are shown in men, and with so little of reason. We could hardly worship a creator so small or trust in his fairness. The theory of limits, as far as discovery has yet gone, is as applicable to one created entity as another in the same species. Men are limited by their own inertness, their fear of death on the one hand, and by the might and injustice of other men on the other. Removing either limit involves a struggle—a struggle against the fear within himself or the odds without. Let's not accuse the Creator of partiality. Let's not bother with the "creative plan", but let's have the harmony, peace and love" that comes only through common justice whatever is "the creative plan"; and let us remember, too, that, with common justice according to any civilized moral and legal standards, there is no "race question" and without it there is always one.

Let not Mr. Cullen kid himself into a serious vein of this created-superiority stuff and forget that there are two sides to every question and the fact that a fellow sees only one side of it is no evidence against the existence of the other. There are a thousand easily accessible evidences blasting this theory placed squarely before his prejudice-blinded open eye. There are Negroes and plenty of them that have as much of anything that can be seen or measured as Mr. Cullen and any unit of measurement applicable in science may be used to determine this fact. Moreover, they are not so far away that they might not have been seen by him on any ordinary journey with the other eye open.

Race Problem 1928

United States
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

JAN 30 1928

SWANSON'S SPEECH DEFENDING SOUTH HELD 'REMARKABLE'

New York Times So Much Impressed Senator Is Asked To Put It In Article

Senator Claude A. Swanson's speech in the Senate last week in which he made an eloquent and vigirous reply to threats from certain quarters to reduce Southern representation in the House of Representatives because of the South's attitude toward the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, is given full-page prominence in the issue of yesterday's New York Times.

"In view of the continued interest in Senator Swanson's remarkable address," says an editor's note preceding the Swanson article, "he was asked by the New York Times to present the pith of his speech in a special article."

The Virginia senior senator's address came as the result of a controversy precipitated by those who defend the disregard of the Eighteenth Amendment by citing what they term the disregard in the Southern States of the amendments affecting the civic rights of negroes. In his speech, a large part of the text of which was carried in the Virginian-Pilot the succeeding day, Senator Swanson vigorously defended the South and denied that restrictions placed on the negro were in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

In his article, the Virginia senator states that the answer to the question of "what is the effect of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States" is of vital importance, not only to the South but to all parts of the country at this time. Writing then as "an American and not as a citizen of any particular section of the country" the senator proceeds to answer it, using in his article the principal points made in his original speech. After giving the history of the various amendments he cites decisions by the Supreme Court and other courts in upholding the attitude of the South.

Herskovitz Quizzes

Professor Melville Herskovitz white, assistant Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University wrote a new book the other day in which he predicted that the American Negro will never be absorbed by the white race.

Colored folk, he said, will become stabilized, a new brown skinned race between the black wide-nosed African and the white-narrow-nosed American.

Argus

The AFRO smiled at such a prophecy. It recalled the beauty cultural efforts of many firms who have succeeded in making curly hair straight. Tomorrow it said, these firms will be making skins white. Whereupon Professor Herskovitz quizzes the AFRO as follows:—

> To the Editor St. Louis, Mo.
> The Afro-American:
> "Your news story is certainly a careful statement of my published material. As to the editorial, I should like very much to ask one question:—Does the AFRO-AMERICAN as a "strong race publication" feel that the most desirable thing that can happen to the Negro is for him to pass completely over into the white community?"

The AFRO answers "Yes" to Prof Herskovitz and gives the following reasons:—

(1) There is but one race, to quote Clarence Darrow and Dr. Ernest Just, and that is the human race. Color is incidental.

Dr. Kelly Miller says:

If God ever intended the races should not mix, He would have made it impossible for them to do so.

(2) If Uncle Sam can absorb 50 million aliens of all nations, a few million Negroes will hardly give him indigestion.

(3) America is color mad—In a large part of the United States only white people are expected to vote, travel in comfort, live on paved streets, get an education or earn a living wage.

(4) Nature never intended the outside cover of a man, bird or an animal to be a hardship. To quote Mr. Darrow again, Nature gave Negroes a black skin to better withstand tropical heat. Unfortunately the United States is not in the tropics.

(5) Intermarriage is a public contract like buying and selling a lot. If two contracting parties agree, all other considerations are their own personal affairs.

(6) Frederick Douglass said his mother was colored and his father white and he felt perfect propriety in marrying women of either race. His first wife was colored and his second white.

(7) Negroes did not start this race mixing and the AFRO does not see why they should be asked to stop it. They can't anyhow.

* * * * * *

Mr. John Mitchell, editor of the Richmond, Va. Planet, does not agree with these views. He is "interested in preserving the purity of the Negro race."

Maybe he does not realize his job is well nigh hopeless, so the AFRO won't tell him that Professor Herskovitz estimates that eighty percent of the Negro race in the U. S. are already of mixed Negro, Indian and white blood.

* * * * * *

Mr. W. A. Plecker white, director of the Va. State Bureau of Health is another race purist. He says, "I hope the true Negro will be wise enough to know what to do with mixed breeds, who are not white and whom the Negroes do not consider black. They are the problem. The true Negro is no problem from the racial stand point, so long as he remains pure. It is needless to say that he has the good will of all well thinking white people."

How "good" is the "good will" of Mr. Plecker—Not good enough to put a police uniform on a Negro in Richmond or to appoint a colored person as principal of Richmond's Colored High School.

* * * * * *

These are reasons the AFRO says to Professor Herskovitz it is desirable to pass completely over to the white community.

But the AFRO agrees with President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University when he says—"The Negro should not wait for amalgamation to give him his full manhood rights. It is too long a process. We want the rights of full citizens, black, just like we are, and they include, social equality, intermarriage or any other rights, privileges and prerogatives which other citizens of the United States enjoy.

* * * * * *

We live in a part of the world, in which a man must think constantly of his color. He ought not to, any more than he ought think of the size of his nose, the shape of his feet or the texture of his underwear.

This color business is silly, its unreasonable it's inconvenient, it's a handicap.

The first beauty culturist who comes along with a fool proof skin whitener will earn a fortune that will make Henry Ford turn green with envy.

POST
VICKSBURG, MISS.

FEB 10 1928

A PLEA THAT SHOULD BE HEEDED.

One of the most thoughtful articles which we have seen in many a day appeared recently in this newspaper in the column, "Among Colored Folks," which is a usual weekly feature of this newspaper and relates the doings at school and in church work of the colored citizens of this city. This article deserves careful reading by the white people. It is an appeal, couched in careful, well-considered sentences, free from any offense to the white people among whom Fate has cast the lot of the negro race.

The negro was brought to this country through no wish of his own, and had he been profitable to the north, the Civil War would never have been fought. The New England climate, being too strenuous for the race, they were shipped south, and so the foundations of many New England fortunes made—a fact which they should not ignore, at least, their descendants should be reminded of it from time to time in order to reduce their mental attitude to a proper level.

We, therefore, have the negro with us and here he will be to the end of time. This is a fact and a mighty powerful fact, for, without him the staple crops of the south would not grow—no other labor will work this land as cotton requires to be worked—intensively for a short growing period. This being so, the white people have a duty toward the negro which may be summed up by saying that we must keep away from him all of the temptations which he, being at best a docile child, is easily led for good or bad, which will ruin him and, incidentally make him a criminal.

Some one said long ago that there should be two codes in a state like Mississippi—one for the white and one for the black man—for the same laws are not applicable equally to both.

This, of course, is not practicable, but we can certainly do as the author of this very timely article suggests: Protect the negro boy, the adolescent, from whiskey, crap shooting and crime. It would be a whole lot cheaper for the taxpaying white race to do this than to arrest them, place them in penitentiaries and so remove them from contributing to the economic wealth of the state.

These boys are children, even after they are grown; at least, most of them are. To allow immature boys to frequent gambling houses makes thieves and loafers out of them, for, when it is learned that easy money can be made, they will never work. Then teach them to drink bad booze—and they, like the Indian, must be protected against bad boose—and the second step toward the gallows has been taken. That parental control has slackened and parental indifference has increased is, of course, a sad fact. It is true of the day. This is the children's day it is sad to relate, when obedience to all authority, all courtesy, all reverence, is thrown in the discard. To have an immature race; a kindly docile race, ruined by gambling, firewater and lack of discipline, is a very sad state of affairs. The Post hopes something will be done about this.

N Y TIMES

FEB 21 1928

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

If the movement in the first Illinois District to send a negro Congressman to Washington in place of Representative MADDEN is successful, he will, it develops, be a man with a mission more serious than a mere emphasis of the presence in

Congress of a member of his race. It is the observance, as the American negroes see it, of the Fifteenth Amendment which is to be his cause. The manager of one of the candidates has stated it forcefully as follows:

The issue of paramount importance is not whether the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced, but whether or not the necessary legislation shall be enacted to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective in spirit and letter. It is my firm conviction that lynching, peonage, jim-crow cars and disfranchising would shortly disappear if every citizen was protected in the exercise of his franchise. This right would not be denied if deprivation of representation in Congress would be the unfailing penalty of such denial.

This manifesto has aroused Mr. MADDEN'S negro constituents to such an extent that many candidates of that race are in the field—so many, think the Chicago political reporters, that they will split their own vote, and make it possible for Mr. MADDEN to go back. But if they were to apply to their enterprise the same solidarity with which they support the white bosses of Chicago, the next Congress might find in its ranks a citizen whose political opinions will be even more distasteful to the South than his color.

HOWARD PREXY DECLARES FOR FULL EQUALITY

Scientists Agree, He Says, That No Harm Can Come From Intermarriage

RELIGIOUS RADICALISM IS THE NEED TODAY

China Laughs At Missionary Who Brings Him Religion But Jim Crows Negro

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, stands for full race equality including amalgamation and social equality.

Dr. Johnson expressed his views before the Community Church, in New York recently.

This Sunday he speaks before the Y. M. C. A. forum in Stambaugh auditorium, Youngstown, Ohio, on "Christianity and the World's Race Problem."

Youngstown is advertising Dr. Johnson as the greatest orator of his generation.

Speaking in New York, Dr. Johnson said, he did not believe in intermarriage just for the sake of a Negro marrying a white woman, but he thought that when two sane persons wanted to marry, there should be no law to prevent them, and that while he could not stop amalgamation of the races, he did not believe that Negroes should wait for amalgamation to give him full manhood rights.

It is too long a process, he said. He wanted his rights black, just as he is, which included social equality without equivocation or retreating a single inch, which in turn included intermarriage.

Dr. Johnson emphasized the fact that anthropologists and other scientists are agreed that no harm can come from intermarriage.

Religion

"The white man's religion," said Dr. Johnson, "has made the mistake of leaving the public under the impression that Protestant religion is the white man's religion. This is untrue. t is an Asiatic religion."

"The South lost its big opportunity during the days of slavery by interpreting the Bible in a philosophical manner instead of an ethical manner," Dr. Johnson explained.

He said one set of white men in the South took the Book of Genesis and proved that slavery was right and another set took the Bible and proved that it was wrong.

China Laughs

China, he declared, laughs at the American missionary who brings him religion and segregates the Negro.

Dr. Johnson recalled a church that sent two white missionaries to Africa to convert the heathen and thirty days later, led by the pastor, protested against two respectable colored people moving into the neighborhood of one of its members. He said he hoped that the Negro would become more radical along social and economic lines, but especially along religious lines.

The West Indian And American Negro Can Amicably Unite?

A Series of Articles by Floyd J. Calvin

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

(Copyright, 1928, by The Pittsburgh Courier)

NEW YORK, Mar. 15.—Some months ago I promised an article on "How West Indian and American Negroes Can Amicably Unite." First of all, this is not that article. The more I have thought of the article, the more difficult the task seems I have imposed upon myself. Yet this is a problem that must at some time or another be solved, or adjusted, or whatever you might call ironing out differences. Postponing it won't help matters. It might as well be faced now.

It seems to me that before West Indian and American Negroes can be brought together with any degree of definiteness and stability, each side must have a thorough understanding of the other. Each side must appreciate the peculiar customs and habits of the other and, because the major interests of both groups can best be served by united and concerted action on things racial in these United States, minor differences such as accent, social customs, etc., must be tolerated in each by the other in order to more effectively fight the larger and more important foe, American Race Prejudice.

We Americans have the West Indian with us, whether some of us like it or not, and he is, apparently, here to stay. He is considered a Negro right along with us by our white American brother. Now the only thing left for us to do is to get along together for the best interests of all. Some Americans have, I know, resented the fact that the West Indian has been, in a manner of speaking, "thrust" upon us. We resent lynching and disfranchisement, too, but they continue to flourish. So the only thing left for us to do, it seems to me, is to try to understand the West Indian and let him understand us, and then work together.

I, personally, have taken great pains to try to understand the West Indian, and I think my views on how the two groups can amicably unite will stand a better chance of being seriously considered if I give my readers the benefit of my experience and information in this effort to understand them. It will probably take three or four articles to do this, and this is the first.

When a stranger comes into your midst, and especially if he is a foreigner, you are more or less curious to know about him. His peculiar customs and habits often give rise to fantastic tales that are nothing like true. Yet, so long as you don't know the simple truth, you are inclined to credit the tales, although you might give the foreigner the benefit of the doubt. One thing that has always interested me is the West Indian's food, and I always said to myself the first chance I got I would ask one all about what they eat down in the islands. At last I have found out about the West Indian's food, and it is the burden of this article.

There are about 60,000 in New York and practically all of them are familiar with and many eat the following vegetables which are not staple with American Negroes: cassava, tania, eddoe, tropical yam, pumpkin, cho-cho, plantain, ginger, cocoanut oil, pigeon peas, cow peas, sugar cane. These vegetables are imported into New York primarily for the consumption of West Indians. Cassava, a tuber used like the American potato, grows in all the islands and Florida, but is mainly imported from Cuba. Tania is also a tuber which comes from Santo Domingo, Cuba, Porto Rico and Jamaica. It is also eaten in South Carolina by a very few Negroes. Eddoe, or dasheen, a tuber of the Elephant ear family, comes from Trinidad, St. Lucia and Florida. The tropical yam, which is not a sweet potato and is very expensive, comes only from Florida, but few of the natives of Florida eat them. They are grown in the islands, but are not allowed to be imported. The pumpkin, which is less mushy than the American, is not made into a pie, but is cooked as a vegetable—boiled and buttered, or is used in making soup. It comes from Porto Rico, Santo Domingo and Jamaica. Cho-cho, a vegetable similar to the American squash, comes from Cuba, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. The plantain, which looks like the banana, but is larger, can be either boiled or fried. It comes from Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Panama. Ginger (green) is a root used as a drug in sickness, and is also used for making ginger beer. Cassava bread is made from grated cassava root. Cassava farina is a coarse flour used to make dumplings, patties, etc. Pigeon peas (both green and dry) come from Porto Rico and are used to make the famous "peas and rice" dish which is a favorite West Indian dish. The peas are boiled or stewed, never baked. Cow peas, or "increase peas," as they are known in most of the islands, in addition to being eaten by West Indians, are also eaten by Negroes from Georgia and North Carolina who have a superstition that they bring good luck if eaten at New Year's. Sugar cane sold in New York is not imported, but comes from Georgia, South Carolina and Florida. It is eaten by Americans as well as West Indians.

Most fruits from the West Indies are banned because of insect pests. The mango, guava, and nasberry (in the Bahamas called sapodilla) sugar apple, and sour sop are under the ban. The alligator pear or avocad is imported and is very expensive. It is used for salads and is only eaten by West Indians who can afford it and rich American whites in the winter. In summer it is cheap. It is also eaten with bread and called vegetable butter.

West Indian vegetables are much more expensive than American. West Indians in America are learning to eat American vegetables, but the most Americanized of them like to get back to their home dishes once in a while.

Under the head of meats West Indians like spiced beef, pickled pork (spare ribs, pigtails) which gator pear or avocada is imported from Chicago, and salted, dried cod fish which originated in Canada. The numerous fish markets in Harlem are maintained for West Indians who buy fish every day from their habit of eating much fish in the islands. American Negroes rarely buy fish except on Friday. West Indians eat lots of eggs, but no bacon. They also rarely eat pancakes or syrup, but are strong for Johnny Cakes, which in the islands they eat for supper on a rainy day. They are great coffee, chocolate and tea drinkers, but not cocoa. They eat lots of sugar, as in lemonade, ginger beer and on fruits. They eat formal desserts with their meals only about once a week, and this includes preserves or fruits. Never pies, or anything that is baked in an oven are used, for in the islands the stoves do not have ovens and none of the food is baked. Little bread is used in the West Indies because of lack of facilities for baking. When bread is eaten it comes from the baker. The average family depends on cassava bread. Lard is little used but cocoanut oil is used instead.

West Indians at home are said to be wasteful in their cooking. Nothing is used that is left over. This is due to the lack of refrigeration conveniences. Ice is too costly, and besides there aren't many ice boxes. At home the West Indian eats lots of goat, cow and sheep meat, plenty of vegetables, poultry, turtles, shell fish and crabs. The chickens are fricaseed because of lack of facilities for baking.

West Indians. Some few who have become more or less Americanized since coming to this country have accustomed themselves to American dishes. Others cater to American dishes because they learn it in

This information is not specifically true in all islands and therefore not specifically true of all West Indians in New York, but it is generally and substantially true of all

Congress of a member of his race. It is the observance, as the American negroes see it, of the Fifteenth Amendment which is to be his cause. The manager of one of the candidates has stated it forcefully as follows:

The issue of paramount importance is not whether the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced, but whether or not the necessary legislation shall be enacted to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective in spirit and letter. It is my firm conviction that lynching, peonage, jim-crow cars and disfranchising would shortly disappear if every citizen was protected in the exercise of his franchise. This right would not be denied if deprivation of representation in Congress would be the unfailing penalty of such denial.

This manifesto has aroused Mr. MADDEN's negro constituents to such an extent that many candidates of that race are in the field—so many, think the Chicago political reporters, that they will split their own vote, and make it possible for Mr. MADDEN to go back. But if they were to apply to their enterprise the same solidarity with which they support the white bosses of Chicago, the next Congress might find in its ranks a citizen whose political opinions will be even more distasteful to the South than his color.

HOWARD PREXY DECLARES FOR FULL EQUALITY

Scientists Agree, He Says, That No Harm Can Come From Intermarriage

RELIGIOUS RADICALISM IS THE NEED TODAY

China Laughs At Missionary Who Brings Him Religion But Jim Crows Negro

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, stands for full race equality including amalgamation and social equality.

Dr. Johnson expressed his views before the Community Church, in New York recently.

This Sunday he speaks before the Y. M. C. A. forum in Stambaugh auditorium, Youngstown, Ohio, on "Christianity and the World's Race Problem."

Youngstown is advertising Dr. Johnson as the greatest orator of his generation.

Speaking in New York, Dr. Johnson said, he did not believe in intermarriage just for the sake of it. Negro marrying a white woman, but he thought that when two sane persons wanted to marry, there should be no law to prevent them, and that while he could not stop amalgamation of the races, he did not believe that Negroes should wait for amalgamation to give him full manhood rights.

It is too long a process, he said. He wanted his rights black, just as he is, which included social equality without equivocation or retreating a single inch, which in turn included intermarriage.

Dr. Johnson emphasized the fact that anthropologists and other scientists are agreed that no harm can come from intermarriage.

Religion

"The white man's religion," said Dr. Johnson, "has made the mistake of leaving the public under the impression that Protestant religion is the white man's religion. This is untrue. t is an Asiatic religion."

"The South lost its big opportunity during the days of slavery by interpreting the Bible in a philosophical manner instead of an ethical manner," Dr. Johnson explained.

He said one set of white men in the South took the Book of Genesis and proved that slavery was right and another set took the Bible and proved that it was wrong.

China Laughs

China, he declared, laughs at the American missionary who brings him religion and segregates the Negro.

Dr. Johnson recalled a church that sent two white missionaries to Africa to convert the heathen and thirty days later, led by the pastor, protested against two respectable colored people moving into the neighborhood of one of its members. He said ne hoped that the Negro would become more radical along social and economic lines, but especially along religious lines.

The West Indian And American Negro Can Amicably Unite?

A Series of Articles by Floyd J. Calvin

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

(Copyright, 1928, by The Pittsburgh Courier)

NEW YORK, Mar. 15.—Some months ago I promised an article on "How West Indian and American Negroes Can Amicably Unite." First of all, this is not that article. The more I have thought of the article, the more difficult the task seems I have imposed upon myself. Yet this is a problem that must at some time or another be solved, or adjusted, or whatever you might call ironing out differences. Postponing it won't help matters. It might as well be faced now.

It seems to me that before West Indian and American Negroes can be brought together with any degree of definiteness and stability, each side must have me is the West Indian's food, and a thorough understanding of the I always said to myself the first other. Each side must appreciate chance I got I would ask one all the peculiar customs and habits of about what they eat down in the the other and, because the major islands. At last I have found out interests of both groups can best about the West Indian's food, and be served by united and concerted it is the burden of this article. action on things racial in these There are about 60,000 in New United States, minor differences York and practically all of them such as accent, social customs, etc., are familiar with and many eat must be tolerated in each by the the following vegetables which are other in order to more effectively not staple with American Negroes: fight the larger and more impor- cassava, tania, eddoe, tropical yam, tant foe, American Race Prejudice. pumpkin, cho-cho, plantain, ginger, We Americans have the West In- cocoanut oil, pigeon peas, cow peas, dian with us, whether some of us sugar cane. These vegetables are like it or not, and he is, apparent- imported into New York primarily ly, here to stay. He is considered for the consumption of West Indians. a Negro right along with us by our Cassava, a tuber used like cod fish which originated in Canwhite American brother. Now the the American potato, grows in all ada. The numerous fish markets in only thing left for us to do is to the islands and Florida, but is Harlem are maintained for West Inget along together for the best in- mainly imported from Cuba. Tania dians who buy fish every day from terests of all. Some Americans is also a tuber which comes from their habit of eating much fish in have, I know, resented the fact that Santo Domingo, Cuba, Porto Rico the islands. American Negroes the West Indian has been, in a and Jamaica. It is also eaten in rarely buy fish except on Friday. manner of speaking, "thrust" upon South Carolina by a very few Ne- West Indians eat lots of eggs, but us. We resent lynching and dis- groes. Eddoe, or dasheen, a tuber no bacon. They also rarely eat franchisement, too, but they con- of the Elephant ear family, comes pancakes or syrup, but are strong tinue to flourish. So the only from Trinidad, St. Lucia and Flo- for Johnny Cakes, which in the isthing left for us to do, it seems to rida. The tropical yam, which is lands they eat for supper on a me, is to try to understand the not a sweet potato and is very ex- rainy day. They are great coffee, West Indian and let him understand pensive, comes only from Florida, chocolate and tea drinkers, but not us, and then work together. but few of the natives of Florida cocoa. They eat lots of sugar, as

I, personally, have taken great eat them. They are grown in the in lemonade, ginger beer and on pains to try to understand the islands, but are not allowed to be fruits. They eat formal desserts West Indian, and I think my views imported. The pumpkin, which is with their meals only about once a on how the two groups can amica- less mushy than the American, week, and this includes preserves bly unite will stand a better chance not made into a pie, but is cooked or fruits. Never pies, or anything of being seriously considered if I as a vegetable—boiled and buttered, that is baked in an oven are used, give my readers the benefit of my or is used in making soup. It for in the islands the stoves do not experience and information in this comes from Porto Rico, Santo Do- have ovens and none of the food effort to understand them. It will mingo and Jamaica. Cho-cho, a is baked. Little bread is used in probably take three or four arti- vegetable similar to the American the West Indies because of lack of cles to do this, and this is the first. squash, comes from Cuba, Santo Do- facilities for baking. When bread

When a stranger comes into your mingo and Porto Rico. The plan- is eaten it comes from the baker. midst, and especially if he is a tain, which looks like the banana, The average family depends on cas- foreigner, you are more or less cu- but is larger, can be either boiled sava bread. Lard is little used rious to know about him. His pe- or fried. It comes from Santo Do- but cocoanut oil is used instead. culiar customs and habits often mingo, Cuba, and Panama. Gin- West Indians at home are said give rise to fantastic tales that are ger (green) is a root used as a to be wasteful in their cooking. nothing like true. Yet, so long as drug in sickness, and is also used Nothing is used that is left over. you don't know the simple truth, for making ginger beer. Cassava This is due to the lack of refriger- you are inclined to credit the tales, bread is made from grated cassava ation conveniences. Ice is too cost- although you might give the for- root. Cassava farina is a coarse ly, and besides there aren't many eigner the benefit of the doubt. One flour used to make dumplings, pat- ice boxes. At home the West Inthing that has always interested ties, etc. Pigeon peas (both green

and dry) come from Porto Rico and are used to make the famous "peas and rice" dish which is a favorite West Indian dish. The peas are boiled or stewed, never baked. Cow peas, or "increase peas," as they are known in most of the islands, in addition to being eaten by West Indians, are also eaten by Negroes from Georgia and North Carolina who have a superstition that they bring good luck if eaten at New Year's. Sugar cane sold in New York is not imported, but comes from Georgia, South Carolina and Florida. It is eaten by Americans as well as West Indians.

Most fruits from the West Indies are banned because of insect pests. The mango, guava, and nasberry (in the Bahamas called sapodilla) sugar apple, and sour sop are under the ban. The alligator pear or avocad is imported and is very expensive. It is used for salads and is only eaten by West Indians who can afford it and rich American whites in the winter. In summer it is cheap. It is also eaten with bread and called vegetable butter.

West Indian vegetables are much more expensive than American. West Indians in America are learning to eat American vegetables, but the most Americanized of them like to get back to their home dishes once in a while.

Under the head of meats West Indians like spiced beef, pickled pork (spare ribs, pigtails) which gator pear or avocada is imported from Chicago, and salted, dried cod fish which originated in Canada. The numerous fish markets in Harlem are maintained for West Indians who buy fish every day from their habit of eating much fish in the islands. American Negroes rarely buy fish except on Friday. West Indians eat lots of eggs, but no bacon. They also rarely eat pancakes or syrup, but are strong for Johnny Cakes, which in the islands they eat for supper on a rainy day. They are great coffee, chocolate and tea drinkers, but not cocoa. They eat lots of sugar, as in lemonade, ginger beer and on fruits. They eat formal desserts with their meals only about once a week, and this includes preserves or fruits. Never pies, or anything that is baked in an oven are used, for in the islands the stoves do not have ovens and none of the food is baked. Little bread is used in the West Indies because of lack of facilities for baking. When bread is eaten it comes from the baker. The average family depends on cassava bread. Lard is little used but cocoanut oil is used instead. West Indians at home are said to be wasteful in their cooking. Nothing is used that is left over. This is due to the lack of refrigeration conveniences. Ice is too costly, and besides there aren't many ice boxes. At home the West In-

This information is not specifically true in all islands and therefore not specifically true of all West Indians in New York, but it is generally and substantially true of all West Indians. Some few who have service, and because they feel that become more or less Americanized the American way of preparing food since coming to this country have is superior to their own. But the accustomed themselves to Ameri- majority of them still largely cater can dishes. Others cater to Ameri- to the home food products. can dishes because they learn it in

dian eats lots of goat, cow and sheep meat, plenty of vegetables, poultry, turtles, shell fish and crabs. The chickens are fricaseed because of lack of facilities for baking.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

FEB 22 1927

Letters to the Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long.

THE 14TH, 15TH and 18TH AMENDMENTS

Editor The Advertiser:

In your editorial of Feb. 14, under above title, certain statements are made which should not go unchallenged.

In part you say: "Senator William Cabell Bruce, of Maryland, has been represented in Alabama as one of those who have 'threatened' the South. The fact is that Bruce a Virginia-born Democrat, has gone no further than to twit his prohibitionist colleagues from the South by remarking upon their inconsistency in defending the practical nullification of the 14th and 15th amendments by ingenious legislative devices" . . . You further say: "Bruce is, of course, right and all that his dry, Southern colleagues can do when he twits them in this way is to splutter and turn purple with senseless rage. Dry senators from the Southern States have not appeared to advantage in their debates with Bruce on this question. Reason and Southern-made precedent are on his side."

In siding with Senator Bruce, you in effect charge that the South by legislative subterfuges has nullified the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution. This charge is not true. It should be resented by every true Southerner.

The two amendments referred to extend the equal protection of law to all citizens alike and provide that their right to vote shall not be abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. They do not confer upon the negro or any other race the right to vote. The states alone have that power. The only restriction upon the state's power, by the Federal Constitution as to the negro, is that the state can not discriminate against him on account of his color or his having been a slave. Aside from this, the state has full power to say who shall be voters and prescribe their qualifications. These questions have been so decided over and over by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In reconstruction days there were scarcely any state restrictions upon voters. Backed by federal bayonets, the Southern States were at the mercy of ignorant negro voters, with no conception of responsible citizenship or the theory of civil government. These negro voters were but tools in the hands of vicious and corrupt leaders, who in a few years well nigh wrecked civil government and attempted to destroy our civilization. It is needless to dwell on the horrors of the reconstruction era. As soon as they could the Southern States either amended their constitutions or enacted laws restricting the right of suffrage to those who were mentally and morally fit to exercise it. In practically every instance they have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. Had they in any manner nullified the 14th and 15th amendment they would never have been sustained by the highest court of the nation. To argue to the contrary is an insult to intelligence and an attack upon the integrity of this great court.

The men who framed the Constitution of Alabama and enacted laws to carry out its suffrage provisions owed allegiance to the nation as well as the state. Any Constitutional provision or legislative enactment by them nullifying the 14th and 15th amendments would have been disloyalty to the Union and violation of their official oaths.

The suffrage provisions of Alabama's Constitution in no way offend the 14th and 15th amendments. The men, who wrote the provisions into our Constitution, were loyal both to the state and Federal Constitution. Two of them had been governors of our state and one for a long number of years a judge of our Supreme Court. Others now dead and many still living were among our ablest and purest citizens. To say these men embodied in our Constitution suffrage provisions which seemingly comply with the 14th and 15th amendments, but in reality nullify them is to charge them with disloyalty to the nation and brands them as political mountebanks, instead of statesmen and patriots. They deserve no such stigma. Instead we and our posterity should ever be grateful to them for freeing us, especially those of the Black Belt, from the constant threat of an ignorant and to large extent vicious vote that at all times endangered good government and the peace and security of our homes.

It can serve no good purpose for Northern Democratic senators and Democratic newspapers, North or South, in their bold attempt to justify the nullification, by open violation or proposed legislation, of the 18th amendment, by falsely charging that Southern States have nullified other provisions of the Federal Constitution. To the contrary these senators and papers are playing with fire. The embers of hatred to the South are still smouldering in the breasts of Northern radicals who would delight to see the South's representation in Congress cut down upon the specious plea that they have nullified the 14th and 15th amendments. It needs but a spark to kindle these embers into flame. We may again hear of force bills in Congress. Hitherto some fair Republicans with our Democratic brethren and newspapers of the North have stood by us. Should the question again arise, the South will be with her back to the wall with the charge of nullification made against her not only by her former enemies but by those Democrats and Democratic newspapers who are seeking to nullify a Constitutional amendment which was adopted by 46 of the 48 states.

Whether so intended, the position assumed by Senator Bruce, The Advertiser, The New York World and other Northern newspapers supporting Gov. Smith may well be construed as an appeal to the negro voters of the North to lend their aid in electing Smith delegates to the National Convention at Houston.

Though our suffrage provisions have been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, Northern radicals still seek to override its decisions by charging that the South has nullified the 14th and 15th amendments and urge that on this account the South's representation in Congress should be reduced. You in effect admit that this charge of the South's enemies as to nullification is true. You say Senator Bruce and Smith newspapers have not threatened but merely "twitted" the South on its alleged inconsistency. In charging that the South has nullified the 14th and 15th amendments, Senator Bruce and the Smith newspapers have virtually invited Northern radicals in Congress to again attempt the reduction of the South's representation in Congress by another force bill. Should this be done, Senator Bruce and the Smith newspapers will be in no position to aid the South. Instead they will be called as witnesses that the charge of nullifying the 14th and 15th amendments is true. D. M. POWELL.

Greenville, Ala.

The Negro Goes White: — Black Nordics

News, New York, N.Y.

2-18-28

By EDGAR M. GREY

Every observant Negro knows that, his race has ceased to be black Whether this is good or bad, does not enter into the question; it is sufficient to observe the daily behavior of the so-called Negro, to reach the conclusion, that the end of the struggle is, near at hand, that the race has chosen extinction, as the way out of a bad mess. Certain racial philosophers, among them, some of the best thinkers in the group, had definitely, "given up the ghost" long ago; and had deliberately planned, and formulated programmes, which would bring about the desired end —racial assimilation.

In the early years of the present century, this new racial policy, took definite shape, and the "leaders" of the race, went so far, as to undertake open discussion, on the topic. In one of these famous discussions, the late Dr. Booker Washington insisted, at that time (about, 1909), that the name, Negro should be the proper title for the group; but even his effort, could be seen to be a great gesture. For the entire country went up, with loud protests, when the late Doctor's decision was announced.

Since that time the word, colored, has taken more permanent form, as the appellation of the group. So much for the name. As to the actual behavior of the individuals—black, brown, and yellow, there can be no doubt—their intentions in this regard, may easily be determined, by the most superficial observation. The mothers of the race, had not held any convention, and decided not to bring any more black babies, into the American World, they have simply, told themeslves that, black babies were a nuisance, a bother, and a hindrance, and they "simply don't have them anymore."

Colored ladies, in most cases, wherever circumstances, of whatever nature, had forced a black man upon them, as husband, simply refused to have children: In many instances, they would adopt children, which if they were their own, could not possibly have the physical appearance, which they bore. And the colored men, themselves, held a mental convention, and resolved: that whereas, the desire of the race is to approximate the white race, and whereas, black mothers, cannot bear "white" children; be it resolved, that from now, henceforth, we the male members of the "colored race" shall, at all cost and suffering, to our racial self-respect, take unto, our bedchambers as wives, only those fit to survive.

Then followed a wholesale, march on the chemical laboratories of the land, to discover some product which, would do the job. The research, was marvelous: skin whiteners, of all sorts, flooded the market; some worked, others did not. White companies, at first and finally, colored companies, waxed wealthy, upon the new products for, "Biological evolution." But it was discovered that, the mere success of "skin whitening", did not solve the problem: that complexion, alone did not make a white man. It suddenly occurred to the, race that the texture of the hair, was in the case of the white man, as much a part of the process, as was the color of the skin.

Edgar M. Grey

With this conclusion in mind, the race started out, with vigor, to get the "kinks" out of the hair, and to make the hair grow straight. As a temporary performance, the hair straightening, has been a success; but it somehow does not settle the question, in so far as the children of the straight hair persons, are concerned. What is really needed, at present, to finish and complete, the transformation, from Negro, to Black Nordic, is some process, which shall, transmit, the artificial straight hair, to the children, of those who now possess it.

Then came the new social effort, on the colored stage. Here it was discovered that, only those who appeared white, naturally, or through artificial means, were desirable to take part, in choruses and "leads". As a result, the dark girls, made it their business to daub themselves, all over—until it was nearly impossible, to tell whether one was attending, a colored or a white performance. The remarkable thing, speaking from a purely psychological point of view, was that colored audiences, grew to believe, that blackness was funny—they would go into hysterics of laughter, at the appearance

of a person painted, all out of recognition, with burnt cork, and with lips resembling, the rhinocerous, or some "hippo" of the zoo, made red or white, by some form of ointment.

This blackening up, was not sufficient, for the colored actors, carried the process, a bit farther, and made the central theme of their "jokes", blackness. The only use of brains, which would be necessary, to send a colored house into convulsions, would be for an actor to tell a joke about blackness.

And the queer thing about, this entire process was, that most of the so-called "black-faced" comedians, were black people: why they should need to blacken themselves, may only be determined, from the state of mind which they entertained: that blackness was funny in itself, and that colored audiences thought so—for the reason that they laughed. Bill Bojangles Robinson, is an excellent, exception to this rule.

It is doubtless that, the white theatre audiences, having inherited the absurd notion that, blackness was funny, and the proper subject for jests, would laugh whenever a colored or white person, presented such characters on the stage—Al Jolson, Lew Dockstader, and others, are examples; but how did the notion, ever enter the heads of the black man himself, that this was true in the case of himself and his race, is a puzzle, unless one should draw the conclusion that, the state of the white man's mind, on this subject was transmitted to the Negroes' mind, and that they too, believed that blackness was funny and absurd.

A little farther, in the evolution of the theatrical ideals of the group, the drama, and the melodrama, became included in the regular theatrical efforts of the colored stage. Here again the state of mind, in respect to the inferiority of blackness, asserted itself, and definite discriminations was made, in casting the various characters: whenever a character was to be portrayed, representing, decency, culture, refinement, affluence, education, etc., the person selected to present this character, would invariably be light in complexion; and wherever the character, was to represent, idiocy, ignorance, absurdity, boisterousness, etc., the person selected to play this part, would surely be black, or made to appear black.

Take the Williams and Walker shows, with one exception, the despicable and stupid characters, were always represented, as being black, then came the S. H. Dudley shows, here the idea was carried out with precision; as to the Whitney and Tutt shows, the whole idea, was carried out here without exception. When the Drama, became a permanent, aspect of the theatrical productions of the colored stage, the principles was established, that no dark girl, could possibly present a character of culture and refinement.

Then Miss Mills, and a few other girls, showed extreme excellence, and a few so-called "brown-skinned" girls got a chance from white producers. Even Miller and Lyles, Sissle and Blake, men whose education, and knowledge was alleged to be above that of the average colored producer, could not escape this open practice. Even in the colored schools and colleges, the practice of selecting, men and women students, for positions of honor and representation, because of the color of the skin, became an undisputed fact.

Colored congregations, have been known to refuse a pastor, because he was too dark. The colored Moving Picture Stage or Screen, has taken up the practice in full flare; and the Oscar Mischeaux, "race" pictures as they are called, carry this practice to a most extraordinary degree (Mr. Mischeaux is a man of full-blooded African ancestry). The colored business men, and professionals, did not permit, the others of the race to leave them, in the rear, in this practice—they too will in most cases, only employ the lighter colored girls. Black girls, have been advised that, they should always try to obtain positions as cooks, and not prepare themselves for positions, of refinement and elevation.

Even race organizations, which preach against the so-called, white-man discrimination, are found practicing this systematic, exclusion of dark men and women, from their pay rolls. In a certain hostipal, where colored nurses are in the majority, it was broadcast, that the nurses were wont, to ignore the sufferings of certain dark-skinned patients; here of course, the limit of stupidity is reached by this practice. At a recent meeting of a big race, organization in sessions in a large city in the South, the ushers and other young ladies in attendance, were observed to be entirely, made up of the girls of light color.

In the year 1927, a colored girl had taken and successfully passed, a United States Civil Service examination, for stenographer, in the Department of Prohibition Enforcement. The Administrator in charge, felt that he did not desire, a colored girl, in the office; and although she had been certified and called for appointment, she was denied the position: she made a complaint to the editors of a certain "leading Harlem newspaper", and the manager directed that an investigation, be made in the case.

It was agreed by all that, this was an outrage, and the young girl was invited to the office, of the "leading race paper, to be interviewed"; here it was discovered, when she arrived that she "was as black as tar". The owner of this leading race paper, then changed the decision to fight the case, and remarked, that she, speaking of the girl, ought to have known better than, to have tried to obtain a position in the "white folks" office for the reason that: "I am colored but I could never think of employing such a girl in my office."

The whole question of race survival, in the United States, and for that matter, in the Western World, seems to have resolved itself, down to a basis of color for survival; and any who do not approximate the standard, appears to be doomed, for they are denied positions, even in hotels of the land, in the capacity of waiters and bell-hops, even when the head waiter or man in charge is himself a man of dark complexion. Lately, men like Walter F. White, Eugene Gordon, George Schuyler, and a few other writers have hinted at this condition; but because the race, does not want it discussed, they have failed to go into the foundations of the case.

One "big" newspaper, refuses absolutely, to permit the word Negro, to appear in its columns; and although the owner of this periodical, is as black as Stygian valleys, he feels that the word Negro, is degrading—it was explained that his wife, who is the daughter and grand-daughter of white men, had objected to the word appearing in the paper, and that in order to get along with her, he had ordered the word Negro, kept out of his paper.

The social institutions, such as Y. M. C. A.'s, and other "race uplifting" organizations, hold the view with the masses of the race that, black women and men, are unfit for executive positions, and when, employed are placed, in the kitchens and porter closets of the institutions.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM MYTH.

Among all our American myths that of the "negro problem" is the one most prevalent and persistent. Yet no such problem exists in fact. Like many other delusions it is only a state of mind. It must be presupposed and cultivated.

The more intelligent negro leaders have come to understand the truth and are more insistently advising their people to realize that, in this country and under our social, political and industrial system, "every tub must stand upon its own bottom." They now say, as most men have said from the day of the negro's freedom, that the case of each of them is one of individual conduct, thrift and enterprise. Too many of them have demonstrated that conspicuously to leave it a matter of debate.

There is nowhere, and especially nowhere in the south where the negro race most abounds, any general conspiracy to limit his lawful liberties, his right to labor, to get an education, to own and enjoy property, and to improve his manner of life as a law-abiding citizen. Any charge to the contrary comes from professional negro agitators and so-called philanthropic race-uplifters.

So far as actual facts and experience show there is no more of a negro problem to be specifically solved than there is a Russian, or an Italian, or a Greek, or a Slovack problem, or a problem growing out of any other immigrant race. The negroes among us are actually better placed and better circumstanced to make their position in our domestic economy secure and profitable in all ways, than are the foreigners who come without understanding of our American language, customs and institutions.

The average intelligent negro is reliably able to "hoe his own row" and prosper wherever he is, if only the uplifters will let him alone.

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

APR 1 1928

THE NEGRO PROBLEM MYTH.

Among all our American myths that of the "negro problem" is the one most prevalent and persistent. Yet no such problem exists in fact. Like many other delusions it is only a state of mind. It must be presupposed and cultivated.

The more intelligent negro leaders have come to understand the truth and are more insistently advising their people to realize that, in this country and under our social, political and industrial system, "every tub must stand upon its own bottom." They now say, as most men have said from the day of the negro's freedom, that the case of each of them is one of individual conduct, thrift and enterprise. Too many of them have demonstrated that conspicuously to leave it a matter of debate.

There is nowhere, and especially nowhere in the south where the negro race most abounds, any general conspiracy to limit his lawful liberties, his right to labor, to get an education, to own and enjoy property, and to improve his manner of life as a law-abiding citizen. Any charge to the contrary comes from professional negro agitators and so-called philanthropic race-uplifters.

So far as actual facts and experience show there is no more of a negro problem to be specifically solved than there is a Russian, or an Italian, or a Greek, or a Slovack problem, or a problem growing out of any other immigrant race. The negroes among us are actually better placed and better circumstanced to make their position in our domestic economy secure and profitable in all ways, than are the foreigners who come without understanding of our American language, customs and institutions.

The average intelligent negro is reliably able to "hoe his own row" and prosper wherever he is, if only the uplifters will let him alone.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

Thomson, Ga., Progress
Thursday, May 10, 1928

THE RACE QUESTION

The problem of the proper relations between the white and ~~colored~~ races is one of the most misunderstood questions confronting the American people today.

With some, this is a neglected problem, as if the abolition o fslavery and the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution have forever settled the matter. There never was a greater mistake. The problem of what to do with the negro has not been solved and is with us in greater force than ever before but in a diffeernt form and involving different principles.

Then, there are the still rabbid, ignorant class of South-haters who yet exist in the Eastern states, and who are just "tearing their shirts," so to speok, for complete social and political equality for the negro. These are a remnant of the Massachusetts abolitionists of Civil War days. These are the violent type that wish to force social equality on the South and take a sentimental pleasure in showing how far they can go in this direction, even to morriage of their white daughters to black men.

Then, on the extreme oppisite side of the question there is the ignorant vicious white man of the South who is by nature highly prejudiced against the negro from birth, who is ready to work him to death, pay him starvatoin wages and steal a part of the negroe's rightful wages, and lynch him when the occasion presents itself. Fortunately, this last class is quite small and does not represent the vast majority or respectable white people in the South. Whenever this class gets away with a lynching, however, class No. 2 lets out a howl in the Eastern newspapers which reverberates even within the walls of Congress by the introduction of anti-lynching bills, et cetera.

All of these attitudes are wrong according to our way of thinking. The race question is very much a live question; the negro is not a beast of burden and should not be treated as such, neither is he the equal of the white mon and should not be treated so.

The crux of the question lies in the racial difference between the Caucasian and Ethopion races. In the first place, it would be a strange thing if the white man, with his culture and breeding of some four thousand years, as compared with a short century of civilization had by the American negro, it would be a strange thing if the white race were not a vastly superior race.

In the next place, there are ineradicable physical and mental traits characteristic of the negro which places him definitely on a different, if not a lower plane. Take the facial characteristics of the negro, are they not markedly different? Now is there any good reason, let alone any demandable right that the Nordic race, for instance, should absorb those physical characteristics. Besides a pride in race, there is such a thing as pride in the beauty of the white race.

Will any one claim that amalgamation will result in a more beautiful American race? Is our belief in the Democratic doctrine of political equality strong enough to force upon us social equality with an inferior race? I do not think so, nor should it rightfully be so. Social equality, means marriage and marriage means amalgamation and amalgamation means mongrelism.

It is easy to see the tendency in that direction, and it is simple to foresee the ultimate results: the blacks will become whiter and the whites will become darker until after so long a time the American race will present a beautiful blend of slightly golden colors.

Take one hundred million pure white Americans add twelve million pure black Americans, sift in five or ten million swarthy Greeks, Italians and other Mediteranean races, sprinkle this mixture with small flavors of yellow races, such as Chinese and Japanese, and there you have a composite picture of the American type 100 years hence.

O, for more pride of race, such as our English cousins have, and away with so much of this sentimentalism about the brother-hood of man and about the exploded theory that "all men are created free and equal." Rather let our motto be: "Keep the races pure, keep them seporate, build them up to higher levels of usefulness by work from within and cooperation from without.

BLEASE AGAIN ON RAMPAGE; CITES AFRO

Tells Senate Body He Hopes Illinois Will Send "Nigger" To Congress

TELLS OF BACK HOME BOY WHO PASSED

Married White Girl In D. C. Who Gave Birth To Brown Baby

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(Special)—'Coley' Blease, Democratic Senator from South Carolina, went on a rampage here again Monday taking raps at Hoover, President Johnson, of Howard University and an AFRO-AMERICAN news story. Afro-American

Senator Blease's tirade came during the discussion of Bill (S 1727) to amend the retirement of employees act for the classified Civil Service.

Referring to the recent order of Herbert Hoover to eradicate segregation in the Department of Commerce, Blease called attention to the fact that just a few days ago the Republican keynoter, Senator Fess, (Ohio) was defeated for delegate to the Republican Convention by a Negro.

This was done, he said, because Negroes in the State of Ohio heralded Hoover's act in all the newspapers and made it a special appeal to colored voters to support Hoover.

Colored Woman Virago

"I warn you people," declared Blease, "that when you turn the Negro man loose in a riot with whatever arms he may be able to accumulate and turn the Negro woman, virago, loose with a torch, God save you people who are acting as you do toward them today.

"You may smile at it today and think it is a small matter, but we people who have faced it warn you that you are playing with fire, that you are playing with serpents; and when that day comes do not forget that the solid South will stand on the rock for white supremacy upon which she has ever stood."

Black Chocolates

"I hope Illinois will send a 'nigger' to Congress. I want to walk over and see one of Hoover's black chocolates' sitting around with some of the white people here who seem to love them so well. I also hope New York will send one do' .

"The more you rub them into those people that love them the better I like it. You cannot make them associate with us. There are not enough marines in or outside of the United States Army and Navy in Nicaragua and all combined to make us associate with them.

"I have been told — I do not know that it is true; I do not assert it as the truth, and I do not believe that any candidate for president himself, would be guilty of it — but I have been told in the last few days that certain friends of two of the candidates making this race for the presidency, have held out to the colored race the promise that if they are elected president of the United States a Negro will be put in the Cabinet.

"I do not think the candidate, himself, is responsible for that, but it is being talked; and it is being talked about one Alfred Smith and one Herbert Hoover. I do not think they know it, but some of their friends are saying it; but I will tell you this much: If they are elected, I would not be very much surprised if they carried out the promise — either one of them. If a man will make a white woman sit down at a desk and work right side by side or in between two big, black buck 'niggers', I would not be at all surprised to see him put one in his cabinet.

Cites AFRO

Referring to President Mordecai Johnson, of Howard University, Senator Blease cited a news story appearing on the first page of the AFRO-AMERICAN in the issue of March 3rd.

"Howard Prexy Declares For Full Equality-Scientists Agree He Says, That No Harm Can Come From Intermarriage." Afro-American 3-13-28

This damnable doctrine which I have read is that promulgated by the man at the head of Howard University to which, a few days ago, you appropriated the sum of $390,000.

"He is going around about the country spreading among the members of the Negro race, and, of course, among the students of Howard University, this rotten, indecent doctrine on marriage between the white and African races.

"On the front page of this paper, (AFRO-AMERICAN) almost side by side with the article that I have read, appears the news that southern members of Congress voted for that appropriation.

"May God have mercy on them.

LITTLE BLACK BABY

"There was a boy in South Carolina whom I knew from his boyhood quite well. He rolled the mail in a town there from the depot to the postoffice in a cart, away back, years before they had automobiles. He was as white, so far as color of skin was concerned, as any man ni this building.

"He came up here to Washington, got an appointment through the man who was then Postmaster, a Republican from the North, went to work in one of the departments, and met a girl in the department whose father was a very splendid white man, a man of standing and influence here in the community. He came from one of the far Western States. This boy and this girl married.

About 14 or 15 months after they had been married this girl gave birth to a child. The father was walking up and down with the husband on the outside, anxiously waiting, as I suppose parents generally are. The boy walked around into his room. About that time the doctor opened the door. The girl's father said,

" 'Doctor, how is everything—all right?'

"The doctor looked down, and he said, 'No.'

"The father said, 'My God! Is it dead?'

"The doctor said, 'No; worse than that.'

"The father said, 'What in the h— could be worse?'

"He said, 'the baby is a nigger.'

"That happened in Washington City. The father rushed back into the room and saw the little black baby lying by the side of its white mother. He dashed out and got this boy and dragged him into the room and demanded to know what that meant, and demanded from the girl.

"The reply was, which was the truth, that the boy was the son of a Negro woman by a white doctor. When this child was brought into the world it reverted to type, as any physician will tell you it will do.

"That man took that boy and that daughter and sent them away out to his home, out yonder. So far as I know, they are there yet. That boy was born and reared in the county of Newberry, where I was born and reared. I knew his father, I knew his mother, and I know that the census is correct; and I once more warn you white people who are pleading for inter-marriage, to be careful that you do not have in your cradles at home a little black baby."

NEWS

CHARLESTON, S. C

JUN 8 1928

Not "Indispensable"

Another Republican, Mr. Henry J. Allen, once Governor of Kansas, is saying things about the South in good temper and exposing his ignorance, especially in this sentence relating to the negroes, from his article in the American Review of Reviews: "Even now, free these sixty years, their unwelcome but indispensable presence in the South explains why states below the Mason-Dixon line remain steadfastly Democratic, when a Republican is an object of scorn and suspicion, and why victory in the Democratic primaries is tantamount to victory at the general election."

The first of Mr. Allen's misstatements is that negroes are "unwelcome" in the South. The well behaved, efficient negro who can pull something more than his weight, who adds to the prosperity of the South, is not unwelcome.

The second is that the presence of the negroes, generally in the South is "indis-

pensable." The opposite is true. The South could with profit dispense with the majority of the negro population, and its material progress would be promoted by their departure. Unfortunately the free negro does not succeed as an agriculturist except under capable direction. There are exceptions, of course, many of them, and the exceptions are desired, but the thousands of negroes, tenant farmers, are for the most part a Southern burden. The lands for sixty years have deteriorated under their cultivation. Their standard of living is necessarily poor, and their presence prevents the incoming of white labor. It is probable that this section of the negro population subtracts from the South's trade and from its aggregate wealth.

Since the boll weevil infestation a large proportion of the negroes who earlier had become land owners have proved unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions and have lost their lands. Negroes have gone to the Northern cities in numbers, where most of them are employed as unskilled laborers or as domestics, and the migration of the next twenty years could be trebled or quintupled with considerable net gain, socially and materially, to the Southern people.

To be sure, the going of the negroes in large numbers would cause here and there transient alarm and outcry, but students of the question are convinced that the more negroes that go the more whites will come.

If the negro was ever "indispensable" in the South, it was on the plantation, and, if Mr. Allen were informed, he would know that the plantations are diminishing in number and that the hope of the South is in the small farm cultivated by its owner and producing a variety of crops and commodities.

On those farms requiring hired help, white help is the cheaper. As a herdsman, as a dairyman and fruit grower, the negro laborer has not been satisfactory. Nor is the negro a dependable care-taker of farm machinery. He has been useful and profitable as a worker in gangs in the production by simple processes of a few staple crops. This kind of farm production in the South, has, in the main, had its day. It is not and never was a system resulting in uniform prosperity, however it may have created a superior planter class.

The migration of negroes for the last ten years probably would have been doubled but for the demand for labor on public works, notably in building roads and bridges. That demand will not be lasting, and in time negroes will more and more disperse throughout the country to perform the heavier tasks, especially if the restrictions on immigration shall be maintained as they should be.

Mr. Allen's third ignorant and ridiculous misstatement is that in the South "a Republican is an object of scorn and suspicion." It is true when the Republican is a carpetbagger, as true now as it was in 1865. The white man undertaking to array the negroes in a political party is "an object of scorn and suspicion," as he would be in a Western or Northern community where negroes are numerous enough to be a controlling factor in government.

The Republican in the South who refrains from cooperative political action with the negroes, does not assume negro leadership, who is not a political agitator among them, loses among the white people nothing in social position or in business standing. Scattered throughout the Southern states are thousands and tens of thousands of white Republicans who enjoy not less respect and regard than do the white Democrats. The Northern white man coming South to engage in politics as a leader of negroes is received and treated as a white South Carolinian would be if he went to California and there attempted to stir the Japanese to political activity.

The chief of Mr. Allen's terrors is in believing the negroes "indispensable" to the South. It is shared by numbers of Northern men and, by large numbers of white Southerners, but there is no truth in the saying. The South is stronger and richer by the going of a million negroes in the last decade and its sound growth will be hastened by the going of other millions of them.

VIEWS and REVIEWS

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

WHILE almost everyone will agree that workers, whether white or black, should be efficient and do their work well, it is all nonsense to tell any group of people that more efficiency will keep them from being displaced. Negroes have built all of the roads, levees, railroads, sewers and most of the edifices in the South, and they have done this work efficiently, and yet they have gradually been displaced by whites ever since the Civil War and the process is still going on. Every Negro who lives in the South knows that, and if there happens to be any Negro who doesn't know it, I'm here to tell him, having been all over the South and noted the displacement taking place. If the million Mexicans who have entered the country have not displaced Negro workers, who have they displaced? No matter how well a group of workers may do their work, they will be booted out whenever another group of workers with lower wage demands comes along. Just as the white South shows Greeks, Italians, Russians, Bulgarians, Germans, and other immigrants more courtesy and permits them to have more privileges than her native black citizens, just so will she show them preference in employment. She has done so in the past and will do so again. There is not a white business in Montgomery or the entire state of Alabama that will give a Negro employe, regardless of his honesty and efficiency, the kind of job that will be given to an English, Irish or Dutch immigrant.

—o—

THEN, there is our old friend Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, and from all reports a pretty good one. Dr. Johnson is militant and outspoken, and can always be depended upon to speak out in meeting, honestly and sincerely. I have often wished that more of our college presidents and professors would take after him instead of playing so safe. However, the good Reverend Johnson is sometimes guilty of getting off a great deal of nonsense. For instance, the other night he addressed the World Conference on International Justice (whatever that is) in Cleveland, O., opening his remarks with the statement that "I, a black man, stands before you tonight and plead the cause of peace." Here was an error to begin with because Mr. Johnson is not a black man. However, I pass over that to some of his important statements with which I believe a lot of Negroes differ and will agree with me that he has misrepresented us. Among these were the following:

> **"The black race is a peace-loving race and my people are lovers of peace. . . .We have come through three hundred years of servitude, yet we hold no animosities. Many have been our opportunities to take advantage of you, but we have not.**
>
> **"When at the end of the last war you made peace you concluded your treaty with the agreement to partition the land of the black countries; to exploit the people, and to employ their cheap labor. That is the peace you made and that is the peace that the black man does not understand.**
>
> **"I cannot think that you would so damn your God as to believe that he would approve such conditions."**

—o—

ALL OF which is, my brethren, untrue. The black race, so called, is no more peace loving than any other peoples. The history of Africa, like the history of the rest of the world, is just a continuous chronicle of fighting and carnage, civil war, insurrection, revolution, intrigue, slavery, rapine and arson. That is part of the nature of human beings, as Mark Twain points out in his "The Mysterious Stranger." Black people, like white, yellow, red and brown people, are never happier than when a brawl is in sight. Let war be declared tomorrow, and nine-tenths of these pacifists would jump on the bandwagon and bawl for the Liberty Loan as they did during the last war. And among the black peace lovers who would be urging from the depths of their swivel chairs, the voluntary enlistment of all black men of draft age, as they did in 1917, would be Dr. Johnson, Dr. Moton and the rest, including Brother Du Bois who advised us during the late conflict to "Close Ranks and Forget Our Grievances," while the South lynched a hundred Negroes.

—o—

MOREOVER, it would be a reflection on the blacks, as red-blooded folks, if they were the only peace lovers in the world. It is only when a civilization and a people get decadent and what is known as effeminate (though women are as beligerent as man) that the namby pamby doctrine of "peace at any price" is raised. War is the universal solvent of boredom and the great vacation from being civilized and good. Man, like the dumb (and consequently higher) animals, lives by strife and enjoys it. All nature is one battlefield where each species preys on the other hand and its own Killing is the order of life. In order that we can live other organisms must die. Millions of animal and vegetable organisms must be murdered every day in order that we can have food, clothing and shelter. In regard to this man salves his conscience by saying that these other organisms have no soul while he has; and when he can only settle his arguments with another group of men by going to war, he claims the conflict is merely a defensive one so far as he is concerned and that at any rate God is on his side.

—o—

NOR IS IT true that we hold no animosities for what has been done to us as a people during the past three hundred years. Not only that, but we hold animosities for what is being done to us now. Corner any Senegambian where he will be heard by no one but yourself and unless he is some silly ass who ought to be wearing a red carnation in his buttonhole and flirting a perfumed handkerchief, he will admit that down in his heart is great resentment and hatred against the whites for what they have done to him and his. What kind of a man is a Negro who feels no animosities towards the whites who keep him in disease-breeding alleys, refuse him the use of parks, steal his school funds, ravish his women, "railroad" him to the chain gang, discriminate against him on the job and lynch him when he asserts his manhood? Yes, every real black man and woman feels resentment, and white people might just as well be told that we do. Telling them that we are peace-loving, easy going, patient and forgiving nitwits, is not going to make the prejudiced whites let up on us one iota. That stuff has been tried by lots of Negroes, who have only been hoofed in their posteriors for their trouble. The fact that Dr. Moton preached the "be docile and forgiving" stuff, did not keep the Klan from running him away from Tuskegee during the notorious Veterans' Hospital incident. Yes, I repeat, we do hold animosities, and we would be a bunch of spineless cowards if we did not hold them.

—o—

IT is not true that the black man does not understand the peace that was consummated in 1918, substituting Allied exploiters for German over the African colonies. Of course we understand it. We who have any sense at all know that might is right in this world, and that because these white powers have might they have been able to grab as much as they have. We know that the only thing holding the African colonies from their rightful owners is lack of armaments. The same thing is true of India, Indo-China, Central America and the Caribbean countries. White supremacy is built on nothing at all but superior armaments, gunpowder which came from the Chinamen and cannon which came from the Turks, both Mongolian peoples. The black man reads the newspapers and converses with other Negroes who have traveled and observed, consequently the black man knows what has been going on and he understands it thoroughly. The most stupid peon in Mississippi or Louisiana knows that he is being exploited only because he lacks power. And far from the bulk of whites not believing that their God approves of such conditions, they on the contrary affirm that it is God's will for the whites to be on top and the blacks on the bottom. There is only a slim group of whites believing that the present order of things is unGodly and unChristian, and if there is a larger number than I think, then they are keeping their opinions largely to themselves and doing nothing to back them up.

—o—

YES, save us from our friends, who are always painting us as docile, hard-working, loyal nitwits taking every crack on the head or boot in the breeches with a forgiving grin and a 'Father, they know not what they do' expression on our faces. I believe the Negro wants the world to know that he is wise to what is going on, knows the basis of white supremacy, is not forgetful of wrongs committed against him, feels an injury as strong as anybody else, and awaits his chance to pay in kind. Claude McKay in "If We Must Die" voices the spirit of the black man far better than most of our self-appointed spokesmen. Eleven years ago an old, illiterate black woman in California whispered to me that she "wished them Germans would go down South," and I am qute sure that most courageous Negroes agreed with her at the time even if they did own a Liberty Bond.

Race Problem - 19
United States.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

DAILY PRESS

Published every morning except Monday
by
THE DAILY PRESS, INC.,
217-219 Twenty-fifth Street
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Entered as second class matter at the post office at Newport News, Va. under the Act of March 3, 1897.

FOREIGN ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVE
The John Budd Company, New York, 9-11 E. 37th Street; Chicago, Tribune Tower; St. Louis, Chemical Building; Healey Building, Atlanta; Sharon Building, San Francisco; Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles; Security Building, Portland.

TELEPHONE, PRIVATE BRANCH EXCHANGE
Nos. 13, 14 and 15.
Call the number at central and on answer from the Daily Press Operator ask for the department or person desired. After 6 P. M. and before 7:30 A. M. call No. 14 for editorial department; No. 15 for business office and circulation department.

MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS
(Payable invariably in Advance)

One Month	$ .65
Three Months	1.75
Six Months	3.25
One Year	6.00

(Above rates apply to zones 1, 2 and 3 only)

SWANSON'S DEFENSE OF THE SOUTH.

Senator C. A. Swanson, of Virginia, hurled a speech of defiance yesterday against those who have threatened the Southern States with reprisals because of the measures which these States have taken to protect themselves against the malicious intent of the Fifteenth Amendment. "The time has passed," said the Virginia Senator, "when the South is subject to hostile and repressive supervision or can be intimidated by partisan vituperation."

Senator Swanson ably reviewed the history of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and recalled history which, doubtless, many of the Senators themselves had forgotten. His address was one of the clearest presentations of the subject ever given and a very valuable contribution to American history. He said that these three amendments were adopted to meet conditions in the South created by the large number of negroes living in this section of the country at the close of the War Between the States; that the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery but did not make the negro a citizen or confer upon him the right of suffrage; that the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to make the negro a citizen of the United States, to give him the right to contract, to sue and be sued, to acquire and hold property and all the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship, but even the Fourteenth Amendment did not vest the right of suffrage in the negro or anyone else: that that right was left absolutely to the control of the States but that the object of the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was to force the South to enfranchise the negroes or have its representation in Congress reduced. But, added Mr. Swanson, "the Southern States refused to confer suffrage upon the negro, declining to be bribed by the offer of full representation in Congress, knowing full well the inevitable demoralization and disaster that would follow. Disappointed by the attitude of the South on the 27th day of February ,1869, Congress submitted to the States the Fifteenth Amendment." This was intended as a settlement of the negro suffrage question in the South and reads as follows:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Fifteenth Amendment, continued Mr. Swanson, was designed to perpetuate Republican rule in the Southern States. But, he contended, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was repealed by the Fifteenth Amendment and the South was thereby deprived of the alternative provided in the Fourteenth—the alternative of giving unrestricted suffrage to the negro race, or having its representation in Congress reduced. "There is no principle more fully established," said the Senator, "than that where rights are withdrawn to the exercise of which penalties are attached, the penalties disappear with the withdrawal of the rights. When the Fifteenth Amendment destroyed the vital rights theretofore enjoyed by the Southern States the attaching penalty disappeared."

In that view of it, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment is now inoperative, and the Southern States cannot be penalized for limiting negro suffrage.

But with the Fifteenth Amendment in full force, the Southern States were placed in the situation of allowing unrestricted suffrage or of devising some means to prevent it without running counter to the Constitution. The Fifteenth Amendment clearly prohibits the disfranchisement of any negro on account of his race or color, but it does not prevent the States from imposing certain qualifications, such as literary tests, prepayment of the poll tax and so on. And so, the Senator proceeded, "exercising their clear legal and Constitutional rights, the Southern States have enacted laws which are necessary to obtain clean, economical and capable governments. The South is resolved and determined that no part of that section shall ever become a Haiti, or a San Domingo and that the dark festering sores of reconstruction shall never reappear to afflict her Suffrage laws, legal and Constitutional, are and always will be invoked to save the happiest and fairest portion of this Nation from being blighted by the rule of ignorance and corruption."

In other words, Senator Swanson said, bravely, boldly and defiantly, that the Southern States devised suffrage laws to forestall and avert the evil designs of the Fifteenth Amendment and prevent a recurrence of the curse of reconstruction. The Senator's notable address is summarized in the following six points:

First. The States have unlimited power over suffrage and in fixing the qualifications of voters except so far as expressly prohibited by the fifteenth amendment.

Second. The fifteenth amendment confers no right of suffrage whatsoever on any voter but continues the former status, except that no State can pass a law denyinig or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, this being the full extent of the change.

Third Educational and property qualifications for voting, requirements of residence in State and locality for a limited time, and the prepayment of taxes prior to the time of the right to vote, if applied to all citizens irrespective of race, color, or **previous condition of servitude, are not in contravention of the fifteenth amendment, but are valid even though their effect may be to eliminate a large percentage of a certain class of voters; and the power of States to fix such qualifications was understood by Congress and the States as valid when the amendment was adopted, and has been uniformly recognized as valid by the Federal and State courts.**

Fourth. Provisions in State constitutions and election laws commonly known as grandfather or descendants clauses, creating the right to vote but fixing a time when the right accrues so that it is impossible that the negro could under any circumstances be made eligible for the right given others, are discriminatory on account of race and color, and are invalid; and such provisions, whether contained in State constitutions or statutes, as have not expired by limitation, are held by the Supreme Court to be null and void.

Fifth. The fifteenth amendment is self-executing and by its own force declares as null and void all acts of legislation that create discriminations in voting on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and no protection is afforded officers who vouch such legislation as a defense. The courts will award damages to individuals thus deprived of their rights under the fifteenth amendment, and officers who seek to enforce the legislation that is null and void are liable in damages as well as subject to prosecution.

Sixth. There is no necessity whatsoever for any further legislation by Congress, since the courts already give all the protection and have all the authority to do so that is in any direction possible.

Race Problem - 14

United States.

NEWPORT NEWS
VIRGINIA

DAILY PRESS

Published every morning except Monday
by
THE DAILY PRESS, INC.,
217-219 Twenty-fifth Street
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Entered as second class matter at the post office at Newport News, Va. under the Act of March 3, 1897.

FOREIGN ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVE
The John Budd Company, New York, 9-11 E. 37th Street; Chicago, Tribune Tower; St. Louis, Chemical Building; Healey Building, Atlanta; Sharon Building, San Francisco; Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles; Security Building, Portland.

TELEPHONE, PRIVATE BRANCH EXCHANGE
Nos. 13, 14 and 15.
Call the number at central and on answer from the Daily Press Operator ask for the department or person desired. After 6 P. M. and before 7:30 A. M. call No. 14 for editorial department; No. 15 for business office and circulation department.

MAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS
(Payable Invariably in Advance)

One Month	$ .65
Three Months	1.75
Six Months	3.25
One Year	6.00

(Above rates apply to zones 1, 2 and 3 only)

SWANSON'S DEFENSE OF THE SOUTH.

Senator C. A. Swanson, of Virginia, hurled a speech of defiance yesterday against those who have threatened the Southern States with reprisals because of the measures which these States have taken to protect themselves against the malicious intent of the Fifteenth Amendment. "The time has passed," said the Virginia Senator, "when the South is subject to hostile and repressive supervision or can be intimidated by partisan vituperation."

Senator Swanson ably reviewed the history of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and recalled history which, doubtless, many of the Senators themselves had forgotten. His address was one of the clearest presentations of the subject ever given and a very valuable contribution to American history. He said that these three amendments were adopted to meet conditions in the South created by the large number of negroes living in this section of the country at the close of the War Between the States; that the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery but did not make the negro a citizen or confer upon him the right of suffrage; that the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to make the negro a citizen of the United States, to give him the right to contract, to sue and be sued, to acquire and hold property and all the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship, but even the Fourteenth Amendment did not vest the right of suffrage in the negro or anyone else; that that right was left absolutely to the control of the States but that the object of the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was to force the South to enfranchise the negroes or have its representation in Congress reduced. But, added Mr. Swanson, "the Southern States refused to confer suffrage upon the negro, declining to be bribed by the offer of full representation in Congress, knowing full well the inevitable demoralization and disaster that would follow. Disappointed by the attitude of the South on the 27th day of February ,1869, Congress submitted to the States the Fifteenth Amendment." This was intended as a settlement of the negro suffrage question in the South and reads as follows:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Fifteenth Amendment, continued Mr. Swanson, was designed to perpetuate Republican rule in the Southern States. But, he contended, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was repealed by the Fifteenth Amendment and the South was thereby deprived of the alternative provided in the Fourteenth—the alternative of giving unrestricted suffrage to the negro race, or having its representation in Congress reduced. "There is no principle more fully established," said the Senator, "than that where rights are withdrawn to the exercise of which penalties are attached, the penalties disappear with the withdrawal of the rights. When the Fifteenth Amendment destroyed the vital rights theretofore enjoyed by the Southern States the attaching penalty disappeared."

In that view of it, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment is now inoperative, and the Southern States cannot be penalized for limiting negro suffrage.

But with the Fifteenth Amendment in full force, the Southern States were placed in the situation of allowing unrestricted suffrage or of devising some means to prevent it without running counter to the Constitution. The Fifteenth Amendment clearly prohibits the disfranchisement of any negro on account of his race or color, but it does not prevent the States from imposing certain qualifications, such as literary tests, prepayment of the poll tax and so on. And so, the Senator proceeded, "exercising their clear legal and Constitutional rights, the Southern States have enacted laws which are necessary to obtain clean, economical and capable governments. The South is resolved and determined that no part of that section shall ever become a Haiti, or a San Domingo and that the dark festering sores of reconstruction shall never reappear to afflict her Suffrage laws, legal and Constitutional, are and always will be invoked to save the happiest and fairest portion of this Nation from being blighted by the rule of ignorance and corruption."

In other words, Senator Swanson said, bravely, boldly and defiantly, that the Southern States devised suffrage laws to forestall and avert the evil designs of the Fifteenth Amendment and prevent a recurrence of the curse of reconstruction. The Senator's notable address is summarized in the following six points:

First. The States have unlimited power over suffrage and in fixing the qualifications of voters except so far as expressly prohibited by the fifteenth amendment.

Second. The fifteenth amendment confers no right of suffrage whatsoever on any voter but continues the former status, except that no State can pass a law denyinig or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, this being the full extent of the change.

Third Educational and property qualifications for voting, requirements of residence in State and locality for a limited time, and the prepayment of taxes prior to the time of the right to vote, if applied to all citizens irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, are not in contravention of the fifteenth amendment, but are valid even though their effect may be to eliminate a large percentage of a certain class of voters; and the power of States to fix such qualifications was understood by Congress and the States as valid when the amendment was adopted, and has been uniformly recognized as valid by the Federal and State courts.

Fourth. Provisions in State constitutions and election laws commonly known as grandfather or descendants clauses, creating the right to vote but fixing a time when the right accrues so that it is impossible that the negro could under any circumstances be made eligible for the right given others, are discriminatory on account of race and color, and are invalid; and such provisions, whether contained in State constitutions or statutes, as have not expired by limitation, are held by the Supreme Court to be null and void.

Fifth. The fifteenth amendment is self-executing and by its own force declares as null and void all acts of legislation that create discriminations in voting on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and no protection is afforded officers who vouch such legislation as a defense. The courts will award damages to individuals thus deprived of their rights under the fifteenth amendment, and officers who seek to enforce the legislation that is null and void are liable in damages as well as subject to prosecution.

Sixth. There is no necessity whatsoever for any further legislation by Congress, since the courts already give all the protection and have all the authority to do so that is in any direction possible.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Gazette

JAN 2 5 1928

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO

Senator Swanson of Virginia arose in the Senate the other day to deliver a prepared address in defense of the disfranchisement of the negro in the south. Opponents of the Eighteenth amendment have repeatedly cited "nullification" of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth as suggesting a possible course of retaliatory action. More recently, in debate on the Smith and Vare cases, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania has intimated that, in the face of adverse action, challenge would be made of the right of Democratic senators to hold seats gained in elections in which a part of the vote was suppressed. Senator Swanson entered only a theoretical denial of the charges; more than anything he was resentful. "The south is resolved and determined," he said, "that no part of that section shall ever become a Haiti or Santo Domingo and the dark, festering sores of reconstruction shall never reappear to afflict her."

Southern Senators long denied that there was any discrimination against the negro; but the case is too clear-cut to permit denial, and political developments are making it something of an issue. Perhaps in itself it can never serve other than a technical purpose; but the possibilities that may grow out of a fight along these lines bear a significance all too apparent.

* *

The disfranchisement of the negro in the south was accomplished as quickly after suffrage had been granted as physical conditions made possible. The South had no intention of permitting negroes to vote. The bitter resistance sent the federal government to added lengths in acts that were dark enough in themselves. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were written into the constitution and legislative and executive action taken to give them full force. With 672,000 negroes and a white electorate of 923,000, of whom a hundred thousand had been disfranchised and 200,000 disqualified for office, the South had a wholesome fear of negro domination. But it was subject to military force and could do nothing. Northern carpetbaggers and southern scalawags led negroes in the organization of a new regime marked by excess in every respect. The white south was flouted on every hand, and denied other redress, it turned to irregular and violent means.

By 1876 the native southern conservatives, fortified in their position on negro suffrage by the inefficiency and corruption of the reconstruction governments, had everywhere regained control of their states, and with the withdrawal of federal troops which supported the radicals, they began to consolidate their position. The means by which the fact was accomplished included a measure of fraud, corruption, intimidation and violence which bespeak more than a merely political antagonism, and after 1876 these means continued in use, altho violence decreased under pressure of northern opinion.

Within the next few years, the war receding, acts of Congress further aided the white South in establishing itself. Meantime, the courts began to cut down the Fifteenth amendment, declaring, in brief, that no positive grant of suffrage had been implied and that violations of the right to vote as granted by the states must be on grounds of discrimination because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Encouraged by this, the South began to use statutory and administrative expedients to reduce effectively the negro vote. These included gerrymanders against black belt countries; centralization of local government in the hands of the state executive, always safely Democratic; disfranchisement for petty crimes natural in an inferior economic class; long residence requirements working against the migratory negro; certification of registration long in advance of election time, coupled with the requirements that certificates and tax receipts be shown at the polling place; poll taxes; complicated ballots with a time limit for marking; wide discretionary powers to challenge and to withdraw ballots cast. It is quite generally conceded that full use was made of these discriminatory regulations and that where they were not effective negroes were frightened away from the polls.

* *

Matters went along well enough until the agrarian revolt broke the ranks of the southern Democracy, when charges became common that the majority group was using the lax election laws against the minority faction of the party as well as against negroes. Eight states, therefore, wrote suffrage restrictions into their constitutions. Seven states still continue with complicated registration and election laws. The constitutional conventions were called frankly for the purpose of obtaining general negro disfranchisement. The object received its plainest expression in the "disfranchising" convention in Virginia where the sponsor of the administration measure regretted that a few negroes must slip into the electorate in spite of an elaborate set of prerequisites. Its author, Carter Glass, now a Senator, replying to a question, said: "Discrimination! Why, that is precisely what we propose; that exactly is what this convention was elected for—to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action under the limitations of the federal constitution with a view to the elimination of every negro voter who can be gotten rid of, legally, without impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate."

Generally, the early restrictions were retained and broadened. The negro applicant for registration finds it hard to satisfy his examiner that he properly understands even a simple clause in the state or federal constitution, that his character testimonials are sufficient and in order, that his previous employments have been as he has sworn to them, that he has properly established his local residence, that he has never been convicted of chicken stealing or quarreling too vigorously with his wife. The white citizen meets no such difficulties. In the primaries of the Democrtic party, which are the decisive elections thruout the south, the negro has no standing whatever. Thus disfranchisement is accomplished fully and completely.

* *

The facts are challenged, particularly by opponents of the Eighteenth amendment, and more recently by way of retaliation for Democratic activity in the Smith and Vare cases. However, the better case against negro disfranchisement is that southern representation in Congress, and consequently in the electoral college, is based on actual population, not on eligible voting population, and that, as a result, the south has excessive representation and excessive power. A challenge on this basis might go far, but it will not be seriously made. The change, when it comes, will be the result of the needs of the south itself.

Altho there is a general feeling in the South that present political conditions will continue, there is nothing in the current situation nor the political history of the south that affords any guarantee of stability. Industrialization in the South, proceeding with great rapidity, will bring in its train political problems in the face of which the present suffrage regulations and party alignments may be severely strained. The one-party system may remain unchanged in form or it may give way to a new bipartisan politics. In either case, the South must some day bear the shock of a conflict of interests which increasingly tempts the southern industrialist to cast his lot with Republicanism and the small farmer and poor white to engage in such agrarian movements as swept the south during the early nineties. When that time comes the franchise laws developed to shut out the negro nay prove a boomerang.

Race Problem - 19
United States.

SENTINEL

Waterville Me.
FEB 7 1928

Getting Facts Twisted

A peculiar position regarding the 14th and 15th amendments is taken by the Boston Sunday Post, which is unfortunate as it will give many northerners an entirely wrong impression of a matter that is the particular responsibility of southerners and with which northerners should have very little to do. As most people know, these are the amendments to the federal constitution that were intended to insure voting rights to Negroes in southern states and which, it is now being claimed, are being nullified. Interest in the amendments has been revived by discussion of the 18th or prohibition amendment. The Post says:

"Here is the reason in a nutshell: The 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution, although they say that they are to be enforced by 'appropriate legislation', have not been so enforced. No laws have been passed by the federal congress enforcing them. Therefore, the southern states have been permitted to pass their own laws, not enforcing, but practically nullifying them. It is a sorry commentary on the intent of the constitution that such a condition should result."

It then attempts to explain an alleged analogy between the 18th and the 14th and 15th amendments, arguing that the failure of the 14th and 15th amendments is caused by the lack of federal acts providing for enforcement, as has been done in the case of the 18th. The Post concludes:

"Here, then, is the plain truth: The southern states are not obligated by any federal law to obey the amendments establishing the civic rights of the colored men and women who live within their borders. And, failing that, they pass all sorts of voting laws as best please them. That is how they 'get by', and they will continue so to do until the congress enacts laws to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments. And that seems a long way off."

As a matter of fact, there is no real analogy between the 18th and the 15th amendment. The 18th provides that "the congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This, of course, is absolutely necessary and places a direct responsibility on the states to pass state laws that will enforce the 18th amendment. Nothing of the sort is required by the 15th amendment, in which it is stated "the congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." No particular responsibility is placed on the states for enforcement, for that is not needed.

The Supreme Court has ruled several times and in various ways that the states can regulate suffrage as they see fit within a few very broad restrictions. This has always been done. Some states permitted women to vote far ahead of federal woman's suffrage and requirements for voting in the different states vary as much as the automobile laws.

The 15th amendment simply provides that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Every southern state obeys this constitutional amendment religiously. This, however, does not prevent them passing their own laws as they see fit regulating suffrage, and this is what they do. This may amount to a violation of the spirit of the 15th amendment, but it is absolutely legal and cannot be prevented except by amending some of the fundamental constitutional law of the land.

It is true that all sorts of burdensome restrictions on voting are imposed by southern states with the intention of preventing Negroes voting. But intelligent Negroes with proper care can meet all these requirements and vote like white men, and many of them do just this and in increasing numbers. These special requirements prevent unscrupulous politicians herding the irresponsible black vote for their own selfish purposes and thereby controlling whole states politically. The practical results of the southern suffrage restrictions can be easily defended and in view of special conditions in that section are entirely justified. There is no actual violation of the constitution or statute law.

The 14th and 15th amendments are not being nullified as is the 18th and there is no analogy between them and they should not be united in this manner for the confusion of voters. Neither should the north interfere in the race problem which is the special business of southerners and they should be allowed to handle it in their own way. Nothing of any value can come from any such distortion of facts and consequences as seen in the Boston Post editorial.

COURIER-CITIZEN
LOWELL, MASS.
FEB 2 1928

WHY NOT A SOUTHERNER?

Senator Glass, in the recent debate over the 14th and 15th amendments, challenged Senator Bruce of Maryland to state whether he believed that a Southern man could be nominated for president of the United States. The latter replied with an unqualified affirmative. Whereupon the junior senator from Virginia replied that Senator Bruce's great-great-grandchildren would not live to see a Southerner in the White House.

It appears that the South is unduly sensitive on this point. Senator Glass is not the only one to utter a protest against the slighting of the old Confederacy. The Atlanta Constitution, for example, is continually sounding the note. It may be admitted that, following the Civil war and up to 1880, the nomination of a Southerner was out of the question. As late as 1884, a bigoted northern clergyman could suppose that there was magic in the slogan against "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." (There was magic—but it was black magic.) As to the next two campaigns, the commanding position of Grover Cleveland within the Democratic party was such that no one would think of attributing the failure to name a Southerner to any other cause. In 1896, Bryan took the whole Democracy by storm and remained in the saddle practically until 1916—although he did allow the worthless 1904 nomination to go to New York. It cannot fairly be said that during this whole period there was a southern issue raised, or even that there was an undercurrent of prejudice, or timidity, that prevented the naming of a candidate from that section.

In 1920 it is probably true that the complaint sometimes heard from Republican sources of "The South in the Saddle" militated against the nomination of any one from that part of the country; but in 1924 the South itself was cool, or even violently hostile, to the candidacy of Senator Underwood of Alabama, who was regarded with much favor at the North as real presidential timber. Now this year it must be evident that the support of Governor Smith is largely due to the fact that he is the outstanding vote-getter of the party—and that, too, in the largest of the states.

If one is to discuss the slighting of any region of the United States, as if it were deliberate and prejudiced, a brief consideration of other sections will show that the South is not alone in the neglect which it has experienced. Neither the Pacific coast nor the Rocky Mountain region has ever had a presidential candidate of a leading party. Bryan was the only one who even hailed from the vast trans-Mississippi region. New England has contributed some Republican vice presidents; but it is not generally believed that even Calvin Coolidge would ever have got the nomination for the presidency if fate had not placed him in the White House in the first place. With this exception, only one Republican candidate has sailed from New England—or from any state, wherever located, that was not considered highly debatable ground. James G. Blaine (of Maine) was not elected; and the party never dared to take a chance with George F. Edmunds of Vermont, or with that other very great man from the Pine Tree State, Thomas B Reed. During the last half-century, the Democrats have been fairly consistent in the same policy of avoiding candidates from states which are not fairly close.

It is evident this year that much more is involved than mere strategic considerations, clearly as these point toward the man who has shown that he has everything his own way in New York—at least in the state elections. The fact is too clearly established to be denied that the southern and the northern Democracy do not stand for the same principles. Ethically the South has much in common with the prevailingly Republican West. It, like these other regions, believes in ascetism by law and is prevailingly Protestant and Fundamentalist. The Democracy of the North sets its face hard against such ideas in any political connotation. Economically, the southern Democracy does not quite know where it does stand, but probably it is nearer to thinking with the West than it is to falling in with the hazy ideas of northeastern Democrats, when and if these shall be revealed in the full light of day. It did look for many years as if the Democrats of this section were willing to live and let live, when it came to the incendiary Negro question; but here we find Bruce of Maryland—a former slave state, at that—taking up the cudgels against the South even on this delicate point; while the Democratic politicians of the North are far from turning a cold shoulder to voters of color.

Under such conditions, it should be evident to Senator Glass that, if the election of a Southern president is out of the question, there is something more than mere sectionalism involved. The fact has been in the past—and there is no reason to suppose that the situation has changed—that the northern states examine rather critically the personal views of a candidate and regard party ties very lightly if these views do not meet their approval. The southern states will support any Democrat, regardless. This being true, it is elementary that a candidate must be selected to win the independent states and that luck may be trusted to bring the rest of them into line. When the South demonstrates that this policy no longer works, that section may be able to name its candidate. Until then, it cannot expect to force its views on the Democratic conventions—or its candidates who are thoroughly representative of these views.

WORLD
JAN 24 1928

METHODS OF STATES

Senator Swanson of Virginia admits irritation over a question that comes up in the senate occasionally when that body is discussing the methods employed by various northern states in selecting the men who are to represent them in the senate. That discussion apparently does not pall upon the Virginia senator except when it veers toward the south and the question is raised as to the policy of numerous southern states in disfranchising a large part of their population. Then it does pall, and the senaor is tired of having that angle of state procedure brought up. He served notice in a prepared address yesterday that the south will continue to do as it likes about letting its inhabitants vote and can't be coerced by any other state or group of states.

There is reason to believe that this outburst of indignation had its cause partly in the fact that the self-righteousness exhibited by southern speakers when talking about elections in Illinois and Pennsylvania appears somewhat at a disadvantage when negro disfranchisement in the south is touched upon. While the southerners contend that they have found a constitutional way of making up their voting lists on the color basis, the soundness of their claim is not apparent to any but themselves in view of the constitutional amendments on the subject.

Whatever may be the merit of Senator Swanson's claims as to actual political necessities, the whole problem is somewhat broader than was indicated by his remarks. In the senator's words, a group of "ignorant, shiftless and corrupt voters" has been "eliminated." But of course not all "ignorant, shiftless and corrupt" voters have been eliminated in the south. The voters of whom the senator speaks, whatever their condition, are as they are thru no fault of their own—and considerable pressure exists thruout the south to prevent their improving their condition. The south, giving lip service to democratic ideals departs widely therefrom in matters of the franchise.

Persons to whom the southern system appears right and logically defensible, or defensible on grounds of expediency and necessity should not obect to its discussion, it would appear, inasmuch as the inner workings of other state systems are considered matters for discussion at all times.

Senator Bruce of Maryland appears to have made as apt a comment on the Swanson address as was possible, altho he may have had a purpose other than pointing out logical weaknesses in the Virginian's address.

"If the south by legal ingenuity is able to nullify or escape the terms of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments," he asked, "haven't we the right to escape by such means as possible the tyrannical oppression of the eighteenth amendments?"

"What's the constitution among friends? is the question left by Swanson's speech.

LEDGER
Lowell Mass
APR 12 1928

EDITORIALS

From the Pens of Other Editors

"THE NEGRO PHOBLEM MYTH."

The Atlanta Constitution makes the surprising statement that there really is no Negro problem and discourses in this wise:

"Among all our American myths that of the "Negro problem" is the one most prevalent and persistent. Yet no problem exists in fact. Like many other delusions it is only a state of mind. It must be presupposed and cultivated.

"The more intelligent Negro leaders have come to understand the truth and are more insistently advising their people to realize that, in this country and under our social, political and industrial system, 'every tub must stand on its own bottom.' They now say, as most men have said from the day of the Negro's freedom, that the case of each of them is one of individual conduct, thrift and enterprise. Too many of them have demonstrated that conspicuously to leave it a matter of debate.

"There is nowhere, and especially nowhere in the south where the Negro race most abounds, any general conspiracy to limit his lawful liberties, his right to labor, to get an education, to own and enjoy property, and to improve his manner of life as a law-abiding citizen. Any charge to the contrary comes from professional Negro agitators and so-called philanthropic race-uplifters.

"So far as actual facts and experience show there is no more of a Negro problem to be specifically solved than there is a Russian, or an Italian, or a Greek, or a Slovack problem, or a problem growing out of any other immigrant race. The Negroes among us are actually better placed and better circumstanced to make their position in our domestic economy secure and profitable in all ways, than are the foreigners who come without understanding of our American language, customs and institutions.

"The average intelligent Negro is reliably able to 'hoe his own row' and prosper wherever he is, if only the uplifters will let him alone."

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

THE NEGRO OUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THE POOR WHITE

—o—

Robt. W. Winston, a North Carolina lawyer, writing the life of President Andrew Johnson, discusses what has come to pass sixty years after his efforts to recontruct the nation, torn by Civil War. He says: "The Negro fought not for the Union, but against it, and for the Confederacy and his old master. About 200,000 Negroes, bond and free, from North and South and elsewhere, were on the Union side, mostly in fortifications and similar work; whereas six or eight times that number were on southern plantations fighting for the Confederacy. But for the Negroes at home, raising hog and hominy for Confederate soldiers, the Confederacy might have collapsed in twelve months. Certainly if one Negro uprising, as the Nat Turner insurrection, had taken place, Lee would not have had a soldier in his ranks. Every mother's son would have hastened back to protect his Dixie home." Kansas City Star

Whatever Mr. Winston desires to prove, he certainly is right in his facts about the substantial foundation of the Confederate cause,—the food for soldier in the field and family at home, provided by black workers. Without it the war could not have gone four years. The emancipation, because it crumbled the foundation, was a stroke of military genius. Kansas City Missouri,

It is this situation before and during the war which makes race relations so difficult. The poor whites enjoyed full citizenship only when in the army. Out of it, they could live neither by labor nor capital. What wonder is it that they came to hate the slave, who materially at least, was better off than they! Just as Mr. Winston speaks truly about our part in continuing our own enslavement, so we should go down to hard facts about present conditions. 5-25-28

Labor in the South, starved under the old regime, denied promotion under a caste system, has made of reconstruction its day of power. All this superiority and inferiority talk is just a smoke screen to justify an industrial system, favorable to the class who were poor whites in the South before the war. Wrong is wrong, and limitations on any man's natural rights are indefensible. But Negroes, the sons of men who produced food which lengthened their own enslavement, certainly ought to be able to look with understanding and charity on the present day mistakes of others.

Current Comment

WHAT OTHER EDITORS ARE SAYING

Carter Glass And The Negroes

From The State (Columbia, S. C.)

The attitude of Senator Glass of Virginia toward Negroes is under warm discussion in some parts of the Old Dominion. The State is somewhat surprised that the Norfolk Journal and Guide, doubtless the ablest, most sanely and constructively edited Negro journal in the country, should fall so short of its opportunities as is evidenced in the following criticism:

> The impression which Negroes of Virginia have of Mr. Glass, and which was reflected in our editorial has been gained through close observation of his record on the Negro question as congressman and United States senator. His gift for "salty speech" when he has had occasion to discuss our group publicly has not enhanced admiration for him on the part of colored people. During a debate in the senate last fall on the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, in which he and his adversaries interjected the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, he is quoted as having called the war amendments "unspeakable crimes" intended to foist upon the South "an Ethiopian state, ignorant, profligate and corrupt." Then regarding the Negro suffrage in the present times, he went on to say substantially what he is quoted as having said in the Liberty interview except of course, his language was more decorous. What the senator has said, from time to time, that has been offensive to self-respecting Negroes everywhere is printed in the Congressional Record, where all who wish may read. It is this phase of his political trend of mind—the political Mr. Glass—which led finally to his association by Negroes with other Southern senators and congressmen who openly and defiantly berate our group, and who hurl contempt at that part of the organic law which gave us the restricted measure of civil liberty which we now enjoy.

Senator Glass was not there criticising Negroes, but indicting the Republican party for a crime not only against the civilization of the South but against the newly freed slaves

Those amendments were not "war measures"; they were South-subjection measures.

Why should intelligent Negroes take umbrage at obvious facts which in the circumstances, are no discredit to their race? What qualifications had those several million of emancipated Negroes for government in 1868? They had no background in America save that of slavery, and they were brought here from barbarism in Africa. Yet it was upon those people that the Federal government forced the responsibilities not only of self-government but of the government of their late masters who had represented before the cataclism of the finest civilization known in America! And the Federal government did more in its vindictive hatred of the whites of the South; it encouraged white carpetbaggers and scalawags to use the Negroes for their corrupt, selfish and government-debauching purposes; it encouraged those corrupters in their set purposes to turn the Negroes against white Southerners and so to create animosities that have proved the greatest burden the Negroes have had to carry.

The record of government by Negroes under guidance of Northern carpet baggers is writ. In the circumstances that record was inevitable. No intelligent persons blame the ignorant, unlettered and deluded freedmen. They fix the crime of the centuries upon those at Washington who were so incited by hatred toward their own race in the South that they were blind and deaf to the teachings of sense and history. It is those whom Carter Glass indicts and history will bring in a true bill on that indictment.

The State believes that had sanity ruled in Washington and race-hatred not been fostered by the government's course Negroes would now be taking a much freer part in government in the South.

Instead of resenting references to ignorant and corrupt government in the South during reconstruction which are facts of history, Negroes should cite the truth, point out the responsibilities forced upon them when mentally and morally wholly unprepared to meet them; and then point to their progress along all lines in 60 short years. Being in a "white man's country" has helped them, for no Negroes standing alone have, since the world began, approached these in general advancement. With fine sarcasm they could point to the record of corruption in the Harding administration, and more recently in Indiana, Illinois and other states; also to the witch-burning proclivities of the early New Englanders who were even then centuries removed from bondage.

What an opportunity they miss!

The South Wins A Convert

LIBERTY, the New York weekly, that sent Mr Sidney Sutherland out to interview Senators Glass and George on the 14th, 15th and 18th amendments, and whose published accounts of these interviews were repudiated by the Senators in question, now rises to express its own opinion. Very gravely, Liberty proclaims:

> "This is what has happened. The South has announced that it will not deal with any party that lets the Negro vote. The North, while permitting the Negro to vote, sees what happens in the South and adopts a policy of 'hands off'.
>
> "And let us say right here we think they are right in doing it. In view of the horrors of reconstruction, we do not believe the Negro should vote in the South. When he did vote there he brought civilization almost back to savagery."

The editorial writer that penned those lines has heard about "the horrors of Reconstruction." He has been told that Negroes "brought civilization almost back to savagery," and he believes it. He is proselyted. Like all yankees who try to kow-tow to the South he goes too far. He out-Souths the Southerner, becoming in the process an object of disgust.

In small capsules he incases his opinions, which sound like those of a moron. He would be just as logical if he came out and proclaimed that because hoop-skirts were once the craze in fashion women should never have abandoned them. As far as his knowledge goes Negroes are of the same social, moral and economic stature that they were when emancipated. He does not know that those who pillaged, ravished and ruined the South during Reconstruction were his civilized Northern brethren who took advantage of the Negroes' ignorance and rode to power on their lash-striped backs.

He does not know that two million stalwart Negroes stayed at home on the Southern plantations and made it possible for their Southern masters to stay in the war by raising food to feed the army and to sustain Southern women and children, and that 200,000 stalwart blacks fought to "save the Union."

He is interested in liquor. He would make of the constitution a chameleon. Let each State interpret the constitution to suit itself. Hear him:

> "We believe the time is coming when States that want it will be allowed latitude in interpreting the Constitution. The South will have no Negro suffrage. The urban East will be wet. And the agrarian Western States which believe in all three of these amendments, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth, will be permitted to enjoy them to the full within their own borders."

His doctrine carried to its logical conclusion would be disastrous to the country.

What he prophesies with reference to the latitude that "will be allowed" States in interpreting the Constitution is already true. The "Urban East" is already wet. But the South itself does not desire that there shall be no Negro suffrage. The South is determined that Negro suffrage shall be restricted, and it is. The Urban East is not willing to have its liquor restricted. Liberty is now willing to grant the South and the West anything these sections may want where the Constitution is concerned if the East can have its liquor.

So the South wins a convert to its position on the 14th, 15th and 18th amendments.

JOURNAL
RACINE, WIS.
APR 30 1928

HAWAII WANTS STATEHOOD.

Hawaii is knocking at the door, or ringing the bell, either way, for admittance into the union as a full-fledged state with all the sovereign powers thereby attached. There are 20 islands in the group, nine being inhabited. The population by the 1920 census was 255,912, and on July 1, 1926, was estimated to be 328,444, an increase of 72,532. By the official 1920 figures the people were made up of 23,507 Japanese, 109,274 Hawaiians, 23,732 Caucasian-Hawaiians, 11,072 Asiatic-Hawaiians, 6,955 Portuguese, 27,002 Porto Ricans, 5,602 Spanish, other Caucasian mostly Americans 19,708; Coreans 4,950, Filipinos 21,031, Negroes 348, all others 310. The number of the different races are given that the mixed character of the inhabitants may be shown, and a mixture it certainly is. The islands lie in twelve degrees and sixteen minutes north latitude, longitude 154 degrees and forty minutes. The nearest mainland is 2,418 miles, or San Francisco. Honolulu, the largest city and the capital, had an estimated population in 1927 of 104,000. Hawaii with all the islands was formally annexed to the United States on July 7, 1898, and given territorial government June 14, 1900. The present governor is Wallace Farington, who is advocating its admission as a state of the union.

The governor has lived in Hawaii thirty years and says it is better equipped to become a state than any other territory, this meaning likely Alaska, as this is the only other territory. Th governor goes into details and says the race question is not as acute as it is in New York city. He then says:

"The natural and logical destiny of Hawaii is to be a full-fledged state in the American union, and eventually this statehood will be granted. I am no prophet and I can't predict when. It may come suddenly, just as annexation did, or it may come slowly. Whatever the conditions of statehood may be, we have satisfied them all long ago. But we do not worry about the question of territorial status. We are willing to bide our time."

The leading productions are sugar, rice, coffee, pineapples, bananas, with more or less stock raising. The sugar crop of 1926-27 was 1,363,988,946 pounds, valued at $60,689,730. The pineapples yielded 410,570,322 pounds worth $35,403,305. The United States is the chief customer of the islands.

Disfranchisement ana Economic Starvation

The program of the South seems to be, and has been partly put over, to disfranchise the Negro, and then economically starve him, so as to reduce him to a condition of poverty and dependence. In pursuance of this program, so far as it lies in the power of the Democratic party, which includes 90 per cent of the white people of the South, the Negro has been deprived of his political rights and the program is well on, to starve him economically, by shutting the door of every opportunity to make bread right in his face. Being deprived of the ballot, he has no effectual weapon with which to deal with that element of the white South, which has inaugurated a campaign to shut the doors of the shop, the field, the domestic services and all other avenues of labor in his face. The country that will permit a part of its citizens to take away from another part, the right to vote and hold offices, and follow up this inhuman policy with the program to shut a part of its citizens out of the opportunity, to render an honest day's work for an honest dollar, is threatening its own perpetuity, and is inviting the day when it must inevitably reap what it has sown—destruction. It is not possible to destroy the rights of a part of the people, or starve a part of the people, without endangering the rights and opportunities of all the people. It is hard to understand how a sentiment can prevail in a Christian community, to the extent that it sanctions an inhuman program, and is a puzzle to the world.

The South having successfully deprived the Negro of his constitutional right to have a voice in the making of the government, has turned its attention to the proposition of starving the Negro, preventing him so far as possible by law, and further by practice and custom of the opportunity to make an honest living.

Through Union Labor as a means, 90 per cent of the trades of this country has been shut in the face of the Negro artisan and mechanic. Numbers of municipalities have passed ordinances, or yielded to the bias appeals of Union Labor, making it impossible for the Negro to drive a motor vehicle, the property of a municipal government. And if a Negro works on a truck, a white man is the driver and sits all day on the truck without moving, while the Negro loads and unloads the waste. This unnecessary employee receives more pay to do nothing, than the two Negroes who do the work. This white employee is a ward-heeler, and lines up his crowd to keep the politician in office who fathers the policy of keeping the Negro out of work. The Barber Trade has been largely closed to the Negro, and so much so, that the State of South Carolina has passed a law making it a misdemeanor for a Negro to shave or wait on a white customer. It is only possible in cities, for Negroes to be Mail Carriers and occasionally, clerks the spirit of intolerance is so violent in the country that a Negro would take his life in his own hands if he accepted an appointment as a Rural Carrier or a Post Office in the country.

Because of this intolerance spirit, 50 per cent of the Negroes who go into court do not expect justice; they regard any litigation between whites and blacks that the allegation proven or unproven means conviction, as certain as the nominee of a Democratic white primary means election. While the Independent does not share in this belief, fifty per cent of our group believe it.

The public school funds which are trust funds, held in trust by the officers in charge, are used as private funds or race funds. The Negro teachers are paid about half what the white teachers are paid and 90 per cent of the money spent for equipment in school houses is spent for the benefit of the white children. As a rule, in the cities when improvements are made for white pupils, the Negro is given the old, dilapidated, out-of-date school house and desks that have been discarded because of their antiquity by the white people. In other words, the educational departments in the South are used to impress the Negro youth, that anything second-hand, is good enough for the Negro. School districts are built for whites with a view of mobilizing the white children at a given point, that they may be conveniently picked up by motor trucks, and taken to consolidated schools, and the truck-driver gets better pay than the best paid Negro teacher in the community. Yet the law provides the same amount of money per capita, for the Negro child, it provides for the white child. But the money for the education of the Negro child is misappropriated, not for personal profit, but for the education of the white child en-masse.

The white primary is only a vehicle and a cunningly designed scheme for the purpose of unifying white people politically and economically against all black people. Its purpose is to break down party lines and set up a white oligarchy, for the purpose of reducing Negro Citizens to serfs and dependencies. This policy is nothing new in the South—it is as old as man, and every government that has adopted it, overthrew itself by the wickedness and narrowness of its policy. Selfishness is not statesmanship, neither will it perpetuate free institutions. A government that does not provide equal opportunities and equal voice for all the people in the management of the public welfare will overthrow itself. While discrimination may begin against the minority, it inevitably will include the majority, which will end in revolution and intolerant oligarchy.

Why not stop at disfranchisement, though it is vicious and revolutionary, and permit the Negro to work out his own salvation? Why shut him out of the shop; out of the field; domestic services and every other avenue in which he can make his bread; educate his children, build a home and save a dollar for a rainy day? Why keep him from becoming a taxpayer? Is it fair to keep him from voting, arrest him for vagrancy and then make it impossible by law, prejudice and otherwise, to find employment? You build a house for your dogs, a barn for your cattle, a stable for your horse, and you invite foreigners South to help develop it and advertise its possibilities; yet you take from ten million Citizens, native born, the right to vote and the opportunity to work for an honest living. Where is your Christianity? Wher is your love of humanity? Where is the pulpit, black and white, that it doesn't join in an appeal to the common-sense of mankind, and the gracious favor of God, to direct the destinies of this Nation, to the end, that the spirit of the lowly Nazarene may govern and inspire righteousness in the management of the affairs of man in the community, city, state and nation. Disfranchise the Negro, he will overcome it, but don't take from him his meat and bread, and his chance to become helpful, and a part of the community life, in which he breathes the spirit of the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

South Carolina Comes To The Defense Of Senater Glass

IN another column on this page is reprinted an editorial from The State, (Columbia, S. C.) entitled "Carter Glass and the Negroes." The State is "surprised" that the **Journal and Guide** "should fall so short of its opportunities," in our recent comment on Senator Glass. The State is laboring under the impression, it seems, that what the **Journal and Guide** has said, in that connection, was in some measure a defense or a plea in justification of the political blunders of the reconstruction period. In spite of the very natural interest we have in our own group and our sensitiveness to political and economic repression, we are able to sense the enormity of the political and social problems which confronted the Southern white people after the War Between the States. The succession of events which brought about those conditions was the aftermath of a bitter internecine war, which left the combatants exhausted on both sides but neither victorious nor conquered—in spirit at least. What followed was the logical sequence of such a conflict. It was impossible to bring the conflict to an end without freeing the slaves. It was impracticable to give them freedom without making it statutory and placing them, theoretically at least, on a par with other free Americans. That unscrupulous and embittered whites made political capital of the circumstances was fatal to a hasty and complete reconciliation of the North and the South, but it was likewise the means of preventing the virtual re-enslavement of the emancipated blacks, as the "Black Laws" enacted by the legislatures of the slave states prior to the adoption—legally or otherwise—of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, would have done. It was a tragic situation, probably unparalleled in the history of the world. One can appreciate and sympathize with the South's attitude. One can, in view of this background, make allowances for the caution and the doubt with which the South approaches the political phases of the race problem.

So it follows that it is not with a desire to justify or to defend the unfortunate course of political events during reconstruction that the **Journal and Guide**, or any other Negro journal, resents or condones an indictment of the Republican party by Senator Carter Glass, or by The State, or by any other medium of Democratic expression. The crimes of reconstruction have been atoned; the menace to the civilization of the South removed; the declaratory amendments which made the freed slaves a political factor have been nullified, and there is no political crisis facing the South, unless it is the annulment of the eighteenth amendment, to which the South is at present opposed. Three generations of the Negro have passed through evolving stages of socialization which have fitted many of them for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Their thoughts and sympathies are undoubtedly Southern. There are no valid reasons, apparent to them, why they should be subjected to unduly repressive political and, inevitably, economic measures on account of the quarrel between the white people of the North and of the South sixty years ago. Keeping up the quarrel reacts with disaster upon the Negro people. Every time a Southern politician or publicist undertakes to disprove that there is an analogy between the annulment of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and eighteenth amendment he stirs up racial antagonism, fires anew racial prejudices and erects a new barrier to economic progress on the part of the Negro. It is because indictments of the Republican party by Southern Democratic politicians take the form of recrimination on account of the Negro's ancient connection with that party that we object to them and see no real justification in them, for in so far as the Negro is concerned, such recriminations are racial and not political, and the Negro, and not the Republican party is the real sufferer.

Recent efforts upon the part of Southern Negroes to identify themselves with the Democratic party have two meanings. They wish to exercise the right of suffrage and they have acquired a sense of political discrimination. That applies to a small group of Southern Negroes, for in reality only a small group of us have any active political consciousness. The chief concern of the race in the South is economic. It is difficult to arouse political interest among any group of intelligent Southern Negroes. So obsessed are we with a desire for economic footing that we lose sight of the efficacy of the ballot, and in that respect we are not different from a considerable number of Southern white people. Our opportunities to belabor the Republican party for its recent acts of corruption are not neglected, but are necessarily subordinated to the business of defending ourselves against political recriminations for which the Republican party, and not we, are responsible.

THE SOUTH'S PERNICIOUS POLICY TOWARDS THE NEGRO

For many years the most important subject which has claimed the attention and gripped the minds of the people of the South and the nation, to some degree also, has been, what is rather badly denominated, "The Negro Problem." When we refer to the South, we mean that psychic force which sways its people, shapes the opinion and executes the policies of the Southern States. The opinion of the Negro is not respected in the adoption of policies in the South; it is for him to obey and not to advise, even in the things which pertain solely to his welfare. Therefore, we must necessarily mean the white man of the South whose opinion is law, and the propriety of whose acts is not to be questioned by the Negro.

For the Negro there are many problems and upon his successful solutions of those problems depends his future welfare, the attainment of full exercise of his rights of citizenship in this community. For the white man there is no Negro problem. He has an established policy, built upon his hatred for the Negro, and he continuously displays that prejudice. The question which predominates his thoughts is: How, shall he be able to maintain his program and eventually destroy the rights of the Negro?

Realizing that chattel slavery could no longer exist under the laws of this country, the South set out immediately after reconstruction to abridge the rights conferred upon the Negro by the Constitution of the United States, and for the past fifty years has been successful, to no small degree, in carrying on the policy which was adopted to accomplish this aim. Thus, the policy of the South is to evade the law of the land. It purposes, by intimidation and actual cruelties practiced upon the Negro, to inspire his mind with fear and to produce such cowardice of soul within him that this morale will be destroyed and he will willingly submit to subjection. How to perpetuate this policy is what disturbs the minds of the South.

For the promotion of its program the South employs all the many methods and practices, which a perverse mind can conceive; it starves; it crushes with physical violence, and it even calls upon the arms of the law to aid in carrying on its aims against the welfare of the Negro.

For his labor the Negro is paid not even a living wage; the amount paid is insufficient to supply him with food and provide for decent shelter. He is forced on this account to seek out the most miserable quarters in the back alleys of civilization; he can buy only the most unwholesome foods, most of which should be cast into the garbage, and for wearing apparel, he must appear in the streets, ridiculous and fantastic, because he can afford only the discarded clothes sold at second-hand shops and rummage sales.

In its efforts to maintain its old prestige, the South permits frequent displays of its underlying feelings towards the Negro, in public outbursts of physical violence against the Negro, whenever its appears that its prestige is endangered by a display of self-respect or manhood on the part of the Negro. A display of self-respect by a Negro is interpreted as insolence, and is avenged by physical violence. The officers of the law, whose duties are to preserve order and to protect property and the rights of citizens, appear to be poorly instructed as to their duties, because they often exceed the scope of their authority, where the Negro is involved, and they seem to find certain satisfaction in exercising physical violence and other modes of intimidation upon an unoffending Negro.

Today there are vast tracts of land lying idle in the South, without tenants and grown up in brush; outstanding evidence of the South's unfair dealings with the Negro. The vast amounts of flour and corn, chickens and eggs, beef and pork and many of the other necessary things which the South uses, and which could be produced here, are being imported, and because the South has been unwilling to distribute equitably the fruits of the land, which the Negro helped to produce. The Negro furnished the labor, the white man enjoyed the results of his labor and failed to pay off. The South has driven the Negro from the rural districts by its unfair dealings, but the white man will not condescend to perform the menial tasks which the Negro formerly carried on in the fields of the South. The South can afford to pay high prices for its necessities in the other parts of the world but it could ill-afford to pay an equitable wage to the Negro who has been willing to produce these commodities at home at a far less money cost to the South. Here is one of the curses of the South's drastic policy.

These practices hold forth on the South's daily program and form the pernicious policy of the South. These are the conditions under which the Negro exists, but they also retard the progress of the South, yet the South is attempting to perpetuate this policy for its future generations to the ultimate destruction of the citizenship of the Negro.

MEMPHIS

TENNESSEE

OCT 28 1928

DR. GRIGGS RETURNS.

Dr. Sutton E. Griggs, negro pastor and educator, returned to Memphis yesterday from a tour of Arkansas, where he spoke and conferred on socialization of the races. He reports hearty co-operation on the part of both white and negro leaders.

Dr. Griggs will issue the last of a series of pamphlets on socialization this week. The title of it is "Reasons for a Policy of Conciliation Between the Races."

The educator will preach at the Tabernacle Baptist Church this morning and tonight and will leave later for Hot Springs in another survey of race conditions.

SENATOR GEORGE DISCUSSES 'NULLIFICATION'

(New York World)

An interesting and unusually discussion of constitutional amendments, dead and alive, is contributed to the current issue of Liberty by Senator George of Georgia in the form of an interview with Sidney Sutherland. Mr. George is a plain speaker and shows it in this case by an amazing willingness to discuss matters frankly. "Why apologize or evade?" he asks, in speaking of the legislation by means of which various southern state have nullified the 14th and 15th amendments.

"We have been very careful to obey the letter of the federal Constitution—but we have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and such statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of a white man. And we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way."

This, we admit, is plain speaking; and its frankness invites the inevitable question:

If, by being "diligent and astute," the South has been able to obey the letter but nullify the purpose of two amendments to the Constitution, on what ground can southerners reasonably object to nullification of a third amendment in the North—namely, the 18th amendment?

"I am a dry," he says, "but I have the deepest sympathy with the impatience of the wets. I think it is not at all within the spirit and genius of our system of government to give the United States government the power to intrude itself in premises and on matters which ought to be solely within a citizen's private judgment. * * * * It is a simple thing to kill the 18th amendment. All the wets have to do is to elect a house of representatives and a senate to repeal the Volstead act and refuse to pass any enforcing legislation in its place."

It is on the authority of a man who has served for five years as a member of the supreme court of Georgia that this course is recommended as sound constitutional procedure.

PAGE BROTHER BLEASE

Now we know what ails South Carolina and Senator Coleman Livingston Blease, South Carolina's greatest advertisement. It's the influence of the "poor white trash," that group which, according to Robert Quillen, fearless editor of that state, is in the vast majority. Never before has a white man dared say the things Mr. Quillen said in his editorial of two weeks ago. Never before has the truth about that back yard of America, South Carolina, been exposed by one who not only has the knowledge of his subject, but the rare courage to tell what he knows.

Here are some of the terse statements that explain South Carolina:

"There is no other section of America where men are so quick to defend their honor as in South Carolina.

"There is no other section where so much is said about being a gentleman.

"There is no other section where religion figures so largely in the scheme of existence.

"There is no other section where whisky, wine and beer are more bitterly denounced.

"And yet I know of no section that has so little reason to boast.

"There is no other section where so large a percentage of the male population will lie to make a dollar.

"There is no other section where so many men make debts they do not intend to pay.

"There is no other section where deadbeats and liars are accepted by society as a whole and treated as courteously as honorable men.

"There is no other section where so many men make vulgar and insulting remarks about women, delight in filthy sex stories and abuse their wives.

"There is no other section where church people, while professing to believe the use of intoxicants sinful, consume so much moonshine whisky.

"There is, in short, no other section in the United States where so large a percentage of the population is composed of self-righteous hypocrites.

"There are in South Carolina many people who have no superiors in uprightness, virtue, chivalry and integrity. They are in the minority.

"The majority is dirt—psalm-singing, Jesus-shouting, liquor-guzzling, thieving white trash, without the slightest conception of the meaning of honor—constitutionally incapable of decency—inherently filthy in soul, body and mind.

"The reason is not far to seek. Men do not gather figs from thistles.

"In the days of the South's glory there were three distinct breeds of people in this state—the white people, the Negroes and the trash.

"The trash was white under its dirt, but in all other particulars it was beneath the Negro. It hated the Negro, for it felt his scorn and recognized him as a superior.

"This unwashed trash element was composed of bond servants and their progeny—the scum of England's gutters. It was ignorant and lousy, and for generations had been whipped to its kennels by English masters. A condition of servitude and want, endured for generations, had made it bestial. It had no standards of virtue or honor. It would steal and lie as readily as it would holler when abused.

"This depraved, broken and filthy herd of cattle, improved in the free air of America, but at the time of the opening or hostilities between the North and South, it was far, far lower in the scale of civilization than the lowest white man now. It still was scorned by black slaves.

"The coming of the war found every southern gentleman ready for it. War was a gentleman's game. Dandies who kept personal servants at their side planned a short and glorious campaign in which the damned vulgar Yankees should be licked out of their boots and taught not to meddle in the affairs of their betters. The genelemen went to war and left their women folk in the care of faithful slaves.

"The trash didn't go to war—not much of it. It waited to be drafted. The gentlemen planters had human property at stake, and the sturdy commoners who had drifted down from the North at an earlier day and made the South their home had sectional pride at stake. The trash had nothing at stake.

"Yet the trash was drafted, and the war taught it manhood—as the last great war taught manhood to London's gutter rats.

"But the better class was killed off in those first bloody years, and most of those who survived the war and came back to the horror of reconstruction were low grade men.

"These made a new South. The trash came home—it found itself the balance of power. It began to elect demagogues to office. It begot children after its kind, and today it shames the state.

"There you have dishonor explained. Now you know why the section that mouths religious phrases and prates of its integrity and its chivalry and frowns upon pleasures that once were enjoyed by the gentry is nevertheless full of lying, cheating, the uttering of debts, secret drunkenness and cowardly murder."

And that, says Mr. Quillen, explains South Carolina. It also explains the rest of the South. It explains lynchings, disfranchisement, bastardy, segregation and all other evils the South is heir to. It explains why we may expect no justice from that section of the country until this generation and several more have come and gone. And finally it explains Ben Tillman, Tom Watson, Cole Blease, Tom Heflin and Vardaman. Thanks to Mr. Quillen, we now have the answer.

Dr. Wilmer Flays Effort To Create New Racial Issue

Efforts to drag the race issue into the present political controversy, whether on one side or the other, were strongly condemned here Monday on both religious and economic grounds in an interview given to the press by Dr. C. B. Wilmer, of Sewanee, Tenn., professor of practical theology in the University of the South. "The only result of such course," said Dr. Wilmer, will be to inject into an already difficult situation elements of discord that will react unfavorably on our whole religious, domestic and political life. The leadership of the south, clerical and otherwise, is missing an opportunity if it fails to discourage and discountenance such appeals to race prejudice and fear, which every intelligent person must recognize as false and dangerous, unworthy of the white man, and unjust to both white and negro.

White Race in Control.

"The white race is in control of the south today and any attempt to maintain that position by reviving the issues of a bygone past is tragically out of place. Whichever side resorts to such tactics—and both are guilty—is confessing its weakness, and failing to recognize that the voters of the white south, increasingly intelligent and fair-minded, are beginning to resent such attempts to frighten and coerce them when there are grave issues at stake which ought to be decided on their merits.

"The most important thing in the south today" concluded Dr. Wilmer, "is to face facts squarely, to study situations in the love of truth, to form independent convictions and then to vote those convictions fearlessly. In this crisis the pulpit particularly has a great opportunity and a grave responsibility to help create an atmosphere of fairness and keep debate on a high plane where the real issues may be discussed on their merits."

Here For 24 Years.

Dr. Wilmer was rector of St. Luke's church here from 1900 to 1924 and has since been at the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn., where he holds the position of professor of theology.

Dr. Wilmer recently preached a sermon here, while supplying in his former pulpit, in which he stated that he thought ministers should not take sides in political questions.

"The church has a message on all public questions," Dr. Wilmer said Monday, "and I think that the preacher should not neglect these grave matters as though 'the gospel' meant only that the individual is to go to heaven when he dies. Preachers can render the greatest service by bringing out the moral and spiritual sides of the questions involved rather than by tieing up with particular political measures or legislative enactments," he stated.

The Liquor Question.

"For example," he continued, everyone admits that the evils of liquor and the liquor business are almost too great to describe and every decent man wants to do away with them. Yet, whether prohibition in its present form is or is not the wisest solution is a question on which intelligent and high-minded men may and do differ."

In conclusion, Dr. Wilmer stated that "perhaps preachers' greatest service to the cause of temperance is in the cultivation of a richer inner life and the promotion of a more equitable social order."

Dr. Wilmer, who spent the week-end in Atlanta, is on his way back to Sewanee after having attended a meeting in Alexandria, Va., of the Council of Advice to the Social Service department of the Episcopal church. This department, of which he is a member, has under consideration the whole question of the relation of the church to interracial, political and industrial questions.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

AN ANSWER TO THE CRITICS OF THE SOUTH

A Striking Defense of the Stand of Former Confederate States on the Revised Constitution

New Threats to Enforce Amendments Affecting the Rights of the Negro Bring From Senator Swanson

THOSE who defend the disregard of the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment have constantly cited the attitude of the Southern States toward the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments affecting the civic rights of negroes. The controversy came to a head during a debate in the Senate last week. In a prepared speech Senator Swanson of Virginia answered threats made in certain quarters to reduce Southern representation in the House of Representatives and vigorously defended the South, holding that restrictions laid on the negro were not in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. In view of the continued interest in Senator Swanson's remarkable address he was asked by The New York Times to present the pith of his speech in a special article, which follows.

By CLAUDE A. SWANSON,
Senator from Virginia.

WHAT is the effect of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States? The answer to this question is one of vital importance not only to the South but to all other parts of our country at this time. Briefly, and viewing the situation as an American and not as a citizen of any particular section of the country, I shall try to answer it. 1-29-28

Regrettable though it is, the fact remains that whenever the occasion arises that makes it desirable to influence the votes of Representatives in Congress from the eleven States of the old Confederate South, by somebody, or from somewhere, threats are made to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, or to reduce Southern representation in the House of Representatives under the Second Section of the Fourteenth Amendment, and thus make possible a curtailment of the political power and influence of the Southern States. New York

For myself, I resent that any person or the representative of any constituency should arrogate to himself the authority to indulge in the threatening language which in recent times has been so often applied to the South. The time is passed in the history of the United States when the South can be made subject to hostile or repressive supervision or can be intimidated by partisan vituperation. The Civil War is a glorious page in history now and this Republic is a Union of forty-eight States—States equal in privileges, in rights and in every other respect one to the other. The time has come when those who now repeat the bitter animadversions of the 60's and the 70's should realize that certain victorious States of the North, East and West no longer hold eleven of their sister States under military domination and control.

The Two Amendments Today.

All these things being true, let us, divesting ourselves of all partisan predilections, free from all political considerations, fairly and justly examine the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and ascertain their full import as disclosed by the circumstances surrounding their enactment and the interpretation that has been given them by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and determine whether their provisions have been violated, and conclude whether there is any necessity for further Congressional action or legislation. I shall not enter into any discussion of the regularity and validity of the adoption of the amendments—a question which has been the subject of much debate and difference—since that question has been disposed of by the Supreme Court.

That the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were adopted to meet conditions in the South due to the large numbers of negroes living in the eleven Southern States at the close of the Civil War is a fact proved by the debates in Congress at the time. It is a fact conceded by historians and law writers and has been so held by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment did not go any further than the abolition of slavery. It did not make a citizen of the negro and did not confer upon him the right of suffrage.

The Fourteenth Amendment was intended to make the negro a citizen of the United States, to give him the right to contract, to sue and be sued, the full right to acquire and hold property, and "all the privileges and immunities" that appertain to a citizen of the United States. The right of suffrage was not given, but was left absolutely in the control of the States.

The Supreme Court in repeated decisions has held that the right of suffrage is not "a privilege or immunity" conferred by the Fourteenth Amendment, and that it does not vest suffrage in the negro or any one else, and that under the terms of the Second Section the right is recognized as belonging absolutely to the States.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments left unchanged the exclusive jurisdiction of the States respecting the exercise of the right to vote. It was the purpose of the Second Section to induce the South to confer suffrage upon the negroes who had been freed by the Thirteenth Amendment, by providing for representation in the House based on population of the respective States, and for reduced representation in the proportion that citizens of the United States might be denied or abridged in their right to vote in a State except for crime or treason. The South was presented with this proposition: Enfranchise the negro and you will have full representation on the basis of your entire population; disfranchise him and your representation in Congress will be reduced to the extent of the negro population. It was hoped by those who supported this proposition that the States of the South would enfranchise the negro and thus obtain unrestricted representation and not disfranchise him and suffer reduced representation.

Mainly because of the fact that the Second Section of the Fourteenth Amendment gave to the Southern States the power to disfranchise the negro it was offensive to many Republicans, among them Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts. When it was offered, Senator Henderson, a Republican from Missouri, put the Fifteenth Amendment forward as a substitute but it was defeated, the principal reason being fear that it would fail of ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the States.

How the Fifteenth Arose.

This proceeding was in the nature of a bribe of a promise of full representation in Congress from the States of the South, provided they conferred suffrage on the negro. The South, however, refused to be bribed, knowing full well the inevitable demoralization and disaster that would follow. So it was that in February, 1869, Congress, disappointed because of the attitude of the Southern States, submitted to the States the Fifteenth Amendment, which provided that the right of citizens of this country to vote shall not be denied or abridged by any State "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Before the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted the States had complete control of suffrage and the right to vote is still left with the States under all decisions of the Supreme Court, as well as in the opinion of the law writers, except as the right may be affected by the Fifteenth Amendment. What are the rights of States under this amendment? The proceedings and debates in Congress at the time it was submitted to the States are worthy of study. The Supreme Court has uniformly held that to be a proper guide for information in determining the interpretation of legislation and also of amendments to the Constitution.

In January, 1869, the House Judiciary Committee reported a resolution carrying the proposed Fifteenth Amendment. James S. Boutwell of Massachusetts was Chairman of the Committee, and as proposed to the House by Mr. Boutwell the amendment provided that no citizen could be denied the franchise because of race, color or previous condition of slavery. There was also a second paragraph which gave Congress the power by legislation to enforce the provisions of the amendment as submitted by Mr. Boutwell.

The amending resolution was still pending in the House when a substitute was offered, which would have conferred universal manhood suffrage on all citizens except such as were convicted of crime or had participated in rebellion against the Government. By a vote of more than two to one the House rejected this proposition which, it was pointed out in the course of the debate, would have resulted in the Federal Government absorbing all the power of the States in the matter of suffrage, which would have meant in the end the disappearance of the States in a consolidated nation.

Finally the amendment, practically as subsequetly ratified, went to the

Senate, where there was another prolonged debate. In the end the two houses reached an agreement and as submitted to the States and ratified it declared the right to suffrage was one not to be denied because of race, color or any previous state of slavery or servitude. It is the law today and there is not a Southern State in which it is violated.

It cannot be too often stated that the proposition to prohibit discrimination for any other purpose except race, color or previous condition of servitude was rejected in both the House and the Senate. It was distinctly understood in both Houses of Congress that the resolution, as passed, permitted suffrage qualifications to be imposed by the States on any ground except "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." This was explicitly admitted and advanced by Senator Morton, who tried to enlarge the scope of the resolution, but failed, and finally voted for it as the best that could be obtained.

It was the position of Senator Morton that under the Fifteenth Amendment as submitted to the States it was admitted and recognized that the whole power over the question of suffrage is vested in the States except as limited by the amendment. He said the amendment left the whole power in the States just as it was before it was submitted, except that it provided negroes could not be disfranchised because of race, color or prior condition of servitude.

The views expressed by Senator Morton were undisputed, and it proves beyond dispute that Congress understood and it was conceded by all that if the amendment as submitted should be passed, any State could impose property or educational qualifications and that this might practically deprive nearly all the negroes of the right of suffrage. That this would be perfectly permissible, no one doubted. Senator Morton prophesied that if the Conservative party of the South should come into power, they would impose property and educational qualifications which would substantially eliminate the negro vote.

When the Conservative party of the South did obtain power they passed educational and property qualifications which accomplished the precise results foretold by Senator Morton and which it was not denied would represent an entire legitimate exercise of power. It was expected by some and hoped by others that the amendment would serve to perpetuate conditions then existing in the South where there was negro suffrage and control. The reconstruction acts of Congress denied representation in Congress to each of the eleven Southern States until each should by State constitution provide universal manhood suffrage.

These acts further provided that the military Governors in these eleven States should prepare a list of all voters, consisting of all negroes and other male citizens 21 years of age, except those who had participated in the secession. The military Governors, in pursuance of these acts, prepared such lists of voters, which practically included all the negroes and disfranchised nearly all the whites. The voters on these lists were authorized to elect delegates to constitutional conventions to prepare constitutions to be ratified by these very voters. By this process in nearly all the States negroes and their unscrupulous white allies were put in control of local, municipal and State Governments. The constitutions prepared by the conventions thus called provided for universal suffrage with practical general disfranchisement of the white people who had participated in secession.

Thus the Fifteenth Amendment was intended to continue the existing Republican control in the South. It was not believed that the conservative or Democratic Party could ever come into power under the new State Constitutions and hence with negro suffrage assured Republican control in the South would be perpetuated. The extreme radical wing of the Republican Party, to which Senator Morton belonged, was unable to secure a prohibition of education, property and other qualifications because of the misgivings as to ratification. Many of the States outside of the South had at that time educational and property qualifications and it was believed enough States would reject the amendment to prevent its adoption and that for this reason the amendment must be confined to discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Supreme Court Opinion.

Keeping in mind the foregoing, examine the interpretation of the amendment by the Supreme Court of the United States. In United States vs. Reece the Court declared the amendment did not confer the right of suffrage upon any person, but what it did do, said the Court, was to prevent the United States or any of the States from denying the suffrage to a man because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. That was all, absolutely all, there was to it. Again, in the case of the United States vs. Cruickshank, Chief Justice Waite held that "the right to vote in the States comes from the States, but the right of exemption from the prohibited discriminations (color, race or previous slavery) comes from the United States."

It is again worthy of note and certainly interesting that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, where the suffrage statutes are similar to those in force in the Southern States, has sustained the validity of the provisions in the Constitution of Massachusetts as well as of the statutes based on those provisions and agrees with the Supreme Court of the United States that the right of suffrage was not conferred on any one by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

One more citation of the Supreme Court of the United States I think is necessary. That was the case of Williams vs. the State of Mississippi, which went on appeal to the Supreme Court in Washington. In that case the Supreme Court held that Section 244 of the Constitution of Mississippi, making ability to read any section of the Constitution or understand it when read a necessary qualification to vote, to be not in conflict with the Federal Constitution. The Court further held that Section 241 of the same Constitution, prescribing as a necessary qualification to vote residence in the State for two years, one year in the precinct, and prepayment of all taxes legally due by him prior to the 1st day of February of the year he offers to vote, to be likewise valid.

Can any one who reads these decisions by courts of last resort deny that the right of suffrage is one for the States to decide, and this being so, that the States cannot impose qualifications and conditions requisite to its exercise, provided only that they do not discriminate on the grounds specifically stated in the Fifteenth Amendment? Also these decisions sustain the law that any qualified voter who is illegally deprived of the franchise has his remedy in the courts and he can recover damages from those responsible for the denial of his rights. All this being so, I maintain there is now no necessity for further legislation involving the suffrage.

Amendment Not Violated.

Viewing the actual situation honestly and without prejudice I do not believe any one can justly charge that the South is violating the Fifteenth Amendment. The Southern States have only exercised their rights under the Constitution. We do not intend that any part of the South shall ever degenerate into a Haiti or a Santo Domingo. All the South has done is to eliminate shiftless, ignorant and corrupt voters, and suffrage laws that are within the Constitution always will be invoked to save the South from being again blighted by a rule of ignorance.

Briefly I think I have given the facts of the Fifteenth Amendment. Now a word about the Second Section of the Fourteenth, which provides that representation in the House of Representatives among the several States shall be apportioned according to their respective numbers, and further that when the right to vote is denied any male inhabitant who is 21 years old and a citizen, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of males shall bear to the whole number of male citizens of 21 years of age in such States.

It seems to me that the only conclusion that can be reached, considering all the circumstances surrounding the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment, is that the Fifteenth Amendment repealed the penalizing section and that the negro voters have been fully and amply protected by the Fifteenth Amendment. Representation is now based, as it has always been based since the foundation of our country, upon the population and not the voting. The suffrage is still with the States unrestrained and uncontrolled by the Federal Government, except that the States cannot make any discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, or sex.

Recourse to the Courts.

When a State undertakes to violate any constitutional amendment, the Supreme Court of the United States will interfere and declare these statutes null and void and give ample protection to those who are injured by efforts to enforce nugatory laws. The Southern States stand on an equality in this respect with all other States and will not be intimidated by threats or deterred by criticism from pursuing the course deemed by them best for the industrial development and the political salvation of their section.

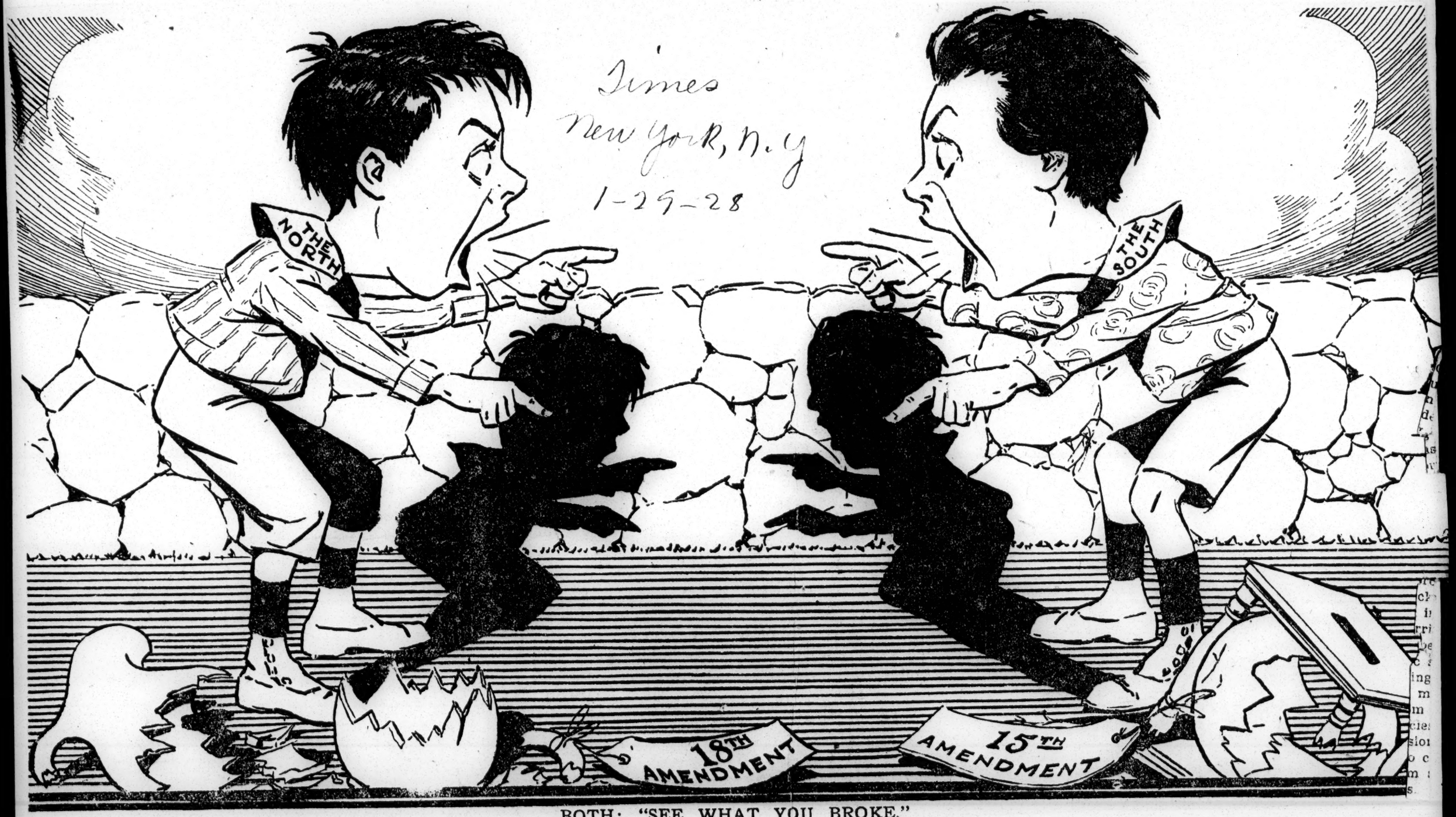
We appreciate that the difficult problem confronting us must be settled justly and fairly, and for the higher good of all concerned. We realize we cannot settle it in prejudice, malice, or ill-will without the results being prejudicial alike to us and the others involved. We recognize the necessity for dealing fairly and justly with all classes and races in our section. We have enacted laws providing for qualifications and requirements for voting which we deem necessary to protect ourselves from a class of voters whose introduction into politics has been most ruinous, not only to ourselves but to themselves and the entire country. We have gone no further than was necessary to protect the South from having a repetition of the infamies, social and political, which cursed our section in the days of reconstruction.

Our suffrage provisions are similar to those contained in many other States which are enforced and declared legal and constitutional. We believe these enactments are legal and constitutional, and if they are not, they will be invalidated by the Supreme Court of the United States, and there is no necessity for continued agitation of this question and the repeated efforts to discourage and humiliate the South.

Race problem 1928

United States

Times
New York, N.Y
1-29-28



BOTH: "SEE WHAT YOU BROKE."

Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.

FEB 13 1928

Patience Needed to Solve Race Problem, Negro Declares

James Weldon Johnson, in Boston, Says Negro's Primary Concern Is Participation in Liberty Guaranteed Him by Lincoln

Once someone wrote, "Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom." James Weldon Johnson, poet and publicist, musician, lawyer and sometime Unites States Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, and Corinto, Nicaragua, submitted an illustration of the truism in Boston when he explained at Ford Hall Forum some ways in which the Negro today is proceeding toward the realization of his primary concern, which is participation in the liberty guaranteed him by Abraham Lincoln.

"Once," he said, "the Negro was required to prove that he was a human being. He did so by showing the human attributes of kindness, love, generosity and faith. He has gone about, for most of his 300 years here, tagged by an interrogation point. 'What,' it has been inquired, 'are we to do with the Negro?' You see, it inferentially quite eliminated the possibility that not only might the Negro do something with himself, but he might do something for his country too."

Given Harmon Medal

Simultaneously with the meeting he was given the award of the Harmon Foundation for distinguished literary achievement during the year: A gold medal and $400 in recognition of his book of Negro sermons, "God's Trombones." He acknowledged the award by reading two of the sermons.

He is secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stands, by virtue of his position and the tasks that are his, at an intermediary point from which, if it is possible for him to realize the full import of the Negro question, it is also possible for him to perceive how truly there is, as well, a white problem. He believes the happy solution of the tangle, certain to be brought about by the future, very largely depends upon the exertion of patience; not inert patience; active, constructive, patient dealing with "the fluid succession of shifting, inter-racial situations."

Negroes in the Arts

He thought a period had come when the crusade would be largely influenced, for a space, through achievement by the Negro in the arts. "The Negro," he said, "has used many methods, ranging all the way from a simple 'Please' for mere justice to an invincible stand which says 'Here I stand and from this place I will not retreat, even though the waters pass over me,' and the methods of dealing with the Negro have ranged all the way between the two. "But now," he said, "there comes a small handful of Negroes gifted in the arts. Barely 25 in the whole country at present. Our song has helped us already.

"The theater—I like to think we shall one day have a small theater in Harlem, seating under 200, where plays written by Negroes about Negro life and played by Negroes will be played to please Negroes. And then we shall be glad if they pleased our white friends, too."

THE MANUFACTURERS' RECORD AND THE NEGRO

Editor R. H. Edmonds, of the Manufacturers' Record of Baltimore, and who represents his publication as the voice of the South, falls into the white man's usual error of discrediting the Negro, in criticizing President Coolidge's comment on Negro progress in his last message to Congress.

The President submits in his message to the Congress of the United States that history does not anywhere record so much progress made by any people, in the same length of time as that which has been accomplished by the Negro race in the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation issued by the immortal Lincoln.

Editor Edmonds in replying to the President's message says; that it might be said in reply to the President that no other inferior race in the world's history ever had such an opportunity for advancement, and at the same time every progress of the race is the highest compliment Mr. Coolidge could possibly pay to the white South of which the people have given the Negro the opportunity for these advancements.

The Independent thinks that Editor Edmonds might have enlarged his reply by saying that never has any race of people in the history of the world had so many handicaps and insurmountable obstacles put in the way of their progress by the South as the Negro has had since the Emancipation Proclamation, and that the Negro has made the marvelous progress that the President takes cognizance of in spite of Southern hinderances, rather than opportunities for his advancement.

No individual knows better than Negro; that the South has until has done everything that it could legally and illegally do to effectually block the progress of the Negro; that the South has untli this day discriminated against him in the distribution of the public school funds, outlawed his right to vote, entailed him in a condition of peonage by authorized contract laws, disfranchised, jim-crowed him, paid him starvation wages, and kept him on the farms and at saw mills at the muzzle of the gun. Housed him like cattle, cheated him out of his wages and has done everything else to impede his progress and to reduce him to a serf. And last but not least, murdered him, legally and illegally, lynched him, molested him, suppressed him and reduced him to a condition of peonage and abject slavery.

Mr. Edmonds is too old and intelligent not to know that he can not get away with the rot that he recently published in the Manufacturers' Record. The country is not going to accept his apology for lynching and mob law, or his statement that the majority of Negroes lynched for the "foul crime of rape."

Less than 25 per cent of the Negroes lynched in the last four-year period were charged with rape or attempted rape, and nobody knows this better than Mr. Edmonds.

Negroes have been and are being lynched for trifling crimes, such as insulting a white man disputing his word and for petty larceny. But Mr. Edmonds, like Ephriam, is joined to his idols, and is happy in the pastime of trying to discredit 13,000,000 people in the public regard. The Manufacturers' Record has always been unfair to the Negroes and has never made a fair and honest statement of his case to the public. It is full of prejudice and will never publish the Negro's side of the case unless it is stated by that class of Negroes who subscribe to its policy by accepted and acknowledge racial inferiority. Some years ago when Major Moton made a statement about the conditions of the Negro in the South which had no appeal to millions of our group, we asked for an opportunity to state the other side of the case, our articles were returned to us with the explanation that the paper had already stated its views. Later Kelly Miller wrote an apologetic letter, compromising the race and the Manufacturers' Record seized upon it because the article admitted and acquiesced in racial inferiority. Brother Edmonds is not a competent witness in any case involving equality of the races, and in consequence of which ought to be ruled out of court.

He belongs to that old school of Southerners who are unwilling to recognize manliness in the Negro and allow him a man's chance in the scuffle for meat and bread. He believes in the "hat-in-hand" Negro and has no patience with intelligent property holding and voting Negroes.

WHEELING, W. VA.
Register

APR 3 1928

The Race Problem

The testimony of "Dragon" Stephenson, former head of the K. K. K. in Indiana, brings to our attention the way NOT to settle the race question. Those who believe that benefit can come from fanning, into flame, smouldering race prejudices, are grievously in error. When they act upon such a belief they are doing an incalculable injury to their country.

It is appropriate, therefore, to look about for other influences that may, perhaps, be bringing nearer the solution of the race problem—the problem that the Klan aggravated by its mistaken effort to solve by violence. Such influences are at work, and they are producing results.

The race problem—like many of the problems that beset humanity—is based largely upon vanity. The Caucasion race, finding that it was superior to the Negro race in some respects, (in wealth and in education among others) decided that it was superior in all respects—so far superior that the Negro race was not entitled to any rights, much less to any consideration. The Caucasian is slowly finding out that this was a wron conclusion; and, incidentally, that it was based upon false premises.

Even without training, the Negro is a better musician than the average white person. With training, the Negro is capable of doing excellent work in other fields of art. And we shall speak only of art, because of limitations of space.

An exhibition of paintings by Negro artists was recently held in New York. The winner painted frankly negroid types—thereby affirming his belief that the appearance of his race is worth recording. There was much publicity. The critics were fair. Some of the paintings received (and deserved) high praise. The New York papers reproduced some of the winning pictures in their Sunday editions. That means that the white race is coming nearer to giving to the black race the appreciation that it deserves.

But, even more significant was what occurred in connection with the death of Florence Mills, the Negro singer. She had won the appreciation and esteem of many people, of both races. Her funeral was attended by many thousands New Yorkers. All public places in Harlem changed their usual routine to show respect for her memory. A newspaper correspondent for a peper in Massachusetts, wrote a story describing the death of Florence Mills and the manifestations of affection for this young woman and of grief over her death, that he saw in Harlem. That story was awarded a prize, by the "Bookman" as being the best newspaper article of the month. Thousands of people, in all parts of the country, read that article and wept over it. When a white newspaper-man can (and does) make white readers, in all parts of the United States, weep over the death of a Negro dancing girl, in New York, it means that real progress is being made toward the settlement of the race problem.

Race Prejudice

United States.

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM

JUL 23 1928

Mr. Johnson on Mr. Cohen.

Editor of the New York Telegram:—

The Telegram of Wednesday, July 18, gave considerable space to statements about the negro made by Octavus Roy Cohen. Mr. Cohen starts out by saying:—"The white man can never know the negro. The white man can see the negro's external actions, hear the black man's voice and put his own interpretation on the negro thought, but he can never know the negro who actually is."

Very good. But then Mr. Cohen, like a white man is prone to do—precisely like a Southern white man is prone to do—goes ahead and states with authority just what the innermost and subtlest thoughts and reactions of the negro are. For example, he says, "Of course any black man would prefer to be white." How Mr. Cohen arrives at this knowledge I do not know. At any rate, he does not at all take into consideration the fact that many black men see various kinds of white men whom, to paraphrase Mr. Cohen's own style, they would rather be anything else but.

Mr. Cohen has a great reputation as a humorist, but the reputation of no humorist is increased by his being unintentionally funny.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,
Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
69 Fifth Ave., New York.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

AUG 21 1928

WOULD DISBAR JUDGE ATWELL FROM COURTS

Borough Attorney Charges Texan With Stirring Up

Color Prejudices

A request to disbar Federal Judge William H. Atwell of Dallas, Texas, from sitting in the Southern and Eastern District Courts of New York State for abuse of his power and stirring up of color prejudices has been made to Chief Justice Taft by F. R. Serri, borough attorney of No. 66 Court street, whom Atwell rebuked harshly from the bench last week during the trial of a woman bootlegger.

Atwell said that Serri, who questioned the veracity and honor of testifying enforcement officers, would have been "smashed" in Texas, which he referred to as "my country," for his contempt of prohibition men. He advised the woman being tried, to take her daughter away from a house where she was running a "speakeasy" frequented by both negroes and whites. Atwell said that negroes and whites could not live together. He atacked Serri's reputation, according to the lawyer, an dthreatened to send him to jail when he protested.

To his first leter to Chief Justice Taft Serri has received no answer so far. Colored organizations in the borough are stirred up by Atwell's attitude.

In his second letter to Taft, sent on Saturday and mad public this morning, Serri says in part:

"I shall press this complaint until it is definitely and officially declared that Judge Atwell trespassed beyond all judicial propriety when he expressed his private prejudices about colored people; that he was guilty of an offensive and slanderous abuse of power when he assailed my reputation as a lawyer without justification whatsoever; that he exhibited as a judge an unspeakable vulgarity by indirectly inciting witnesses to assault an attorney, as the judge alleged they would have done in 'his country'; that his threat to jail me when I vigorously protested against his unwarranted remarks was an indefensible abuse of authority; and finally, trae because of his conduct in this case ans his failure to display elementary decency by withdrawing his remarks (up to Saturday, Aug. 18) and thus making fair amends for the injury he has inflicted without reason or excuse, Judge Atwell shall never again be assigned to the Southrn and Eastern districts of New York."

Serri further suggested to Justice Taft that punshment for "contempt of lawyers" to balance "contempt of court" and "to put both judge and lawyer on an equal footing" be incorporated in the judicial code. The situation between them now, he said, "even at its best, resembles somewhat that of a benevolent despot and a well-behaved subject."

This he suggested to Taft "not as to the Chief Justice, but to the jurist who has always been intensely interested in the reform of abuses and defects in the administration of justice, and whose voice has helped powerfully in the attainment of such objectives." He also reviewed the bill introduced by Congressman Cellar last year to provide for the establishment of a board of discipline for judges and lawyers.

Macon (Ga.) Telegraph
Monday, July 23, 1928

The Old and New South

Praising newspapers in the Southern states for declarations in favor of Governor Smith and as champions of the cause of religious tolerance, the New York World says that "these utterances represent the new South at its best", and thereby exposes its want of understanding.

Religious toleration was the characteristic of the old South. In 1876 when South Carolina was rescued under the leadership of Gen. Wade Hampton from the Northern carpet-baggers and the native scalawags and Negroes, Gen. E. W. Moise, a Jew, was on the state ticket, and another Jew was nominated for state treasurer, but declined.

About the same time a Roman Catholic, the late Mr. M. P. O'Connor, was elected a representative in Congress. No one inquired in those days whether a man were Catholic, Protestant or Jew, and the religious intolerance of recent years has had expression at the same time with the chatter of Mainstreetishness and new Southishness.

Hampton, Hagood, Butler and the men of their stamp would have taken the imputation that they were intolerant of Jews and Catholics as insults.

Nearly everything that is good and worth preserving in the South of 1928 is of the old South. The vulgarity, the narrowness, the lynching spirit are evils that escaped to disgrace and afflict the South when the old leadership was defeated.

The phrase "new South", whatever the good intention of its formulator, has promoted the fortunes of fools and knaves.

Religious intolerance was unknown to the old Southerners.—Charleston News and Courier.

A NERVY REQUEST

A LETTER has come from the Lincoln Memorial University Fund Committee, asking help in raising a fund of $10,000,000. The reference is not to the Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where the students are all Negroes, but to an entirely different institution, Lincoln Memorial University, in the Southern Appalachian Mountains at Cumberland Gap, where Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee meet. John Hays Hammond, vice-president of the university, says: "Its mission is nothing less than to lead a whole race out of bondage; six millions of white men, women and children, the mountain folk of the South."

OBSERVE THE WORD—"WHITE." What would happen to a Negro boy who should try to enroll at that university, or any other university in the South which is not all-Negro? It is named for Abraham Lincoln, according to the committee's letter it celebrates Emancipation Day, and it asks Negroes for contributions to its fund. But just let a Negro try to enter it as a student!

New York Nig. World 8-9-28

CHRONICLE
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
JUL 25 1928

Keep the Negro Down, Is Clark Howell's Argument

Atlanta Constitution Editorial

IN THE pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount and supersedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the South. * *

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other States in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality. He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture. He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the South was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every State, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of Federal jobs in Georgia and other States. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the Nation's executive?

Former Governor Brough of Arkansas, speaking before the Press Association of his State, made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Elsewhere in The Constitution today is a communication from Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome, Ga., in which he makes the issue plain.

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of Federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis of Georgia at large and Bre'r Howard of Mississippi at large and others, hold the Republican throttle in the South.

It is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Democratic malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him and the negro Republican dictators in the South may find comfort in such company. But white supremacy is the hope of the South. For it we fight!

Commercial Appeal Memphis 8-8-28

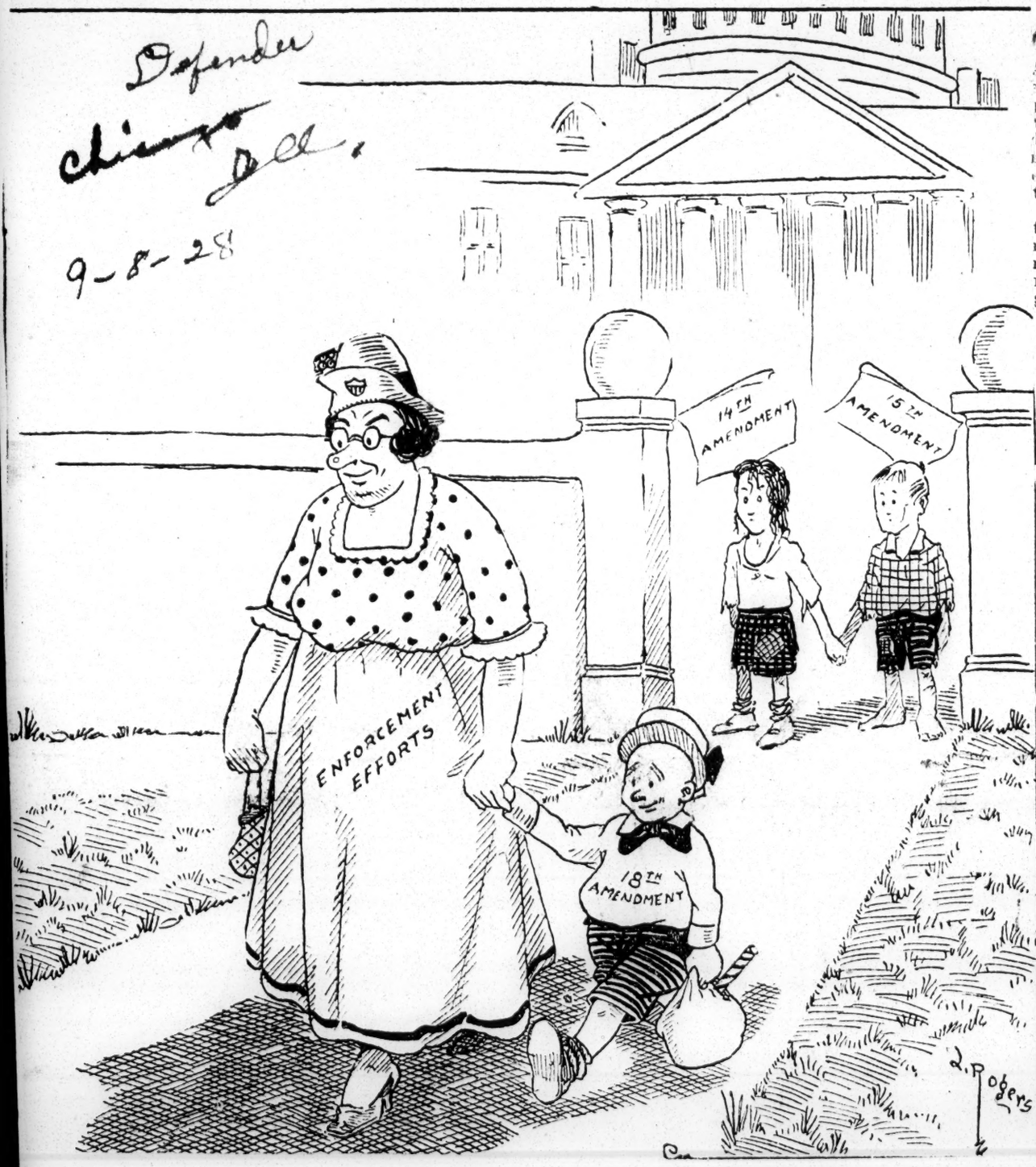
The Negro.

For 65 years now our negro population has been under the peculiar care and solicitude of the national government. The progress which they have made in education, in the professions, in wealth and in the arts of civilization, is one of the most remarkable incidents in this period of world history. They have demonstrated their ability to partake of the benefits of our institutions and to benefit by a free and more independent existence. Whatever doubt there may have been of their capacity to assume the status granted to them by the constitution in this union is being rapidly dissipated. Their co-operation in the life of the nation is constantly enlarging.

Exploiting the negro problem for political ends is being abandoned and their protection is being undertaken by those states in which their percentage of population is largest. Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race. The colored people have been the victims of the crime of lynching, which has in late years somewhat decreased. Some parts of the south already have wholesome laws for its restraint and punishment. Their example might well be followed by other states, and by such immediate remedial legislation as the federal government can extend under the Constitution.

HER PET

Defender
Chicago Ill.
9-8-28



Virginia Gazette
Thursday, December 20, 1928

"CRISIS" EDITOR MAPS SOUTH ABOUT NEGRO

Washington, December 19.—(AP)—A declaration that democratic government in America is out of the question until the country faces what he described as the problem of negro disenfranchisement in the south was made today by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois editor of the Crisis, before the national interracial conference.

"Until the liberal white south has the courage to stand up for democracy, regardless of race, there will be no solution of the negro problem and no solution of the problem of popular government in America," he said.

"A disfranchised working class in modern industrial civilization is worse than helpless," he added. "It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs and it will be insulted by caste restrictions."

NEW YORK TIMES

DEC 29 1928

COLL N DEBATE NATURE OF RACE BIAS

Harvard Contends Prejudice Can Be Eliminated, While Howard Argues It Is Innate.

The Liberal Club of Harvard University last night debated with Howard University the question, "Resolved: That race prejudice can be eliminated" before a large audience at the Civic Club, 18 East Tenth Street. Two negro speakers, representing Howard University, argued that race prejudice cannot be eliminated "because it is innate in all individuals," while the Harvard team put forth its reasons for believing that racial prejudices are acquired and can be eliminated by education.

"There is no basis for the theory heard in many circles that the negro and other races, anthropologically and in other ways, are inferior to the whites," the Harvard team declared. "Science is not responsible for racial prejudice. It is psychology, the habit of thought, tradition, group feeling and the superiority complex which explain why certain groups look with great favor upon themselves and with contempt or hatred on others."

The speakers for Howard University declared that scientific authorities had shown that racial prejudices are inborn in men and have been since the birth of man. Since racial prejudices are innate and since they are based on emotional reaction rather than on any basis of reason, they cannot be eliminated, it was argued. The speakers for Howard University further contended that "elimination of such prejudices by education as the gentlemen from Harvard look for is not working out, either in our political system or our economic fabric."

The Harvard Liberal Club was represented by Henry M. Fox and John King Fairbank. Robert E. Burrill and Robert T. Dandridge spoke for Howard University. Gilbert E. Roe presided.

Journal of Commerce
CHICAGO, ILL.

SEP 17 1928

RISE OF THE BLACKS

Though they form a small minority of the country's population, the American Negroes constitute a problem which the United States has never been able to solve, and for which no solution appears likely in the next few generations. Americans, therefore, are in a position to appreciate the difficulty of the racial problem in South Africa, discussed last week at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science by Professor William Fitzgerald, who summed up the racial conflict in South Africa in these words: "The ideal both of the Dutch and the British has been maintenance of a state on the European model. Neither is willing to concede to the blacks, who form more than 80 per cent of the population, an active share in building up this state."

The blacks in South Africa are apparently equal in mentality to the Negroes in the United States. They are apparently capable of equal development. If 80 per cent of the American population consisted of Negroes, it is certain that the white minority would have a difficult time in resisting the Negro demand for economic and political equality. And Professor Fitzgerald believes that the 80 per cent of blacks in South Africa will eventually override the white opposition and, by reason of their numerical superiority, succeed in controlling the government and ruling over both the English and the Dutch. Already, he reports, the Bantu tribes are rising from the status of unskilled to skilled workers. He believes that political equality cannot long lag behind economic. And given political equality, the 80 per cent of blacks would become dominant. It is highly probable that the professor's prediction will come true, and that the white population of South Africa will meet a fate which will be psychologically and perhaps in other ways tragic.

Race Problem - 1928

United States.

"Can Humanity Be Humanized?"

J. A. Rogers, Foreign Correspondent, Reviews Article by Prof. Moens, European Anthropologist

Courier-Journal
Mar 18-28
Louisville, Ky.

IN THE current number of the Review of Nations, leading international journal published at Geneva, Switzerland, is an article written by Prof. H. B. Moens, which will be of particular interest to Negroes. It represents what may be regarded as the typical European viewpoint on the color question. The European does not share the color prejudice of his descendant, the white American, and he looks upon the white American's attitude as a phenomenon.

The article has a subtle, satiric quality, and will be interesting, not so much for what has been said (as what he says will be familiar to most Negroes), but for its presentation and freshness of viewpoint.

The article, which is entitled "Can Humanity Be Humanized?" begins:

"One of the first questions officially asked on entering the United States is, 'Are you colored or white?' Though this question is, from an anthropological point of view, quite unscientific, it is significant of a general division of the human beings in the United States; a demarcation not for the benefit of those who are classified as 'colored,' which means being of European descent; especially not for their advantage where most of them live in what is called the South, where still nowadays lynchings and burning alive of colored people occur."

He goes on to point out the falacy of this term, as there are no "uncolored or colorless" people, since the whites also have pigment in their skins, a pigment less developed than that of the Negro, and that's all. Still, he says, because the American authorities were so anxious to discover whether he was 'colored or white,' he at once became interested in the color question.

His first contact with colored people was in Los Angeles, where he visited several educational institutions, noting the different shadings of color from dark brown to so-called white, and viewing them all as members of a single human race. He was soon to learn, however, that the question asked him by the immigration authorities was not an idle one, for when he attended a high-school dance in that city he noted that there were only two Negro students, young ladies, one of whom was playing the piano for the dance, and the other, her friend, who was waiting to go home with her later.

He asked the teacher where were all the other colored students, and the teacher replied that they were away because "a white boy will not dance with a colored girl, and a white girl will not dance with a colored boy." Wishing to show them a better example, he said, he went to the unoccupied colored girl and asked her for a dance. After this dance, he says, "the principal of the school came to me and said: 'Excuse me, but I wish to inform you that you cannot dance with a colored girl.'"

However, his response was: "Did you not see I can, and she danced very well, too?"

"No," he said, "you did not understand me."

"Yes," he interrupted," and that is the reason. I understood and I did dance. And I hope it will be instructive for you, your teachers and pupils to see what my point of view of education is."

This first insight into the injustice and sufferings imposed by racial prejudice made him decide to go South to get some more impressions and observations.

"White people had told me," he writes, 'You should go to the South to know the colored people. They live like pigs.'

"So my stay in different Southern cities and plantations brought me in contact with all kinds of colored people. But certainly many white people would be happy to live in such 'pigpens' (?) as the splendid buildings and homes of many of the colored people in the South."

Dining with the president of a colored college in Atlanta, he said that the latter informed him that "if white Americans should see this, they might lynch me."

The writer tells of his studies among colored people in Africa, the West Indies and Central America, and says that he finally settled down in Washington, D. C., to study the race question where he "had to change his home many times on account of receiving colored friends" in the same way I had my white ones. But this was an illuminating experience. Not only did it happen that my colored friends could not enter the front door like white people, but had to go by the back entrance, but they were not allowed to go into the elevator where the white people went. When they wanted to ride up, there was in many buildings a lower elevator under the main cage, this one being used for garbage cans and colored people.

"I enjoyed several times the sensation of riding with colored university professors and doctors among these garbage cans, while in the upper elevator only white people and dogs had the privilege of entering. It seemed to me that even in the capital of this democratic country a colored person was still considered less than a dog.

"But I had a somewhat similar experience in an apartment hotel in the cosmopolitan city of New York. Here, there were no upper and lower elevator sections. There was a special elevator section in the back for garbage cans and colored people—or perhaps I should say, as New York is not a Southern city—for colored people and garbage cans."

The writer, after telling his experiences in New York City, told how he was forced to move from place to place because he had visitors of "all races," the great objection being against Negroes.

He then gives a novel manner of getting rid of a lease that one does not like. "I was informed," he said, "that if I insisted on having colored visitors, they would apreciate my leaving and would even release me from the obligations of the lease. So, when people wish to be relieved of their house leases, I advise them to give some inter-racial parties."

Prof. Moens also compares the Christianity of the white man with that of the Negro. "In the white churches, where the brotherhood of man is supposed to reign, it is an unqualified brotherhood of white men. In colored churches, brotherhood of all men is practised. I have gone into several colored churches without being presented, and always I have been politely received, conducted to one of the best seats and even in prayer I was sometimes mentioned as a welcome visitor and a white brother, whose visit was appreciated. How much have the white churches still to learn before they practice the brotherhood of all men?"

The puzzle, says the writer, was to know who were colored and who were white. "How do the whites know that the colored are colored and that the whites are white?" he asks.

"It happened to me often that prejudiced Southern whites told me, when I was presented as a man who studied Negroes: 'You do not know a thing about these "niggers"; you should have lived in the South like us.'

"Of course, it was not discreet to explain that I had lived in the South, but to test their claimed knowledge I brought some fair colored people among them. Not only was their origin not recognized, but, in the case of a very fair colored child from a colored school in Washington, D. C., I was asked whether she was the child of one of the gentlemen of the Dutch Legation, as her fairness, blue eyes and blond hair gave her the appearance of a type from Holland."

In further proof of this he gives the following interesting experience in a Jim-Crow car. Prof. Moens is a blonde, with typical Nordic features and a blond mustache.

"When I left Muskogee, Okla.," he said, "the train was made up of 'white' and 'colored' cars. The white cars were filled wtih passengers among whom were very rough and tobacco-spitting types. The colored car was nearly empty. Liking to travel comfortably, I entered the colored car, but the conductor, who was there looking over some papers, said to me: 'This is for colored people.'

"Upon the basis of my studies, which had shown me the existence of 'white colored' people, I asked him: 'How do you know that I am not colored?' His reply was: 'You do not look like it'

"'Do you not know that there are colored people lighter than you?' I asked him, looking at his typical Latin type.

"'That is true,' he replied. And, without having to trace my ancestors back to 5,000 years ago to find out if there was perhaps a Negro among them, I was already passing for colored.

"After the conductor had left, another white man entered and said to me: 'I think we can sit here; there is no more place in the white car.'

"I replied: 'No, you cannot sit here. This is for colored people.'

"'That is interesting,' he answered. 'I should like to stay here and talk with you,' and he looked at me wonderingly.

"'But you cannot stay here; his is for colored people,' I replied. 'You must go to the white cars.' And he went.

"A little later another white man came in, put his luggage down and sat down. When the train had started the conductor passed. He told the white man to go to the white car, which this white man, taking up his luggage again, did. Taking my ticket the conductor asked: 'Are you a British subject?' My curt answer, No, I am not,' took away his further zest for information, and I travelled agreeably and quietly for a few hours as a colored man."

Prof. Moens also treats with the reflex of the white man's prejudice as practiced by Negroes themselves, and gives the following instance:

"In Washington, D. C., a light-colored family, called there 'lily-whites,' had dark-colored intimates. But when their light-colored daughter married a light-colored young man and the picture of the bridal party was to be taken, the bridal maids from among their dark-colored intimates were replaced by lighter-colored ones to make a more desirable group for the picture."

The writer points out that this color prejudice is caused, in the first place, by the color prejudice of the whites, and says:

"When a race thinks itself superior, it should make other races

look up to it; but it should never demean its principles by looking down upon the others. The present conditions among the whites show that a superior race still has to be developed. At any rate, at present, when brute force, shot, shell, shrapnel, hypocrisy and injustice have to be more convincing than wisdom and conscience, the so-called superiority of our white race makes but a poor impression on the philosophers of any race.

"The twentieth century does not evidence that the members of the white race practice much philosophy, either among themselves or towards other races. A comparison of the average Caucasian conduct of the present day with the broad philanthropy and unselfishness of Buddha, who was born almost 2,500 years ago, or with the doctrines of truth and justice of Confucius, who was born in the same period, will show the superiority of these Asiatics of nearly twenty-five centuries ago."

Prof. Moens is not only one of the leading anthropologists of Europe, but he is one of the best liked, and numbers among his friends some of the leading European aristocrats. He is a member of the Dutch nobility

WHEELING, W. VA.

APR 3 1928

The Race Problem

The testimony of "Dragon" Stephenson, former head of the K. K. K. in Indiana, brings to our attention the way NOT to settle the race question. Those who believe that benefit can come from fanning, into flame, smouldering race prejudices, are grievously in error. When they act upon such a belief they are doing an incalculable injury to their country.

It is appropriate, therefore, to look about for other influences that may, perhaps, be bringing nearer the solution of the race problem—the problem that the Klan aggravated by its mistaken effort to solve by violence. Such influences are at work, and they are producing results.

The race problem—like many of the problems that beset humanity—is based largely upon vanity. The Caucasion race, finding that it was superior to the Negro race in some respects, (in wealth and in education among others) decided that it was superior in all respects—so far superior that the Negro race was not entitled to any rights, much less to any consideration. The Caucasian is slowly finding out that this was a wrong conclusion; and, incidentally, that it was based upon false premises.

Even without training, the Negro is a better musician than the average white person. With training, the Negro is capable of doing excellent work in other fields of art. And we shall speak only of art, because of limitations of space.

An exhibition of paintings by Negro artists was recently held in New York. The winner painted frankly negroid types—thereby affirming his belief that the appearance of his race is worth recording. There was much publicity. The critics were fair. Some of the paintings received (and deserved) high praise. The New York papers reproduced some of the winning pictures in their Sunday editions. That means that the white race is coming nearer to giving to the black race the appreciation that it deserves.

But, even more significant was what occurred in connection with the death of Florence Mills, the Negro singer. She had won the appreciation and esteem of many people, of both races. Her funeral was attended by many thousands New Yorkers. All public places in Harlem changed their usual routine to show respect for her memory. A newspaper correspondent for a peper in Massachusetts, wrote a story describing the death of Florence Mills and the manifestations of affection for this young woman, and of grief over her death, that he saw in Harlem. That story was awarded a prize, by the "Bookman" as being the best newspaper article of the month. Thousands of people, in all parts of the country, read that article and wept over it. When a white newspaper-man can (and does) make white readers, in all parts of the United States, weep over the death of a Negro dancing girl, in New York, it means that real progress is being made toward the settlement of the race problem.

"North Ain't South"

WHITE SOUTHERNERS are beginning to resent the accusation that they are more intolerant than Northerners. Of late they have been writing articles for the New York newspapers, defending the position of the South on Prohibition and the Fifteenth Amendments. Now Senator Tydings of Maryland has written a long article for the New York Times, in which he seeks to prove that the South is no more intolerant than the North. He admits that the Ku Klux Klan began in the South, but he dwells upon the anti-Catholic bigotry of the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, the Know-Nothing party of 1850, the Federalists under John Jay and the A. P. A. of 1890. He tells of the Catholics and Jews who have been honored by the South. 4-18-28

THE SENATOR'S argument leaks. The North of today is not the North of 1620, 1850 and 1890; it is a land of religious, educational and political freedom. New York and Boston are dominated politically by men of the Catholic faith, and until recently a Hebrew was the head of the New York City school system. The Senator refers to the position of Catholics in Maryland and Louisiana, but Maryland was settled by Catholics under Lord Baltimore and until 1803 Louisiana belonged to France, a Catholic nation.

THE SENATOR ignores the largest hole in his logic—the position of the Negro in the South. This is so generally known that description is almost unnecessary. To make a man pay the same taxes as other citizens and then forbid him to vote; to make him contribute to the support of all the schools and then confine him to inferior schools; to make him pay an equal fare on railroads and restrict him to unequal accommodations; to deny him justice in the courts, if he is not lynched before he reaches the courts—all this is a poor basis for claiming that the South is as tolerant as the North. As Salem Whitney used to say: "North ain't South."

Race Problem - 1928
United States.

JOURNAL
Lewiston Me
FEB 7 1928

The "Cuckoo" in the Hall of Congress

A friend sends us an article by Rupert Hughes entitled "Prohibition is a Cuckoo in the U. S. Constitution," with the suggestion that we read it and thereafter, forsake the old Neal Dow heresies and join the advancing hosts of personal liberty.

The force of Mr. Rupert Hughes's article lies in its offering of a solution of the "prohibition conundrum"; and this solution is in the deliberate nullification of the same, by act of Congress, the same as the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments relating to Negro suffrage have been openly and deliberately nullified by the Southern States.

Senator Carter Glass showed how it could be done the other day in a speech in the Senate. Repeal the Volstead act by a majority vote of Congress and let the Amendment ride. In other words decline to obey the amendment by passing a Statutory Law.

Mr. Rupert Hughes goes on to say that:

> Senator Glass showed how Virginia managed to nullify the amendments guaranteeing the vote to the Negro by simply passing a law denying the vote to "those who are too ignorant, too simple and too corruptible in bloc to administer government." The Negro is not mentioned, but just let him try to vote!

Senator Glass also testified the nullification of that amendment by the fact that Congress does not use its power to enforce it.

This means, therefore, that if Congress should be persuaded to repeal the Volstead Act which is the enforcing act that puts teeth in the Eighteenth Amendment, it would be unnecessary any longer for the States to obey it.

All that is necessary then is for the anti-prohibitionists to gain a majority in Congress and modify the Volstead Act. It is admitted by the prohibitionist South that it is legitimate to annul two other amendments by this clever dodge, so of course, the solid South could not object to the nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment.

This slip of the Senator's horrified the drys, for they have maintained that the Eighteenth Amendment could never be disarmed except by the repeal of the amendment, and that means such a complicated and ponderous procedure that it discourages the very thought of the most ardent wet.

We have a strange country here and our real lawlessness is only exceeded by our lip-reverence for the law. the Civil War lasted four years and found its origin in the slavery question. Though it did not directly break out on that account, it was soon committed to the problem of emancipation.

The North won and put negro suffrage into the Constitution. The South lost and, after years of suffering at the hands of the corrupt carpet baggers, found a way to evade the law.

The prohibition amendment was foisted on the Constitution by a series of clever manipulations. The South is now its chief defender. Liquor circulates as freely in the South as in the North, yet the South would probably refuse to consider the repeal of the amendment.

Senator Glass has shown the way to render amendments harmless while paying them the most profound repect. For giving the game away one paper predicted that he would be shot at sunrise by the Anti-Saloon League.

This prediction has not been fulfilled, but this new year finds the wets immensely encouraged and the drys considerably depressed.

They continue to substitute abuse for argument. They continue to ridicule the thought that this is a free country, and they continue to heap the vilest abuse on anybody who disagrees with them.

It does no good to protest that one believes in temperance and abhors drunkenness. Unless one denounces everybody who disobeys or even questions the law, one is reviled as a traitor, a villian and a drunkard.

The prohibitionists are the enemies of facts. They declared that the increase in savings banks accounts was due to prohibition, though the savings banks officials deny this. They maintain that drunkenness is decreasing when everybody knows it is not.

Jude
Brooklyn N.Y.
Jan FEB 7 1928

Senator Reed Speaks

Senator Reed's article on intolerance, published in another column on this page, ascribes that condition to ignorance There can be no dispute on that point. He is silent however of the intolerance of his South where the Negro is concerned. It is still a question with him whose ox is gored. He thunders against the intolerant Methodist, against the ridiculous Klan—against all the isms. But he fails to thunder against the treatment of the Negro in his homeland.

The Negro has no vote down South unless he votes the right, or Democratic way—which he usually does. The fiery Senator's broadside may be classed as politically courageous—he is willing to alienate the votes of the whites—the blacks do not count any way. But in the last analysis, the Senator has done a fine thing in taking up the cudgles for tolerance—for decency—for humanity.

It is not only the Jews and the Catholics who suffer. Protestants are as much the targets of the Intolerants. Only a few days ago a dispatch from Chicago told of a woman's organization which refused to permit a woman to address them because she smoked! Could intolerance be carried further?

Butting into other people's affairs has become all too prevalent. Telling them that they must not drink may soon be succeeded by a crusade to prevent Americans from eating fried potatoes. Ostracising a woman because she smokes, may be the forerunner to a movement to prevent babies from teething without a license from the state or Nation. To what extreme the Intolerants will go, no man can predict.

Yet, there is hope. The power of irony, sarcasm, wit and humor, will do more to nullify the effects of intolreance than will all the Jovian thunder in the land. Let's laugh intloerance out of existence! Laughter will kill an unjust cause more quickly than the law—let's laugh at the Klan which objects to a fine, competent Governor in the white House because he is a loyal Catholic—let's laugh at the ignorant who would dictate how we should shape our personal lives.

THERE IS NO "WOLF"

Anent the proposed constitutional amendment with its provision for a uniform marriage and divorce law, one Southern writer, whose pronouncements are cues to his volatile constituents movements, raises a violent hullabaloo, visualizing a most dramatic upheaval of lawless resentment of the South in anticipation of the legalizing of intermarriage of the Nordic and Negroid races. He depicts a wild orgy of unrestrained lawlessness which would make Hades a happy resort by comparison to the punishment which would befall the Negro who might become a party to a biracial marriage. Independent

The extreme improbability of the ratification of the proposed amendment, when, and if presented to the states, makes the peroration of this writer ludicrous. There is not the remotest possibility of such a bill getting beyond the trash-heap of illogical proposals continuously introduced in our supreme legislative body. This writer is fully cognizant of this termination for such a universal marriage and divorce law bill, but in his desire to please his clientele, he chooses this as a fine opportunity

3-1-28

Race Problem - 1928
United States

JOURNAL
Lewiston Me
FEB 18 1928

The "Cuckoo" in the Hall of Congress

A friend sends us an article by Rupert Hughes entitled "Prohibition is a Cuckoo in the U. S. Constitution," with the suggestion that we read it and thereafter, forsake the old Neal Dow heresies and join the advancing hosts of personal liberty.

The force of Mr. Rupert Hughes's article lies in its offering of a solution of the "prohibition conundrum"; and this solution is in the deliberate nullification of the same, by act of Congress, the same as the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments relating to Negro suffrage have been openly and deliberately nullified by the Southern States.

Senator Carter Glass showed how it could be done the other day in a speech in the Senate. Repeal the Volstead act by a majority vote of Congress and let the Amendment ride. In other words decline to obey the amendment by passing a Statutory Law.

Mr. Rupert Hughes goes on to say that:

> Senator Glass showed how Virginia managed to nullify the amendments guaranteeing the vote to the Negro by simply passing a law denying the vote to "those who are too ignorant, too simple and too corruptible in bloc to administer government." The Negro is not mentioned, but just let him try to vote!
>
> Senator Glass also testified the nullification of that amendment by the fact that Congress does not use its power to enforce it.

This means, therefore, that if Congress should be persuaded to repeal the Volstead Act which is the enforcing act that puts teeth in the Eighteenth Amendment, it would be unnecessary any longer for the States to obey it.

All that is necessary then is for the anti-prohibitionists to gain a majority in Congress and modify the Volstead Act. It is admitted by the prohibitionist South that it is legitimate to annul two other amendments by this clever dodge, so of course, the solid South could not object to the nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment.

This slip of the Senator's horrified the drys, for they have maintained that the Eighteenth Amendment could never be disarmed except by the repeal of the amendment, and that means such a complicated and ponderous procedure that it discourages the very thought of the most ardent wet.

We have a strange country here and our real lawlessness is only exceeded by our lip-reverence for the law. the Civil War lasted four years and found its origin in the slavery question. Though it did not directly break out on that account, it was soon committed to the problem of emancipation.

The North won and put negro suffrage into the Constitution. The South lost and, after years of suffering at the hands of the corrupt carpet baggers, found a way to evade the law.

The prohibition amendment was foisted on the Constitution by a series of clever manipulations. The South is now its chief defender. Liquor circulates as freely in the South as in the North, yet the South would probably refuse to consider the repeal of the amendment.

Senator Glass has shown the way to render amendments harmless while paying them the most profound repect. For giving the game away one paper predicted that he would be shot at sunrise by the Anti-Saloon League.

This prediction has not been fulfilled, but this new year finds the wets immensely encouraged and the drys considerably depressed.

They continue to substitute abuse for argument. They continue to ridicule the thought that this is a free country, and they continue to heap the vilest abuse on anybody who disagrees with them.

It does no good to protest that one believes in temperance and abhors drunkenness. Unless one denounces everybody who disobeys or even questions the law, one is reviled as a traitor, a villian and a drunkard.

The prohibitionists are the enemies of facts. They declared that the increase in savings banks accounts was due to prohibition, though the savings banks officials deny this. They maintain that drunkenness is decreasing when everybody knows it is not.

Journal
Brooklyn N.Y.
Jan FEB 7 1928

Senator Reed Speaks

Senator Reed's article on intolerance, published in another column on this page, ascribes that condition to ignorance There can be no dispute on that point. He is silent however of the intolerance of his South where the Negro is concerned. It is still a question with him whose ox is gored. He thunders against the intolerant Methodist, against the ridiculous Klan—against all the isms. But he fails to thunder against the treatment of the Negro in his homeland.

The Negro has no vote down South unless he votes the right, or Democratic way—which he usually does. The fiery Senator's broadside may be classed as politically courageous—he is willing to alienate the votes of the whites—the blacks do not count any way. But in the last analysis, the Senator has done a fine thing in taking up the cudgles for tolerance—for decency—for humanity.

It is not only the Jews and the Catholics who suffer. Protestants are as much the targets of the Intolerants. Only a few days ago a dispatch from Chicago told of a woman's organization which refused to permit a woman to address them because she smoked! Could intolerance be carried further?

Butting into other people's affairs has become all too prevalent. Telling them that they must not drink may soon be succeeded by a crusade to prevent Americans from eating fried potatoes. Ostracising a woman because she smokes, may be the forerunner to a movement to prevent babies from teething without a license from the state or Nation. To what extreme the Intolerants will go, no man can predict.

Yet, there is hope. The power of irony, sarcasm, wit and humor, will do more to nullify the effects of intolreance than will all the Jovian thunder in the land. Let's laugh intloerance out of existence! Laughter will kill an unjust cause more quickly than the law—let's laugh at the Klan which objects to a fine, competent Governor in the white House because he is a loyal Catholic—let's laugh at the ignorant who would dictate how we should shape our personal lives.

THERE IS NO "WOLF"

Anent the proposed constitutional amendment with its provision for a uniform marriage and divorce law, one Southern writer, whose pronouncements are cues to his volatile constituents movements, raises a violent hullabaloo, visualizing a most dramatic upheaval of lawless resentment of the South in anticipation of the legalizing of intermarriage of the Nordic and Negroid races. He depicts a wild orgy of unrestrained lawlessness which would make Hades a happy resort by comparison to the punishment which would befall the Negro who might become a party to a biracial marriage.

Independent
3-1-28

The extreme improbability of the ratification of the proposed amendment, when, and if presented to the states, makes the peroration of this writer ludicrous. There is not the remotest possibility of such a bill getting beyond the trash-heap of illogical proposals continuously introduced in our supreme legislative body. This writer is fully cognizant of this termination for such a universal marriage and divorce law bill, but in his desire to please his clientele, he chooses this as a fine opportunity

for infuriating his credulous Nordic adherents, who are made to see the Negro "mounting up" into marital relationship with their daughters.

Such could not be the intent of the proposed amendment, and the Negro is neither inviting nor expecting to participate in the "benefit" of such a policy, but prefers the strict enforcement of the present intermarriage laws. However, should such a contingency materialize, why should the white people be exhorted to break faith with the constitution and with God, and to visit reprisal upon the Negro for the enactment of a law, in the making of which he had no part?

The white man in his wild orgies of pleasure-seeking possesses no qualms, either before or after his illegal and immoral sexual concourse with a Negress; he is in no manner concerned over the "legalized" "bastardization" of the Negro race; he openly defies the laws of his own concept, intended to prevent the contamination of his own blood, yet he seeks the Negress to satiate his sensual nature, and brooks no interference in the carrying on of this relationship, despite the flagrancy of his act.

The multi-colored aspect of the Negro race did not evolve of itself, nor through the white man's endeavors to insure racial distinction; such a motley crowd must have come out of the peccancy of the white man, and his unwillingness to keep a "golden rule" with the Negro. The Negro is losing his identity, "bleaching" through the enforced induction of the white man's blood; the identification is becoming more difficult year by year. No stronger evidence needs be adduced in proving the infeasibility of the white man's past performances against and within the "inner" sanctum of the Negro.

Unfortunately for both races in the South, there still remains quite an aggregation of "ever-ready" peace-disturbers, among the writers, who, revolving in a set cycle of fixed thoughts, and running their courses, return periodically to the phase for slandering, villifying and reacting to the disparagement of the Negro. These writers, who occupy the pre-eminent positions of "keeping the home-fires" of Southern bias and intolerance burning, overindulge in their efforts to widen the gulf of race relations in this section, portraying the Negro to their adherents as an imminent menace to the "social" structure of the South.

The Negro is not a menace to the continuance of white purity, and can never be a disturbing factor in the minds of the Nordic people, except the continued practice of the white man so eradicates his identity that the unintended intercourse ensues. Nothing is farther from the mind of the Negro, but as the proper safeguard, the white man should discontinue his onslaughts upon the women of the Negro race. Therein lies the menace to the white man's hope of maintaing race purity.

Let Negro blood remain "black," and there can be no danger that the Negro shall "mount up" to contaminate white blood. The safety of such policy is obvious. There is infinitely more danger that the "gallant" Kip Rhinelanders will break the "golden rule" of race separation with Negro Janes, than that Negro menials will receive the approvals of maids of Puritan stock.

Fortunately for both races in the South, life's set statute of limitations will soon run on these disturbers of the peace and harmony between the races, and the younger generations of both races will evolve into a better understanding of each other, and will solve their mutual problems by the adoption of the logical and philosophical plan of proper discrimination and safe approach.

SENTINEL

Newspaper, Dep

FEB 22 1928

CIPAL OF GRO STATE COLLEG PEAKS HERE

W. P. Banks, principal of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, spoke in the auditorium of the colored high school here last Saturday night.

His subject was based on the necessity of ample preparation on the part of every individual of his race, in order that his general efficiency might be more adequate. Touching first upon the fact that the colored man, as a laborer, must become more punctual, reliable and responsible, Prof. Banke (himself a product of the rural districts of Georgia) proceeded to remind his audience of the very evident fact that the laborers and craftsmen of other races are steadily replacing the colored man, mainly because of the latter's failure to regard the value of time and conscientious effort. He pointed out to the farmers the fact that unless they too turn swiftly from their ways of slothfulness and indolence the homestead that should rightfully go to their posterity would go into the hands of more efficient farmers of other races.

Prof. E. J. Campbell, principal of the colored high school here, conducted the meeting and had various members of the audience to respond to Mr. Banks' very timely talk.

Refreshments were served to all present.

The assembly numbered between 500 and 700.

Respectfully submitted,
S. T. Toney.
Colored County Agent.

The Fifteenth Amendment

(From the New York Times.)

If the movement in the first Illinois District to sent a Negro Congressman to Washington in place of Representative Madden is successful, he will, it develops, be a man with a mission more serious than a mere emphasis of the presence in Congress of a member of his race. It is the observance, as the American Negroes see it, of the Fifteenth Amendment which is to be his cause. The manager of one of the candidates has stated it forcefully as follows:

The issue of paramount importance is not whether the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced, but whether or not the necessary legislation shall be enacted to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective in spirit and letter. It is my firm conviction that lynching, peonage, jim-crow cars and disfranchising would shortly disappear if every citizen was protected in the exercise of his franchise. This right would not be denied if deprivation of representation in Congress would be the unfailing penalty of such denial.

This manifesto has aroused Mr. Madden's Negro constituents to such an extent that many candidates of that race are in the field—so many, think the Chicago political reporters, that they will split their own vote, and make it possible for Mr. Madden to go back. But if they were to apply to their enterprise the same solidarity with which they support the white bosses of Chicago, the next Congress might find in its ranks a citizen whose political opinions will be even more distasteful to the South than his color

Amsterdam News

FEB 29 1928

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

FEB 16 1928

Plight Of Negro Areas.

We hardly think Northern newspapers will be able to point the finger of scorn at the South, after examining the report of the Institute of Social and Religious Research relative to "Plights of Negro Areas North and South." The best the North can say is that "we are no worse than you are!"

Formerly every time anything of a serious character happened to the Negro in the South the Northern press would gleefully turn a barrage of abuse on Dixie as a section. The amazing thing about it is the negro himself has nationalized his race. The report takes emphatic notice of this feat.

Nothing is more astounding since emancipation has been seen on the economic landscape than the shift of negroes to the North, unless it is matched by the wholesale drift of negroes from rural communities to cities, both North and South. From 1900 to 1920 negro city population increased more than a million and a half.

The outstanding point is that Northern cities have segregated the negro quite as unmistakably as have the Southern cities and the plight of the black man in both the North and West is reported to be checkered over with unduly high death rates, impaired moral standards and undependable diet of normal food, all traced by the report to segregation.

The North and the South are interested alike in improvement of this condition, through channels of sanitation and in other respects of government, because the public health cannot arise above the average and since the negro is taxed, he should be protected as nearly as possible on the broad grounds of justice, anyhow.

Race Problem - 1928.

United States.

UNION
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

FEB

THE "INFERIOR RACE" IDEA

Looking Down on People of Negro Blood Deprecated by Mr. Palmer.

To the Editor of The Union.

Sir: Since one drop of Negro blood makes a man or woman a colored person, it must have a special potency. While I do not favor blending of the races, I believe that the Almighty prizes all races alike. Anyone who looks down upon a man or woman because they come of race or nation other than his own certainly has not the vision of the Almighty.

Kipling speaks in his hymn of "the lesser breeds without the law"; but then he speaks as a conceited and arrogant Anglo-Saxon. Kipling has had advantages that have been denied to men of some other races; but he will have his eyes opened when he goes over Jordan.

Every man, woman and child can have a special revelation from God, for "He is no respecter of persons." He is impartial. If He tries an individual or a race in the crucible of time, He will not fail to be just and merciful and loving to all. "His tender mercies are over all His works."

WILLIAM K. PALMER.

Chicopee, Feb. 16, 1928.

BLEASE TELLS WHY HE READ AFRO ARTICLE INTO RECORD

Attendance Of Two Races At D. C. "Nation" Dinner Termed Equality

MRS. TERRELL, BROOKS, NEVAL THOMAS THERE

Mance Wilkinson, Named As Southerner Who Supports His Views

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"The people of South Carolina will oppose the election of any man as President of the United States who believes in social equality and does not draw the color line."

Senator Coleman L. Blease, Democrat, of South Carolina, made this statement in an interview Tuesday, explaining his insertion into the Congressional Record of an article from the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, concerning the Oswald Garrison Villard dinners.

Afro-American

"My reason for putting that article in the Congressional Record", Senator Blease said, "was that I wanted the people of the South to know the real conditions in Washington and to further know that there are men in politics in the nation who do not draw the 'color line and are willing to eat at the same table with colored people and associate with them on equal terms."

3-17-28

Senator Blease added: "Of course, that is their business if they desire to do so, but it is our business to protect ourselves from placing in office any man who might attempt to force the same conditions upon us in the South."

Baltimore Md.

Senator Walsh

It is believed that Senator Blease had reference to Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat, of Montana, who is a candidate for the Democratic nomination, when he inserted the AFRO-AMERICAN article in the Congressional Record and made his original statement that "some men do not mind associating at the table with certain other people, but that the people of my state might object to voting for that kind of a man for President of the United States."

Four Senators At Dinner

Senator Walsh was one of four Senators who attended the dinner in honor of the tenth anniversary of Mr. Villard's editorship of the Nation. The dinner was at the Washington Hotel where Senator Blease lives, on March 1. There were three other Senators present.

Senator Gerald P. Nye, Republican of North Dakota, presided. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, was one of the speakers. The other Senator was Young Bob La Follette, Republican of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Terrell There

Three colored persons attended the dinner. They were Neval H. Thomas, Dunbar High School teacher and president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, widow of the late Judge Robert H. Terrell, and the Rev. Robert W. Brooks, pastor of the Lincoln Temple Congregational Church at Eleventh and R streets, northwest. Mrs. Terrell is reported to have sat next to Senator Walsh.

The order to see Senator Blease and find out his purpose in inserting the AFRO-AMERICAN article in the Congressional Record came from Carl J. Murphy, the editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN.

There was some trepidation in my approach of Senator Blease. But once in his presence it quickly fled. He was affable and spoke freely on the race question.

Thinks Himself "Friend"

"I have always been the colored man's friend and am so considered by him today," he declared.

"I do not favor social equality," he said, "and the best element of colored people do not want social equality. They want equal rights, equal privileges and service. The best element of them realizes that when a white man in the south places himself on the level and equality in social matters, that he is not as good as they are, and they do not accept him in their homes as their guest.

Mentions Mance—Wilkinson

Senator Blease referred to a number of colored men in South Carolina including the Rev. R W. Mance, whom he hopes and believes will be elected to the bishopric at the next general conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and R. S. Wilkinson, president of the South Carolina Normal and Industrial College.

"I am satisfied," he said, "that they will bear me out in the position that they do not ask for social equality, nor do they seek it, neither are they anxious to hold official positions.

All Would Vote For Him

"I am satisfied further that the entire colored population of my state will testify to the fact that the Southern white man is their best friend. I believe if it were left to the colored voters of my state, and each and everyone of them had the power to cast his vote as he pleases, 90 per cent of them would vote for me for any office for which I might become a candidate."

Jim Crow Car Bill

Referring to the bill which he has introduced in the Senate to provide separate coaches on street railways in the District of Columbia, Senator Blease said that this bill "is not intended as a political strike at or insult to the Negro race, but I believe that the passage of such a bill will prevent at some time very serious trouble in the District of Columbia.

Protection?

"Some white man at some time," he stated, "is going to resist or resent a colored man's, or what he considers a colored man's, attention or discourtesy to some white woman in the street cars. It is going to lead to an assault. Possibly someone in the car may be killed or seriously injured, and it may lead to serious trouble between the races. This can be averted by giving to each race the same car service, the same rate, and forces no one in any inferior or in any embarrassing situation. It is a question of protecting both races."

Senator Blease introduced the first bill in the state legislature of South Carolina to pension a colored person, William Rose, who was the personal body servant of General Macy Gregg in the Confederate army.

The Fruit Cake

Senator Blease has served as trustee of the South Carolina Normal and Industrial College at Orangeburg, S. C. As governor of the state he was chairman of the board of trustees ex-officio. Each Christmas from the time of his governorship to the present, the girls in the domestic science department have sent to him and Mrs. Blease a fruit cake. He delights to refer to this remembrance even on the floor of the Senate.

Common School Education

"I always advocated common school education for the colored people," he said, "that is, reading, writing, arithmetic and those things which it takes to make the colored a man a good citizen and to put him into position to take care of himself in whatever deal or transaction in life he might have to make."

Released 1,000 Prisoners

When he was Governor of South Carolina, Senator Blease related, "I found the penitentiary overcrowded with colored people who had been overlooked and had served years and years longer than they should have. They had no money to hire lawyers, no influential friends to work for them, and I took my secretary and went to the penitentiary and interviewed all the various prisoners personally, and I released a thousand or more colored men from that hell-hole, and gave them a new chance in life.

Up to my present reports not a one of them has been recommitted for any violation of the terms of his parole or for having committed any other crime".

HOWARD PREXY DECLARES FOR FULL EQUALITY

Mordecai W. Johnson Says He Believes In Social Equality, Intermarriage

Washington, March 14—Speaking before a large audience in Community church, in New York recently, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university and a gifted orator of national reputation, declared that he was in favor of a full measure of equality for the black people of the United States, including the much discussed social equality and intermarriage.

Afro-American

Dr. Johnson said he did not believe in marrying Caucasians just because they were Caucasians, but if two sane persons wanted to marry, no law could justly prevent prevent them. It is impossible to stop the amalgamation of the races, he declared, but, he added that he did not believe in waiting on the slow process of amalgamation to give colored people their full manhood rights.

3-17-28

In speaking of intermarriage, Dr. Johnson pointed to the findings of scientists that no harm can from the intermarriage of races, but that on the contrary it improves the general type.

"The white man's religion," said Dr. Johnson, "has made the mistake of leaving the public under the impression that Protestant religion is the white man's religion. This is untrue. It is an Asiatic religion." The South lost its big opportunity during the days of slavery by interpreting the Bible in a philosophical manner instead of an ethical manner," Dr. Johnson explained. He said one set of white men in the South took the Book of Genesis and proved that slavery was right and another set took the Bible and proved that slavery was wrong.

China, he declared, laughs at the American missionary who brings him religion and segregates the Afro-American. Dr. Johnson recalled a church that sent two white missionaries to Africa to convert the heathens and thirty days later, led by the pastor, protested against two respectable colored people moving in the neighborhood of one of its members. He said he hoped our people woul d become more radical along social and economic lines, but especially along religious lines.

REPES. TARVER OPENS FIRE ON HOWARD PREXY

Congressman Riled As He Reads Dr. Johnson's Speech From The Afro

RACE EQUALITY THEORY IS TERMED DAMNABLE

"Alleged" Doctor — "Half White" Are Offensive Terms Used By Tarver

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The attention of the House of Representatives was directed by Rep. Malcolm C. Tarver, Democrat, of Georgia, Wednesday, to a speech by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, advocating social equality and amalgamation of the white and colored races through intermarriage.

After reading excerpts of Dr. Johnson's speech from The Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, Mr. Tarver said:

"This damnable doctrine which I have read is that promulgated by the man at the head of Howard University, to which a few days ago you appropriated the sum of $390,000. He is going around about the country spreading among the members of the Negro race, and, of course, among the students of Howard University, this rotten, indecent doctrine on marriage between the white and African races."

Damnable Doctrine

"I call attention to this fact," he said, "in order that every fair-minded man may study the situation and determine for himself whether or not he wants to vote in favor of a new legalizing appropriation to a university whose head is engaged in teaching among the members of the Negro race the damnable doctrine of social equality and of intermarriage with the white people."

253 Voted

On the 28th of February, in this Hall, 253 members of this house voted for an appropriation of $390,000 to the institution, of which this Negro is the head, and it goes without saying that every dollar of that appropriation which directly or indirectly goes to the furtherance of the propaganda that I have referred to, is an injury to the Negro race instead of a benefit.

Holding Up The AFRO He Said

On the front page of this paper, almost side by side with the article that I have read, appears the news that southern members of Congress voted for that appropriation. May God have mercy on them

Interrupted

Interrupted by Rep. John D. Clark (Rep., N. Y.), who asked had Tanner checked up to find out if Dr. Johnson was correctly quoted, Tanner admitted he had *not*.

Tarver Riled

He added certainly I do not conceive it to be my duty to confer with the alleged doctor with reference to whether or not he made the statement attributed to him. Personally, in using the word "doctor" in connection with his name, I wish it to be understood it is because it is used in that connection in the news article, and I say that, in my judgment, any almost-white Negro, , as he is, who is going about the country advocating the inter-marriage of the races and the alleged right of Negroes to marriage with white women, should not be designated by any decent white man with the term "doctor" in connection with his name.

THE 14th, 15th AND 18th AMENDMENTS.

In the current issue of Liberty is an interesting article by Sidney Sutherland under the above caption. The subtitle is "How the First Two Have Fared in the South, with an Explanation by Southern Statesmen." The explanation in this installment is by Senator George of Georgia, dealing as it does with decisions of the Courts, Senator George having been for five years a member of the Supreme Court of Georgia. The article is instructive in more ways than one. One statement by the Senator is particularly interesting He says that "Negroes often sit on both grand and petty juries in Georgia, and we have found such jurors all right in every respect." The article is important too in that the Senator is frank in stating that the South nullifies and will continue to nullify the 14th and 15th Amendments. Senators Borah and Watson ought read this article by all means. Senator Borah always denies that the South does any such thing. Says Senator George, "Why apologize or evade? We have been very careful to obey the letter of the Federal Constitution—but we have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and such statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of a white man. And we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way." The only trouble about this statement is the Senator allows the mind of the politician to get the upper hand of the mind of a judge. Where in all America is there a statute that would lead the Negro to believe he is the equal of the white man? Of course, we are talking in terms of race and not of individuals?

Certainly there is nothing in the spirit of either of the two Amendments that could ever persuade the Negro that he is the equal of the white man. Evidence of such an absurd proposition is too plain. The spirit of those amendments can be summed up in one word—"justice." Of course, if the Senator and his people think that their welfare is dependent on the denial of justice, why no argument will change them now. Slavery was justified at one time by arguments just as strong—if not stronger. Even the Holy Bible was called upon to give aid to the argument. So far, however, Holy Writ has not been called upon to justify the nullification of the "spirit of such amendments" only as the Senator says, "Racial Necessity."

The Senator, however, is at his worst when he trys to differentiate between the non-observance of the 14th and 15th and the 18th Amendments. Says the Senator, "There is, consequently no honest analogy between the 14th and 15th Amendments and the 18th. In the former certain rights were specified, and no duties placed on anybody to enforce them. In the latter amendment specified duties were set forth, and the Volstead Act passed to describe the manner in which these duties were to be carried out." Evidently the Senator's idea is that the 14th and 15th Amendments were passed by the people of the United States just to amuse themselves or to escape ennui. But think of a U. S Senator—to say nothing of a judicial minded man—seriously giving utterance to such bunk! And, Lord' what morals!

Kinston, N. C., Free Press

JAN 20 1928

Several years ago when Dr. Robert Moton, the distinguished negro principal of Tuskegee Institute, addressed a Kinston audience in which the attendance of white and colored was about equally divided, he declared that he had never known but one member of his race to advocate "social equality." The advocate was some negro attorney who admitted to him afterwards that he did not really want social equality, but he knew that he would get his name in the papers and a good deal of publicity, and that was what he was really seeking. We are inclined to take a similar view of the periodical Heflin outbreaks.

FREE PRESS
DETROIT, MICH.
APR 8 1928

"THE NEGRO PROBLEM MYTH."

The Atlanta Constitution makes the surprising statement that there really is no Negro problem and discourses in this wise:

"Among all our American myths that of the "Negro problem" is the one most prevalent and persistent. Yet no such problem exists in fact. Like many other delusions it is only a state of mind. It must be presupposed and cultivated.

"The more intelligent Negro leaders have come to understand the truth and are more insistently advising their people to realize that, in this country and under our social, political and industrial system, 'every tub must stand upon its own bottom.' They now say, as most men have said from the day of the Negro's freedom, that the case of each of them is one of individual conduct, thrift and enterprise. Too many of them have demonstrated that conspicuously to leave it a matter of debate.

"There is nowhere, and especially nowhere in the south where the Negro race most abounds, any general conspiracy to limit his lawful liberties, his right to labor, to get an education, to own and enjoy property, and to improve his manner of life as a law-abiding citizen. Any charge to the contrary comes from professional Negro agitators and so-called philanthropic race-uplifters.

"So far as actual facts and experience show there is no more of a Negro problem to be specifically solved than there is a Russian, or an Italian, or a Greek, or a Slovack problem, or a problem growing out of any other immigrant race. The Negroes among us are actually better placed and better circumstanced to make their position in our domestic economy secure and profitable in all ways, than are the foreigners who come without understanding of our American language, customs and institutions.

"The average intelligent Negro is reliably able to 'hoe his own row' and prosper wherever he is, if only the uplifters will let him alone."

Race Problem – 1928.
United States.

Not One Nigger' Has Distinguished Himself In America Says White Kansas City Writer

Note: The following letter, which is unsigned, was sent to Roy Wilkins, 2401 Tracy avenue, after a letter he had written was published in The Star for Friday, November 23. The Call publishes the letter and a few notes under it, in order to let colored people know just what sort of beliefs certain white people have about Negroes. The race is too apt to believe that white people "understand" about the Negro, but the letter below proves that the writer knows nothing of Negro progress. It is because there are many more white people like this writer that Negroes have to be on their guard at all times and continue to make friends for the race by their actions in public and private. The letter:

"The writer of this clipping is probably a nigger or one of those negrophile whites who champions nigger equality. If the writer of the clipping has brains enough to understand, I will show him that this african black breed is not and never will be equal to the white race. From history we know that Liberia and the west coast of Africa has been populated by blacks just as early as Europe has by whites in other words the blacks have existed upon the ball of dirt just as long as the whites. The whites of all nationalities have emerged from barbarism and have advanced in arts, science, mechanics and chemistry, etc., gradually, step by step up to the present high standard and are still forging ahead. Now what has the nigger done during these centuries of existence? What has he accomplished in his native country? Nothing!!! In this country the imported burr head nigger has actually had education thrust upon him by the negrophile whites. Is there any one nigger amongst the ten millions in the U. S. who has distinguished himself in arts, science, mechanics by an invention, discovery, etc. Is there one? I would like to know him. Is there any one amongst this burrhead breed who is game enough to risk his life in the interest of science or discovery? No, no one, yet this ape has the insolence to claim equality with the whites . . . . . The nigger problem in U. S. is solving itself year by year through miscegenation . . . . . in three or four centuries it will be hard to find a full blooded nigger and a full blooded white and the nigger problem will be a thing of the past. In the mean time just keep your place, you have too much equality already."

Editor's Note: Of course, the writer of this article does not know much about Negroes or he would not make the rash statements he does. Just the same, a lot of white people are as ignorant as he. He does not know that the African in Africa reared up a greater civilization, in its day, than the Romans, greater than the Greeks. He does not know that while the natives on the gold coast do not have bathtubs and Buicks, neither do they have divorce, murder, robbery, stock market stealings, adultery and gin—all of which are shining examples of the white man's progress in civilizing himself. He does not know that King Amoah III, a black native monarch, who has just been made a Knight of the British Empire by King George, has refused a shipment of gin to his country. He does not know that Liberian newspapers are alarmed over the vulgar American habits which the white people have brought over since the Firestone interests have opened operations in that country.

This white writer says he would like to know one Negro of distinction in the United States, but it is doubtful if the army of distinguished Negroes in this country would care to meet him—he is too far from their business and social circles. For his information, there are 90 Negroes listed in "Who's Who in America"—that means there are ninety Negroes whom white people consider great enough to get into Who's Who. Art and sciences? Well, there is Dr. George Washington Carver, the world famous chemist of Tuskegee. There is Henry O. Tanner, the world famous painter, whose pictures are in the great European and American galleries. There is Dr. Julian Lewis, assistant professor of pathology in the University of Chicago medical school. There is the late W. S. Scarborough, who wrote a text book in Greek so the white boys at Harvard could learn the language. In the fine arts there is Roland Hayes, the singer, Robeson, the actor and singer, Ira Aldridge, the actor and Countee Cullen, W. E. B. DuBois, the late Booker T. Washington, Wm. Stanley Braithwaite, the recognized anthologist on American poetry. Why keep on? As for invention, a Negro inventor named McCoy patented the first grease and oil cups on machinery. Right from Kansas City, we have David N. Crosthwaite jr., a heating and ventilating engineer, who has three inventions to his credit. Risking their lives for discovery and science? Well, there is Matt Henson, the first man in all the world to step on the North Pole. Black men were on the Santa Maria with Columbus in 1492. A black man was with Balboa who first saw the Pacific Ocean. And right today black men would be in the front of those experimenting with aviation did not the hatred prejudice of white men refuse them admission to flying schools. Even so, some have gone to Germany to learn to fly, and one young boy has stolen his way to the South pole with Commander Byrd. These are just a few things this white writer does not know.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Sunday, November 11, 1928

HISTORY'S RECORD IS CITED AS PROOF

Mongrelization Always Has Ended In Utter Deterioration Of Its Participants

BY MILFORD W. HOWARD

"There is no lamp by which my feet may be guided but the lamp of experience."—Patrick Henry.

THE FOREGOING quotation from the world's greatest orator is my text for today's discourse upon the most vital question that confronts the American people.

I have been "threatening" to write about it for some time, but would not do so during a heated political campaign when appeals were being made to the prejudices and passions of the people. I wanted, if possible, to have my readers with "open minds," to use one of the late President Wilson's favorite expressions, so they would at least be willing to study the great and vital question.

Some writer said, "We read history, not with our eyes, but with our prejudices."

The Master spoke of those who "having eyes see not and having ears hear not."

Human nature doesn't seem to have changed much since his day, and I doubt if it has since Adam.

Most of us are born with or into our religion, our politics and our prejudices, and most of us die as we are born.

The greatest thing a man can achieve is to strike off the shackles with which he is born, overcome his environment and climb a mental mountain peak where he can get a good look at himself and his fellow man, and find out how infinitesimal he really is, although divine and a God in the making.

My dear old friend and law partner, the late Richard Clayton Hunt once said to me, almost angrily, "I don't believe you have any fixed opinions." Nothing he ever said to me gave me a greater thrill, for I thought if I keep on perhaps I will arrive by and by. That I may do so is one of the greatest desires of my life, so that I shall be able to "hear with my ears and see with my eyes."

The Real Question

Already I have arrived at the place where I can truthfully say, "The more I learn, the less I know;" that is, the less I realize I know, compared to the great sum total of all knowledge and wisdom in the vast universe.

I trust that what I have just said will put my readers in the proper frame of mind to consider what I am going to say on the much "cussed" and discussed, the much misunderstood "negro question."

It has played a big part in the campaign just closed, particularly in Alabama, where it seems to have been most violent. There have been reams of white paper spoiled in the discussion of certain phases of this ever present question. Hundreds of speeches have been delivered, many of them vitriolic, sensational, grossly misleading.

In a paid political advertisement in an Alabama paper, I read this statement:

"If you are of the opinion that our forefathers made a mistake and that the white men of Alabama are incapable of properly conducting the government of our state, then revise the judgment, decision and action of our forefathers and turn the government of our state back into the hands of the Republican party and say that Anglo-Saxon blood is incapable of self government and that the equal mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon blood as prescribed by the Republican party is the necessary prescription."

Perhaps the writer of this political advertisement came nearer striking a "hot trail" than any of the others, but I am sure he did not realize it because he was blinded by political prejudice. When he said, "the equal mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon blood" he designated the mongrel and the mongrel is at the heart of the great peril that menaces the life of our nation and the existence of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of course, it is not a political question, but it has been made a political football, and is soon going to become a political firebrand and boomerang, conveying death and destruction in its wake.

Now that the "shouting and the tumult" is over, perhaps the American people, and particularly the Southern people, may be able to think sanely and constructively on this vital subject.

Of course, Northern white men are no more in favor of social equality with the negro than I am, or any of my readers. The pretense that this is true was all pure bunk, and a false issue in the campaign, just as the bogie of Catholic domination was a political scarecrow.

If the Catholics ever dominate this country it will be through the babies as I wrote awhile ago in one of my sketches. If we ever have social equality in this country it will be because we become a race of mongrels.

My mature judgment is that this day is coming as sure as fate, unless something radical is done, and this is what I want to write about.

In all the clamor and hubbub of the campaign, the real negro question has not been discussed by anyone. The menace does not come from riding in the same cars, eating at the same restaurants, stopping at the same hotels, going to the same schools, but from living in the same homes.

What History Tells

Not very long ago I stood on a street corner in Birmingham and counted 15 negro girls going to school and each with a load of books in her arms. Fifteen of them showed the traces of white blood. Some were dark brown, some ginger-cake, and some almost white.

About one-tenth of the population of the United States is composed of negroes.

Now, if we had no history of the past, this might not be so alarming. If we shut our eyes to the past, if we refuse to learn from experience, then the statement I have just made may have little meaning.

Our so-called statesmen have closed their eyes, their ears and their hearts to all the known history of the past. Many of those who should be leaders of public thought have laboriously tried to deceive the people. Every brilliant mongrel in the land, with few exceptions, is raising a smoke screen to obscure the real issue, until it is too late to apply the remedy. When they are forced to face facts, to confront the real issue and the only remedy, they say it is too late, and in this they are backed by thousands of Anglo-Saxons, both North and South.

Perhaps it is time I was telling my readers the lessons taught by history about this negro question. As a prelude to that, I want to lay down four fundamental propositions:

1. The white race has founded all civilizations.
2. The white race remaining white has not lost civilization.
3. The white race become hybrid or mongrelized has not regained civilization.
4. All past history proves that when a white race have dwelt together the inevitable result is race and a colored race that wipes out both the white and colored races.

These statements will be challenged and disproved by specious arguments and twisted figures prepared by mongrels and their defenders who love to talk eloquently about the New American in whose veins shall flow a mingling of the blood of all races that now dwell beneath our flag, including, of course, the

Race Problem — 1928.

United States.

Not One Nigger' Has Distinguished Himself In America Says White Kansas City Writer

Note: The following letter, which is unsigned, was sent to Roy Wilkins, 2401 Tracy avenue, after a letter he had written was published in The Star for Friday, November 23. The Call publishes the letter and a few notes under it, in order to let colored people know just what sort of beliefs certain white people have about Negroes. The race is too apt to believe that white people "understand" about the Negro, but the letter below proves that the writer knows nothing of Negro progress. It is because there are many more white people like this writer that Negroes have to be on their guard at all times and continue to make friends for the race by their actions in public and private. The letter:

"The writer of this clipping is probably a nigger or one of those negrophile whites who champions nigger equality. If the writer of the clipping has brains enough to understand, I will show him that this african black breed is not and never will be equal to the white race. From history we know that Liberia and the west coast of Africa has been populated by blacks just as early as Europe has by whites in other words the blacks have existed upon the ball of dirt just as long as the whites. The whites of all nationalities have emerged from barbarism and have advanced in arts, science, mechanics and chemistry, etc., gradually, step by step up to the present high standard and are still forging ahead. Now what has the nigger done during these centuries of existence? What has he accomplished in his native country? Nothing!!! In this country the imported burr head nigger has actually had education thrust upon him by the negrophile whites. Is there any one nigger amongst the ten millions in the U. S. who has distinguished himself in arts, science, mechanics by an invention, discovery, etc. Is there one? I would like to know him. Is there any one amongst this burrhead breed who is game enough to risk his life in the interest of science or discovery? No, no one, yet this ape has the insolence to claim equality with the whites . . . . . The nigger problem in U. S. is solving itself year by year through miscegenation . . . . . in three or four centuries it will be hard to find a full blooded nigger and a full blooded white and the nigger problem will be a thing of the past. In the mean time just keep your place, you have too much equality already."

—

Editor's Note: Of course, the writer of this article does not know much about Negroes or he would not make the rash statements he does. Just the same, a lot of white people are as ignorant as he. He does not know that the African in Africa reared up a greater civilization, in its day, than the Romans, greater than the Greeks. He does not know that while the natives on the gold coast do not have bathtubs and Buicks, neither do they have divorce, murder, robbery, stock market stealings, adultery and gin—all of which are shining examples of the white man's progress in civilizing himself. He does not know that King Amoah III, a black native monarch, who has just been made a Knight of the British Empire by King George, has refused a shipment of gin to his country. He does not know that Liberian newspapers are alarmed over the vulgar American habits which the white people have brought over since the Firestone interests have opened operations in that country.

This white writer says he would like to know one Negro of distinction in the United States, but it is doubtful if the army of distinguished Negroes in this country would care to meet him—he is too far from their business and social circles. For his information, there are 90 Negroes listed in "Who's Who in America"—that means there are ninety Negroes whom white people consider great enough to get into Who's Who. Art and sciences? Well, there is Dr. George Washington Carver, the world famous chemist of Tuskegee. There is Henry O. Tanner, the world famous painter, whose pictures are in the great European and American galleries. There is Dr. Julian Lewis, assistant professor of pathology in the University of Chicago medical school. There is the late W. S. Scarborough, who wrote a text book in Greek so the white boys at Harvard could learn the language. In the fine arts there is Roland Hayes, the singer, Robeson, the actor and singer, Ira Aldridge, the actor and Countee Cullen, W. E. B. DuBois, the late Booker T. Washington, Wm. Stanley Braithwaite, the recognized anthologist on American poetry. Why keep on? As for invention, a Negro inventor named McCoy patented the first grease and oil cups on machinery. Right from Kansas City, we have David N. Crosthwaite jr., a heating and ventilating engineer, who has three inventions to his credit. Risking their lives for discovery and science? Well, there is Matt Henson, the first man in all the world to step on the North Pole. Black men were on the Santa Maria with Columbus in 1492. A black man was with Balboa who first saw the Pacific ocean. And right today black men would be in the forefront of those experimenting with aviation did not the hatred prejudice of white men refuse them admission to flying schools. Even so, some have gone to Germany to learn to fly, and one young boy has stolen his way to the South pole with Commander Byrd. These are just a few things this white writer does not know.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Sunday, November 11, 1928

HISTORY'S RECORD IS CITED AS PROOF

Mongrelization Always Has Ended In Utter Deterioration Of Its Participants

BY MILFORD W. HOWARD

"There is no lamp by which my feet may be guided but the lamp of experience."—Patrick Henry.

THE FOREGOING quotation from the world's greatest orator is my text for today's discourse upon the most vital question that confronts the American people.

I have been "threatening" to write about it for some time, but would not do so during a heated political campaign when appeals were being made to the prejudices and passions of the people. I wanted, if possible, to have my readers with "open minds," to use one of the late President Wilson's favorite expressions, so they would at least be willing to study the great and vital question.

Some writer said, "We read history, not with our eyes, but with our prejudices."

The Master spoke of those who "having eyes see not and having ears hear not."

Human nature doesn't seem to have changed much since his day, and I doubt if it has since Adam.

Most of us are born with or into our religion, our politics and our prejudices, and most of us die as we are born.

The greatest thing a man can achieve is to strike off the shackles with which he is born, overcome his environment and climb a mental mountain peak where he can get a good look at himself and his fellow man, and find out how infinitesimal he really is, although divine and a God in the making.

My dear old friend and law partner, the late Richard Clayton Hunt once said to me, almost angrily, "I don't believe you have any fixed opinions." Nothing he ever said to me gave me a greater thrill, for I thought if I keep on perhaps I will arrive by and by. That I may do so is one of the greatest desires of my life, so that I shall be able to "hear with my ears and see with my eyes."

The Real Question

Already I have arrived at the place where I can truthfully say, "The more I learn, the less I know;" that is, the less I realize I know, compared to the great sum total of all knowledge and wisdom in the vast universe.

I trust that what I have just said will put my readers in the proper frame of mind to consider what I am going to say on the much "cussed" and discussed, the much misunderstood "negro question."

It has played a big part in the campaign just closed, particularly in Alabama, where it seems to have been most violent. There have been reams of white paper spoiled in the discussion of certain phases of this ever present question. Hundreds of speeches have been delivered, many of them vitriolic, sensational, grossly misleading.

In a paid political advertisement in an Alabama paper, I read this statement:

"If you are of the opinion that our forefathers made a mistake and that the white men of Alabama are incapable of properly conducting the government of our state, then revise the judgment, decision and action of our forefathers and turn the government of our state back into the hands of the Republican party and say that Anglo-Saxon blood is incapable of self government and that the equal mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon blood as prescribed by the Republican party is the necessary prescription."

Perhaps the writer of this political advertisement came nearer striking a "hot trail" than any of the others, but I am sure he did not realize it, because he was blinded by political prejudice. When he said, "the equal mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon blood" he designated the mongrel, and the mongrel is at the heart of the great peril that menaces the life of our nation and the existence of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of course, it is not a political question, but it has been made a political football, and is soon going to become a political firebrand and boomerang, conveying death and destruction in its wake.

Now that the "shouting and the tumult" is over, perhaps the American people, and particularly the Southern people, may be able to think sanely and constructively on this vital subject.

Of course, Northern white men are no more in favor of social equality with the negro than I am, or any of my readers. The pretense that this is true was all pure bunk, and a false issue in the campaign, just as the bogie of Catholic domination was a political scarecrow.

If the Catholics ever dominate this country it will be through the babies as I wrote awhile ago in one of my sketches. If we ever have social equality in this country it will be because we become a race of mongrels.

My mature judgment is that this day is coming as sure as fate, unless something radical is done, and this is what I want to write about.

In all the clamor and hubbub of the campaign, the real negro question has not been discussed by anyone. The menace does not come from riding in the same cars, eating at the same restaurants, stopping at the same hotels, going to the same schools, but from living in the same homes.

What History Tells

Not very long ago I stood on a street corner in Birmingham and counted 15 negro girls going to school and each with a load of books in her arms. Fifteen of them showed the traces of white blood. Some were dark brown, some ginger-cake, and some almost white.

About one-tenth of the population of the United States is composed of negroes.

Now, if we had no history of the past, this might not be so alarming. If we shut our eyes to the past, if we refuse to learn from experience, then the statement I have just made may have little meaning.

Our so-called statesmen have closed their eyes, their ears and their hearts to all the known history of the past. Many of those who should be leaders of public thought have laboriously tried to deceive the people. Every brilliant mongrel in the land, with few exceptions, is raising a smoke screen to obscure the real issue, until it is too late to apply the remedy. When they are forced to face facts, to confront the real issue and the only remedy, they say it is too late, and in this they are backed by thousands of Anglo-Saxons, both North and South.

Perhaps it is time I was telling my readers the lessons taught by history about this negro question. As a prelude to that, I want to lay down four fundamental propositions:

1. The white race has founded all civilizations.
2. The white race remaining white has not lost civilization.
3. The white race become hybrid or mongrelized has not attained civilization.
4. All past history proves that when a white race and a colored race have dwelt together the inevitable result is a mongrel breed that wipes out both the white and colored races.

These statements will be challenged and disproved by specious arguments and twisted figures presented by mongrels and their defenders who love to talk eloquently about the New American in whose veins shall flow a mingling of the blood of all races that now dwell beneath our flag, including, of course, the

negro. That I am right is proven, however, from all past history, if we will only open our eyes to its teachings.

Lack of space will prevent the proof on the citation of authorities so I must content myself with a bald statement of fact and the student who wants the proof can find abundant evidence in the pages of printed books.

Perhaps the most startling example of my theory is Egypt. Here a great white civilization flourished, arose to sublime heights of intellectual development, built the pyramids, believed in immortality, worshiped but one God and kept the negroes out of the land. Then Egypt fell on evil days. Colored people were admitted. They increased in numbers. The whites and colored mingled their blood, until a mongrel pharoah sat upon the throne. The white race disappeared; learning took wings and fled. The one god gave way to many. Egypt lost power, prestige and honor; she fell like Lucifer, to rise no more, and today a mongrel population, low in intelligence, incapable of self government, exists where once upon a time one of the proudest white civilizations of earth reigned supreme.

How Greece Crumbled

Next in the long tragic procession comes Greece—the home of art, philosophy and genius. This was in the days when Greece was white and no colored race dwelt within her borders. Then came luxury, slavery, the imporation of negroes, the mixture of the white and colored race, decay, dishonor, death and the glory of Greece departed to return nevermore.

Greece is a country of mixed races today and all the education in the world can never restore her to her former greatness.

The story of Rome is equally tragic. As long as it remained white, Rome was mistress of the world, but when, from the importation of negroes, the population became mongrelized, Rome fell beneath the tread of the so-called barbarians from Germany, they of fair hair, blue eyes and white skin—the progenitors of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

It is worthy of note that there was an ancient nation, a peculiar people that refused to mongrelize with the negroes, but retained its integrity and has done so through the centuries. I refer to the Hebrew nation—commonly called Jews. No other white race has ever been able to live with the negro race without becoming mongrelized.

It is one of the anomalies of racial history and is intensely interesting. The basic reason is that race purity is a religious tenet with the Jews, and this has kept the race from mongrelization and extinction.

Next in the long procession come India, China, Mexico, Peru.

In all these countries the highly developed civilizations of the white races that inhabited them perished because of the mongrelization of the white and colored races who dwelt together.

Thomas Jefferson's Views

A volume, yes many volumes could be devoted to a study of each of these civilizations, and the cause of their decline and fall, and I know of no subject so fascinating and so fraught with meaning to the American people at the present moment.

Thomas Jefferson understood the danger of the two races dwelling together. He knew that it lead to mongrelization and disaster. Here is what he said:

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the government."

Abraham Lincoln, the greatest seer of his time, in a speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858, said:

"I will say, then, that I am not nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of the negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

While Lincoln was president he advocated an amendment to the federal constitution authorizing Congress to remove the negroes from the United States to a country of their own. If he had lived he might have been able, because of his great ability and prestige, to have secured its passage.

Gen. Grant, under the influence of Lincoln's proposed plan, endeavored to secure congressional sanction to the acquirement of Haiti, to encourage the negroes to migrate there, but a few powerful politicians frustrated this, the last rational attempt to solve the race question.

Enfranchisement

For several years prior to 1835, abolition of slavery received its chief support in the South. The first abolition paper was established in Tennessee. In 1832 the Legislature of Virginia came within one vote of enacting a law to free all slaves in the state. Slavery had become unprofitable.

Along with the abolition movement of these days there was an accompanying purpose to repatriate the negro—that is, remove him back to his own land. Every American of note, North as well as South, advocated the removal of the negro to Africa. Had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin, it is quite likely that the United States would be a white nation.

After War Between the States a few politicians forced the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to our federal constitution, granting the negro the rights of citizenship—the very thing Lincoln said he opposed.

The people of the United States did not want to give the negro the ballot after the war. Wherever the question was submitted to the people of the North it was defeated in every state, except Iowa and Minnesota.

In December, 1865, when the question of the establishment of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was submitted to the voters, the vote stood, in Georgetown, one vote for and 812 votes against the measure, and in Washington, 35 votes for and 6,521 votes against the measure.

In September, 1865, the question was submitted to the voters of the territory of Colorado. The vote stood 476 for and 4,192 against.

Ohio defeated negro suffrage by 50,000 majority. Missouri by 18,000 majority. Michigan by 39,000 majority and New York by 32,000 majority.

Under the "Reconsctruction Acts," the fifteenth amendment was forced on the South. Seven of the Southern states ratified it by the negro vote the whites being generally disfranchised, while in three of the states Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, ratification was assented to as a condition of readmission to the union.

It is certainly evident to my mind that the white people of the United States have never favored giving the negroes joint control with them in the affairs of their government.

Question Of Environment

An impartial study of the question convinces me that the divergent views on the race question, if indeed there is any divergent or difference, is not a question of politics or political party, but one of environment. I am sustained in this view by the greatest authority on this question I am familiar with. I refer to Maj. Earnest Sevier Cox, a Southerner who has made an exhaustive study of the problem by personally visiting all the countries about which he writes.

In his "White America," he says: "The author cannot refrain from calling attention to a matter that should clarify the white man's attitude to the color problem, namely, that a most disturbing phase of the problem is not in reality a part of the problem of color, but is incidental to it, arising from a difference of opinion among groups of the white races as to the proper attitude of the white man towards the colored. Such division among the whites cannot but work harm to the white man and certainly it has never worked permanent advantage to the colored. Any seeming advantages the colored races have derived from inter-group conflicts are merely temporary, and do not have substance. The results of such conflicts have not extended to the evolutionary differentations between the races save through promoting blood admixture of the races, and by so doing, lowering the white man in greater degree than raising the black. Possibly it is necessary only to print out geographical demarcations of those groups of the white race which have come into conflict regarding the colored race in order to show that such difference of opinion and policy is temporary and is not to abide.

"A study of the world-wide color problem during the past eight or nine decades will reveal the white race divided into two schools of teaching with regard to a proper attitude towards the colored. One school is constituted generally of these portions of the white race that live apart from the colored, while the other school is made up of those portions of the white race that live in contact with the colored. The whites who dwell apart from the negro have advocated one policy towards the negro, while those whites who dwell with the negro have advocated another policy. There is a general agreement among the whites who live apart from the negro, whether these live in Europe or in America. There is also a general agreement among the whites who live in contact with the negro, whether these whites live in the Southern states of the American Union, in the European Colonies of Africa, Asia, Australia, in Latin America.

"The teachings of the whites who live apart from the negro have placed great emphasis upon environment, rather than upon race heridity, whilst those whites who live in daily contact with the colored races are agreed that there is a difference between the white and the colored which cannot be bridged by present environment and that the development of the various races is conditioned by their respective race traits and tendencies."

A little careful thought of these wise words of Maj. Cox will help us to an understanding of the real "negro question" and at the same time aid us in getting at the reason for the difference in the "Northern" and "Southern" view point.

Reason For Changes

This difference in "viewpoint" has caused the legalizing of marriage between negroes and whites in 21 states and the District of Columbia. It explains the why of the "Jim Crow" car in the South and the mixed school in the north.

This "viewpoint" and politics explains why there are 5,000,000 negro voters in other parts of the United States, including such "border" states as Kentucky, Tennessee; Oklahoma and Missouri, while the old South has virtually annulled the fourteenth and constitution through our "grandfa- constitutio nthrough our "grandfather" enactments.

It is worthy of note that this nullification on the part of the South has been "winked at" by the people of the North, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, because, deep down in their hearts the Anglo-Saxon does not believe the negro should have an equal share in the affairs of government.

All this that I am saying about the enfranchisement of the negro, our laws allowing intermarriage of the races, mixed schools, and what not, is merely incidental.

It is not the "negro question." The real "negro question" is not discussed any more, as it once was. Perhaps the reason is that negro voters now hold the balance of power in a number of states.

Perhaps here in the South we want to hold on to our negroes as servants and laborers.

A few years ago I remember there was a great hue and cry against labor agents who came into the South to hire our negroes and take them out of the country. Laws were passed to prevent it—the agents thrown in jail and all sorts of things done to them.

It is so easy to be blinded by self-interest and not realize it.

Various Remedies Tried

The caste system in India was formulated to save the white race from amalgamation, but it failed. Various expedients have been tried in other countries in past ages, but without avail.

The laws in one Southern state against the intermarriage of whites and negroes may help stay the rising tide of color, but they, too, will prove unavailing in the end, for the sex urge is stronger than man-made statutes.

As I have already stated, only the Jew has been able to withstand the serpent of amalgamation, and that not because of man-made laws, but because of his religion.

"There are two alternatives for the future; the negroes and the whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle," said De Tocqueville.

"If the purity of the two races is to be maintained they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape," said Madison Grant.

The mixing of the negro and white races is contrary to the laws of our being, hence, to the laws of God.

Volumes could be written on mongrelization, as well as many other phases of race mixture and the inevitable consequences. So that all I am endeavoring to do is to set my readers to thinking.

In some of my previous sketches I have spoken of the declining birth rate among the educated, well-to-do Anglo-Saxons. This, of itself, would spell the doom of our civilization and government as we now know it.

That is the upper millstone. The nether millstone is the pressure of 12,000,00 negroes living in our midst, to say nothing of the millions of foreigners of non-assimilable races with whom we are mingling our blood, while they and the least bit of our Anglo-Saxon population are producing the most offspring.

The Stock Arguments

I know all the stock arguments intended to show that I and those who think and talk like I do are alarmists. They will tell you there is no danger, that the negro birth rate is declining, that they are dying off of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases; that they are getting blacker instead of whiter, and a hundred other things.

On this latter point I hold in my hand the evidence that the race is not getting darker.

It is a campaign circular showing a picture of the Alabama Legislature taken in 1872—many of the members were negroes and most of them are as black as a crow. If we should elect a negro Legislature now I'll wager that they would run from ginger-cake to muddy white.

So enamored are the negroes of their white blood that they actually draw the color line in some of the negro churches, seating the congregation according to color, the coal black ones occupying the rear seats.

So it is up to the white people of this country to settle this question and largely to the Anglo-Saxon and other branches of the great Nordic race.

Defenders of the mongrel even scoff at the claim that there is or ever was a Nordic race and those who admit the fact deny its superiority to others in any respect.

As a defender of the Nordic race, I need not make any claims to superiority, but I do insist the great white race has a right to remain white.

It has the divine right to protect itself from mongrelization and to take whatever legal steps may be necessary to retain its purity.

Another book could be written about the expatriation of the negro, how it can be done without doing him an injustice, and many other phases of the question.

The statesmanship of the future, and the very near future, must deal with the negro question in a sane, constructive way or our civilization is doomed.

"They cry peace, peace, when there is no peace," declared Patrick Henry. So, now if an effort should be made to save our white civilization, a million throats would cry, "peace, peace," but there can be no peace, no security, no hope for our race until the negro is expatriated.

negro. That I am right is proven however, from all past history, if we will only open our eyes to its teachings.

Lack of space will prevent the proof on the citation of authorities so I must content myself with a bald statement of fact and the student who wants the proof can find abundant evidence in the pages of printed books.

Perhaps the most startling example of my theory is Egypt. Here a great white civilization flourished, arose to sublime heights of intellectual development, built the pyramids, believed in immortality, worshiped but one God and kept the negroes out of the land. Then Egypt fell on evil days. Colored people were admitted. They increased in numbers. The whites and colored mingled their blood, until a mongrel pharoah sat upon the throne. The white race disappeared; learning took wings and fled. The one god gave way to many. Egypt lost power, prestige and honor; she fell like Lucifer, to rise no more, and today a mongrel population, low in intelligence, incapable of self government, exists where once upon a time one of the proudest white civilizations of earth reigned supreme.

How Greece Crumbled

Next in the long tragic procession comes Greece—the home of art, philosophy and genius. This was in the days when Greece was white and no colored race dwelt within her borders. Then came luxury, slavery, the imporation of negroes, the mixture of the white and colored race, decay, dishonor, death and the glory of Greece departed to return nevermore.

Greece is a country of mixed races today and all the education in the world can never restore her to her former greatness.

The story of Rome is equally tragic. As long as it remained white, Rome was mistress of the world, but when, from the importation of negroes, the population became mongrelized, Rome fell beneath the tread of the so-called barbarians from Germany, they of fair hair, blue eyes and white skin—the progenitors of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

It is worthy of note that there was an ancient nation, a peculiar people that refused to mongrelize with the negroes, but retained its integrity and has done so through the centuries. I refer to the Hebrew nation—commonly called Jews. No other white race has ever been able to live with the negro race without becoming mongrelized.

It is one of the anomalies of racial history and is intensely interesting. The basic reason is that race purity is a religious tenet with the Jews, and this has kept the race from mongrelization and extinction.

Next in the long procession come India, China, Mexico, Peru.

In all these countries the highly developed civilizations of the white races that inhabited them perished because of the mongrelization of the white and colored races who dwelt together.

Thomas Jefferson's Views

A volume, yes many volumes could be devoted to a study of each of these civilizations, and the cause of their decline and fall, and I know no subject so fascinating and so fraught with meaning to the American people at the present moment.

Thomas Jefferson understood the danger of the two races dwelling together. He knew that it lead to mongrelization and disaster. Here is what he said:

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the government."

Abraham Lincoln, the greatest seer of his time, in a speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858, said:

"I will say, then, that I am not nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of the negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

While Lincoln was president he advocated an amendment to the federal constitution authorizing Congress to remove the negroes from the United States to a country of their own. If he had lived he might have been able, because of his great ability and prestige, to have secured its passage.

Gen. Grant, under the influence of Lincoln's proposed plan, endeavored to secure congressional sanction to the acquirement of Haiti, to encourage the negroes to migrate there, but a few powerful politicians frustrated this, the last rational attempt to solve the race question.

Enfranchisement

For several years prior to 1835, abolition of slavery received its chief support in the South. The first abolition paper was established in Tennessee. In 1832 the Legislature of Virginia came within one vote of enacting a law to free all slaves in the state. Slavery had become unprofitable.

Along with the abolition movement of these days there was an accompanying purpose to repatriate the negro—that is, remove him back to his own land. Every American of note, North as well as South, advocated the removal of the negro to Africa. Had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin, it is quite likely that the United States would be a white nation.

After War Between the States a few politicians forced the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to our federal constitution, granting the negro the rights of citizenship—the very thing Lincoln said he opposed.

The people of the United States did not want to give the negro the ballot after the war. Wherever the question was submitted to the people of the North it was defeated in every state, except Iowa and Minnesota.

In December, 1865, when the question of the establishment of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was submitted to the voters, the vote stood, in Georgetown, one vote for and 812 votes against the measure, and in Washington, 35 votes for and 6,521 votes against the measure.

In September, 1865, the question was submitted to the voters of the territory of Colorado. The vote stood 476 for and 4,192 against.

Ohio defeated negro suffrage by 50,000 majority. Missouri by 18,000 majority. Michigan by 39,000 majority and New York by 32,000 majority.

Under the "Reconsctruction Acts," the fifteenth amendment was forced on the South. Seven of the Southern states ratified it by the negro vote the whites being generally disfranchised, while in three of the states Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, ratification was assented to as a condition of readmission to the union.

It is certainly evident to my mind that the white people of the United States have never favored giving the negroes joint control with them in the affairs of their government.

Question Of Environment

An impartial study of the question convinces me that the divergent views on the race question, if indeed there is any divergent or difference, is not a question of politics or political party, but one of environment. I am sustained in this view by the greatest authority on this question I am familiar with. I refer to Maj. Earnest Sevier Cox, a Southerner who has made an exhaustive study of the problem by personally visiting all the countries about which he writes.

In his "White America," he says:

"The author cannot refrain from calling attention to a matter that should clarify the white man's attitude to the color problem, namely, that a most disturbing phase of the problem is not in reality a part of the problem of color, but is incidental to it, arising from a difference of opinion among groups of the white races as to the proper attitude of the white man towards the colored. Such division among the whites cannot but work harm to the white man and certainly it has never worked permanent advantage to the colored. Any seeming advantages the colored races have derived from inter-group conflicts are merely temporary, and do not have substance. The results of such conflicts have not extended to the evolutionary differentations between the races save through promoting blood admixture of the races, and by so doing, lowering the white man in greater degree than raising the black. Possibly it is necessary only to print out geographical demarcations of those groups of the white race which have come into conflict regarding the colored race in order to show that such difference of opinion and policy is temporary and is not to abide.

"A study of the world-wide color problem during the past eight or nine decades will reveal the white race divided into two schools of teaching with regard to a proper attitude towards the colored. One school is constituted generally of these portions of the white race that live apart from the colored, while the other school is made up of those portions of the white race that live in contact with the colored. The whites who dwell apart from the negro have advocated one policy towards the negro, while those whites who dwell with the negro have advocated another policy. There is a general agreement among the whites who live apart from the negro, whether these live in Europe or in America. There is also a general agreement among the whites who live in contact with the negro, whether these whites live in the Southern states of the American Union, in the European Colonies of Africa, Asia, Australia, in Latin America.

"The teachings of the whites who live apart from the negro have placed great emphasis upon environment, rather than upon race heridity, whilst those whites who live in daily contact with the colored races are agreed that there is a difference between the white and the colored which cannot be bridged by present environment and that the development of the various races is conditioned by their respective race traits and tendencies."

A little careful thought of these wise words of Maj. Cox will help us to an understanding of the real "negro question" and at the same time aid us in getting at the reason for the difference in the "Northern" and "Southern" view point.

Reason For Changes

This difference in "viewpoint" has caused the legalizing of marriage between negroes and whites in 21 states and the District of Columbia. It explains the why of the "Jim Crow" car in the South and the mixed school in the north.

This "viewpoint" and politics explains why there are 5,000,000 negro voters in other parts of the United States, including such "border" states as Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Missouri, while the old South has virtually annulled the fourteenth and constitution through our "grandfa- constitutio nthrough our "grandfather" enactments.

It is worthy of note that this nullification on the part of the South has been "winked at" by the people of the North, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, because, deep down in their hearts the Anglo-Saxon does not believe the negro should have an equal share in the affairs of government.

All this that I am saying about the enfranchisement of the negro, our laws allowing intermarriage of the races, mixed schools, and what not, is merely incidental.

It is not the "negro question." The real "negro question" is not discussed any more, as it once was. Perhaps the reason is that negro voters now hold the balance of power in a number of states.

Perhaps here in the South we want to hold on to our negroes as servants and laborers.

A few years ago I remember there was a great hue and cry against labor agents who came into the South to hire our negroes and take them out of the country. Laws were passed to prevent it—the agents thrown in jail and all sorts of things done to them.

It is so easy to be blinded by self-interest and not realize it.

Various Remedies Tried

The caste system in India was formulated to save the white race from amalgamation, but it failed. Various expedients have been tried in other countries in past ages, but without avail.

The laws in one Southern state against the intermarriage of whites and negroes may help stay the rising tide of color, but they, too, will prove unavailing in the end, for the sex urge is stronger than man-made statutes.

As I have already stated, only the Jew has been able to withstand the serpent of amalgamation, and that not because of man-made laws, but because of his religion.

"There are two alternatives for the future; the negroes and the whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle," said De Tocqueville.

"If the purity of the two races is to be maintained they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape," said Madison Grant.

The mixing of the negro and white races is contrary to the laws of our being, hence, to the laws of God.

Volumes could be written on mongrelization, as well as many other phases of race mixture and the inevitable consequences. So that all I am endeavoring to do is to set my readers to thinking.

In some of my previous sketches I have spoken of the declining birth rate among the educated, well-to-do Anglo-Saxons. This, of itself, would spell the doom of our civilization and government as we now know it.

That is the upper millstone. The nether millstone is the pressure of 12,000,00 negroes living in our midst, to say nothing of the millions of foreigners of non-assimilable races with whom we are mingling our blood, while they and the least bit of our Anglo-Saxon population are producing the most offspring.

The Stock Arguments

I know all the stock arguments intended to show that I and those who think and talk like I do are alarmists. They will tell you there is no danger, that the negro birth rate is declining, that they are dying off of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases; that they are getting blacker instead of whiter, and a hundred other things.

On this latter point I hold in my hand the evidence that the race is not getting darker.

It is a campaign circular showing a picture of the Alabama Legislature taken in 1872—many of the members were negroes and most of them are as black as a crow. If we should elect a negro Legislature now I'll wager that they would run from ginger-cake to muddy white.

So enamored are the negroes of their white blood that they actually draw the color line in some of the negro churches, seating the congregation according to color, the coal black ones occupying the rear seats.

So it is up to the white people of this country to settle this question and largely to the Anglo-Saxon and other branches of the great Nordic race.

Defenders of the mongrel even scoff at the claim that there is or ever was a Nordic race and those who admit the fact deny its superiority to others in any respect.

As a defender of the Nordic race, I need not make any claims to superiority, but I do insist the great white race has a right to remain white.

It has the divine right to protect itself from mongrelization and to take whatever legal steps may be necessary to retain its purity.

Another book could be written about the expatriation of the negro, show it can be done without doing him an injustice, and many other phases of the question.

The statesmanship of the future, and the very near future, must deal with the negro question in a sane, constructive way or our civilization is doomed.

"They cry peace, peace, when there is no peace," declared Patrick Henry. So, now if an effort should be made to save our white civilization, a million throats would cry, "peace, peace," but there can be no peace, no security, no hope for our race until the negro is expatriated.

Race Problem - 1928

United States, Book Reviews.

Columbus, Ga., Enquirer-Sun
Sunday, July 29, 1928

How Walter H. Page Punctured Traditions, Bared South's Plight Despite Attacks, Lost His All, And Left Native State

—Review by AARON BERND—

Walter Hines Page was an excellent, though not a great, magazine editor. He was a financially successful publisher whose house introduced to the American public no writer more important than Booth Tarkington. He represented the government of the United States in a foreign land during times which were dangerous and unsettled; and did so in a manner of somewhat questionable value.

Does such a man deserve three thick volumes upon the shelf of the national biography? True, his spirit was a rare combination of the enthusiast and the scholar. He was independent in his views and fearless in expressing them. He possessed what one friend decribed as "moral and intellectual greatness". Yet these are qualities which ultimately win, at the most, a thin memorial of appreciation, rather than a set of stalwart tomes.

The answer, in Page's case, is simple: he was a man made important by his times. To qualities which are always rare, though not for that reason intrinsically momentous in the history of the nation, the years brought opportunities which made their possessor an outstanding figure in the land's chronicle.

This is not to detract from the essential honesty and courage of Page himself. The times were there for all men; Page was of the few to be singled out.

* * *

The two volumes of the North Carolinian's life and letters which Mr. Burton J. Hendrick edited several years ago are necessary to any proper consideration of America's part in world politics from 1913 to 1918. They are inevitable source books to the historian of war days. Now, in *The Training of An American* (Houghton, Mifflin Co.), Mr. Hendrick gives us a third volume in the series, a story which starts with the birth of Page and follows him to the appointment to the Court of St. James's. The period covered in 1855 to 1913.

Just as the war books are significant in a full understanding of our part in the conflict, so this third volume, treating of the earlier years, is an essential contribution to the story of the South's reawakening after 1865. Without the alert mind and fighting spirit of Page, possibly we should anyway have discovered our own shortcomings; with Page, the process was hastened, the main body of Southern discontent crystallized, effective measures insured against some of the chief evils which we have now lived down.

There were, then, two periods of the man's life that were consequential in the development of the nation: the earlier days when he was fighting against the forces of Southern reaction; and the later, when he represented Washington in London. All the rest, the era of financial and literary prosperity, was negligible from the broader viewpoint; it was a bread-and-butter time for earning the money for larger pursuits.

* * *

Page was born in a North Carolina settlement which later took the name of Cary. In view of the present drought, it is interesting to observe that the town was christened, by Walter's father, after an Ohio temperance lecturer; notable, too, that each purchaser of a lot had to promise never to bring intoxicating liquors upon it.

The boy received his early education from his mother,—with it a love for Dickens and Scott. Until the age of ten, he did not see a schoolroom. But his intellectual interests were so keen that he went on to college as soon as he could. First a short time at Trinity; then some years at Randolph-Macon, where he came under the influence of Thomas Price, professor of Greek and English literature, who was chiefly responsible for Page's abiding love of the British.

Thereafter, winning a fellowship to the Johns Hopkins, he discovered the Greek spirit under the expert tutelage of the enthusiastic Gildersleeve, "Saint Basil of Baltimore". To his biographer's mind, practically all that Page became was due to the ministrations of this lay saint.

It needs, says Mr. Hendrick, no fanciful eye to discover the influence of Greek on Page's subsequent work and thinking. Terseness and clarity—these certainly are classic traits, and these are the foremost qualities, not only of Page's writing, but of his life. His ability to go straight to the point, to concentrate upon the main idea, to disregard inessentials and cling to substance . . . absence of prejudice, the refusal to be led astray by emotion or preconception, the vision to see things as they are, the instinct for truth . . . intense curiosity . . . almost a direct legacy from Hellas. His (Page's) life, like all things Greek, was built upon a few straight and undeviating lines. . . . Yet it must always be kept in mind that this man was a product of "useless learning".

Surely a large credit to be entered under the column of Greek culture.

At the end of his studies at Hopkins, Walter returned to North Carolina, seeking a job either as teacher or newspaper man. He found neither. Instead he finally landed in Kentucky, teaching in a Louisville High School. This lasted only a short time. *The Age*, a newly founded Southern periodical, intended to be *The Nation* of this section, discovered his facile pen; Walter bought half interest for a thousand dollars. And, as in the case of all Southern literary periodicals, *The Age* soon hit the rocks.

Page returned to North Carolina. He inserted an ad in *The Nation*,—one of those curious, employment—wanted notices which even now Mr. Villard's sprightly journal so frequently prints. In this case the response came from Missouri; and, at fifteen dollars a week, Walter became a reporter on the St. Joseph *Gazette*.

Eventually this played out. Page had sold an article on the South to *The Atlantic Monthly*, and now he saw a further field for such pieces. He began a leisurely tour of the late Confederacy, sending letters in carbon copy to a number of influential Northern Newspapers. He got money for them, cash in his pocket; and a certain prestige in the East which gained him entry into wealthy editorial offices.

It was during this Southern jaunt of 1881 that the man made the acquaintance of Joel Chandler Harris. Six and a half pages of Mr. Hendrick's book are given to reprinting the excellent account of Page's visit to the Atlanta humorist which Julia Collier Harris used, in part, in her authoritative *Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris*. The Georgian, he found, used diction purer and simpler than any other American journalist. His stories painted the whole structure of Southern life. "Every touch is true, every tone significant. I may be too loving a critic, but it seems to me that no American man of letters has wrought his backgrounds and surroundings so skillfully ,except Nathaniel Hawthorne."

* * *

Following this excursion, Page accepted an editorial place on the New York *World*. When Pulitzer bought that newspaper in 1883, the Southerner returned to his native haunts.

He had enough money now to take over the Raleigh *State-Chronicle*; and he did so with a vengeance. Through its columns he began preaching the laziness and slothfulness of the South, particularly of North Carolina. Leader after leader was devoted to exploding the bunk which lay in Southern conceptions,—in our tradition of lofty education, when there were no schools to bear it out; in the high repute of Southern "oratory"; in the "fair daughters of the South" stuff; in the wanton expenditure of money for war monuments when the children did not know the English language; in the magnificent estate of the clergymen who saw that the old issues were kept alive; in the absurd Southern claims regarding the proper treatment of the Negro.

Was this policy popular? Less than two years after he bought the *Chronicle*, Page disposed of it to a young journalist named Josephus Daniels, and wandered, disconsolate and almost penniless, to New York. But he could not be kept silent. Back to the new editor he sent a rousing series of letters about the plight of North Carolina, the State which made life so unbearable to intelligent sons that they were forced to pursue their way in other climes. The Tarheel State, he said, was driving her best blood outside of her borders.

The removal to New York was the beginning of prosperity. In the years from 1885 to 1913 followed the editorship of *The Forum* and of *The Atlantic Monthly*; then the juncture with Frank Doubleday which founded the house of Doubleday, Page, now Doubleday, Doran & Co. When wealth came, it found the man no less absorbed in plans for the rebirth of the South. His efforts now went to the General Education Board; working with that organization, he was able to bring to fruition many of the schemes he had, as a younger man, advanced for the good of his native section.

* * *

Contemplating the scene today, one is dismayed to discover that the very improvements which Walter Page so valiantly advocated forty years ago are still considered radical when advanced by such Georgia rebels as the ENQUIRER-SUN and the Macon *Telegraph*. The very faults which the Carolinian denounced in the 1880's in large part still exist.

In the light of Georgia's current lack of leadership, consider this:

> The sorry white man in the South is the real curse of the land. He is the fellow for whom Southern civilization sacrifices itself. He must be protected against the Negro—hence race-friction and the caste feeling. He insists that he shall not be disfranchised because he is a white man; hence the Negro has to suffer. Better white men cannot rise for him. He is at once the worst and the most persistent product of slavery—the sorry Southern white man. His like exists in other parts of the country, but he does not set the pace elsewhere. The presence of the Negro prevents him from being frankly put at the bottom as he is put elsewhere. . . .

Too, there is a despatch from Martin, Tennessee, written to the Northern newspapers in July, 1881, which might have put to shame Mr. Robert Quillen's recent reflections upon the fair name of South Carolina. Martin, Page found, was "Dixie through and through." The epitomization lay in slovenly business houses, men who were "unceasingly resting", officials with the education of the "howling wilderness", ill-kept hotels, lack of interest in outside events; and all these things contrasted with an occasional ancient citizen of unquestioned tastes and abilities, who lived in a fine old house set back among the trees and had naught to do with his fellow-men.

Page's diatribes against the North Carolina of his day were effective. They were the immediate cause of that state's return to the ways of progress. This was so, largely because the man left behind him not only the actual written body of principles for which he had been fighting, but also a group of eager and active disciples fitted to further the cause. Alderman, Aycock, McIver,—these three and a host of others had caught the flame of unrest from the sparks kindled in Page's Raleigh newspaper. They carried on when Page, forced North, had departed. Their work lives today in miles of good roads, in a thriving, prosperous commonwealth, in the best State university of the country.

Can Georgia produce men like them?

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

AUG 8 1928

THE STORY OF HARLEM WHICH NEVER GROWS OLD

Rudolph Fisher Adds a New Note to the Growing Symphony in Black.

BY ROBERT O. BALLOU.

TO THE books about the Harlem Negro has been added a fine novel by Rudolph Fisher, "The Walls of Jericho." (Knopf.) Fisher, a Negro himself, amused and irritated by turns at the white persons who are interested and lose interest in the collective Negro, according to the fad of the moment, talking a vast amount of nonsense during the periods of interest, obviously had a good time writing this book.

* * *

THE story belongs chiefly to a piano mover and a kitchen maid, "a honey with high yaller laigs. That gal walks on ball bearin's she do—ev'thing moves at once"; a "tight," hard guy, afraid of his own softness, and a lovely creature "sharp out this world" who storms even the hard guy's fear of himself and brings the story to a happy conclusion aboard a north-bound moving van.

RUDOLPH FISHER.

Side by side with the story of Shine and Linda runs that of Fred Merrit, the wealthy Negro "dicty," who could pass for white, of the resentiment which stirred within him of the nerve which urged him to buy and move into a house in an exclusive white neighborhood, and of a private grudge which another Negro, Patmore, held against Merrit, and how, hiding behind white prejudice, Patmore burned Merrit's house to the ground, letting the world believe that organized whites, intent on keeping Negroes out of this neighborhood, had done it.

* * *

IT IS a good story, well told, not (as the author himself suggests will be said by critics about any book written by a black man) "the best book ever written by a Negro." It does not need that qualification. It is simply a very good book, with a great deal of human understanding and wisdom and feeling and truth and humor in it. And that is about as large a collection of desirable qualities as one can expect in any book.

* * *

AND, speaking of Negroes and their contributions to literature, here are two books which have somehow missed their share of comment, probably because they have been published by scholarly institutions instead of publishers of fiction and biography: "Negro Workaday Songs," by Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson (University of North Carolina Press) and "Religious Folksongs of the Negro," edited by R. Nathaniel Dett (Hampton Institute Press). Both have excellent collections of Negro folksongs in them. In the Odum-Johnson book these are accompanied by a long and informative essay on the origin of the folksongs and their parentage of modern popular songs.

* * *

AFTER all talking animals are talking animals (unless Walter de la Mare or James Stephens writes of them) and whether you like them in your fiction is a private matter between you and your inner being. Every one said that Felix Salten's "Bambi" (Simon and Schuster) was different. The book of the Month club selected it enthusiastically. The publishers are supporting it with an advertising campaign similar in magnitude to that which immortalized Alfred Aloysius Horn. Fans are already arising to declaim (with an uplifted, spiritual look) that it is "the most beautiful book they have ever read."

Bambi is a deer and the book is his biography. When you and I were children we read this sort of book (only then there were no king's ransoms spent in advertising appropriations to tell us how good it was). There was "Black Beauty" and "Beautiful Joe" and "The Ugly Duckling." But we put them aside about the time we began to read "Oliver Twist."

The literary years passed over us. Jaded tastes needed new stimulations. Factual stories, stories in which wisdom tempered reality, stories in which men and women thought in vain circles while faithful dogs stood by lovingly with dumb and lovely eyes, and birds (if they seemed important enough to appear at all), flew about their unknown businesses, communicating with each other (if at all) in ways and to an extent quite unknown to men, certainly to literary men, and deers roamed the few pieces of forest left to us in shyness and secretive withdrawal, failed to satisfy us. So fairies were materialized ("A Fairy Leapt Upon My Knee"), dream children came true ("The Love Child"), the devil came up to earth again as a delightful gentleman and gallantly wooed an old maid ("Lolly Willowes"), the transmigration of souls became actual and a lady turned into a vixen ("Lady Into Fox"), and in the scramble the old "Beautiful Joe" and "Black Beauty" formulæ were dusted off slightly, the animals were made a little smarter and more sophisticated, a little more modern in their thought, and lo, books like "The Dark Gentleman" and "Bambi!"

Thus in Bambi there is a wise middle-aged doe, who by some unexplained method practices birth control; leaves on a tree paying sad compliments to each other in an attempt to compensate for their lost beauty in the autumn; deer who explain the gun carried by man as another "arm," since the word "gun" is evidently not in their vocabulary but "arm" (a thing as unknown to a four-legged animal as a gun) apparently is. And there is the sentimental doe prophet who lectures the other deer on love and predicts a time when the world will be ruled by that nebulous impulse so that the hunter will throw down his arms and all will live peacefully and happily in the greenwood together.

If you like this kind of book, don't let this spoil it for you. There are passages of great beauty in "Bambi." If it doesn't annoy you, you'll probably love it, as so many persons do already. But if you love animals as they are, if you have watched them in the woods and made your mental pictures and concepts of them from life, if giving them pseudo-human thought methods and human voices disturbs your picture of them, "Bambi" may annoy you as it has annoyed me.

* * *

COWARD-M'CANN begins active life as a publishing house with the arrival of its first book, MacKinlay Kantor's "Diversey," a novel about Chicago by a Chicagoan, a book of which its own jacket says:

> If you do not know Chicago, here is the true story of its machine guns and cafeterias, its artists and gin-dazed women, its county building where the word of gangsters has been gospel, and its lethal mutter. The author calls it the story of Chicago's "little devil folk."

Of course if, as the jacket suggests, you do not know Chicago, I suppose the book might pass for all that. If you do know Chicago it becomes the true story of little or nothing. It's not at all a good book. It's an ambitious mixture of reminiscent flavors. Its principle character is a mothlike country boy who comes to the large city to get his winglike soul singed and thinks often in long, irrelevant passages of poetical and frequently unintelligible prose (Thomas Beer; "The Road to Heaven"). He falls in love with the inarticulate daughter of the slums, who says "ain't" and "lossa" but will stick with him to the end if he will only give her the chance (Vina Delmar: "Bad Girl"). He meets one of the ruling princes among gunmen, a bad guy with a soft heart for his younger brother, the boy who is to stay out of the racket and get an education and be a gentleman (Bart Cormack: "The Racket"). The mothlike boy learns all the smart eating haunts of the literati so that he can and does call them by their real names (the Johns, Gunther and Drury: "The Red Pavilion," and "Chicago in Seven Days"). And there is a lost daughter, discovered quite by accident years later by a loving mother (Bertha M. Clay, or name your own). And a complete transition within something less than a year of the little slum girl from vulgarity to culture so that she may be fit to receive the love of the mothlike boy. Over all hovers the "kindly stooped" figure of Richard Henry Little, very thinly disguised as "J. R. P." the great columnist of the Chicago Messenger, with offices in the Messenger tower. All the other newspapers in town come out boldly under their own names, to be roundly damned by the mothlike boy because they won't give him a job.

MAC KINLAY KANTOR.

It's rather too bad, because, after reading "Diversey" (much more than after reading the column poetry for which MacKinlay Kantor is best known), I am convinced that its author could write a fine book if only he could rid himself of a large load of sentimental hooey which has apparently been burdening his soul. There is some excellent writing in the book, some vivid pictures, some poetic images which stop short just this side of sentimentality (as the best of Thomas Beer's do), and so remain startling and fine. ("The Coach had pressed against the night so fiercely that it reached Wellington avenue before Jo was able to step from the platform.") I hope that this book has been a release for Kantor, and that his next (for which I shall watch eagerly, regardless of this not very enthusiastic review) will prove that he has not only the ability to use words effectively but also the wisdom to say something vital with them.

And meanwhile I hope that some force will restrain all publishers from ever again writing on the jacket of a book, the ads of a film, or the posters of a stage play, "This is the truth about Chicago machine guns and cafeterias, its artists and gin-dazed women——" and all the rest of the stock balderdash that goes with it.

* * *

STEPHEN VINCENT BENET'S epic poem of the civil war, "John Brown's Body" (Doubleday, Doran), has at last appeared. It is an ambitious and daring thing, a poem longer than the average novel. An hour's reading at it leaves me with an impression of strength and passionate feeling and much lyric beauty. It will be reviewed on this page soon.

Race Problem: United States — 1928.

Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

NEW YORK WORLD

JAN 22 1928

Roark Bradford Wins $500 O. Henry Prize

First Negro Stories Appeared in The World Two Years Ago

ROARK BRADFORD, whose chronicles of Negro life, love, humor and religion, under the title of "News From N'Orleans," first appeared in the Sunday editions of The World two years ago, bought himself a heavy overcoat last week and came north to receive the O. Henry Prize of $500 for the best short story published in 1927.

The prize was awarded for his short story "Child of God," which appeared in Harper's Magazine last April. In the past year more than a dozen of his stories of Negro life have been published in leading magazines.

In October, 1925, Bradford was night city editor of the New Orleans Times Picayune, the paper made famous in literature by Lafcadio Hearn. Bradford wasn't particularly happy.

He had an urge to make his living by writing about the real Negro of the South, but editors had thrown rejection slips all over his ambition each time it raised its head. Then he sat down and typed out a piece which purported to be "late news about fishing at New Orleans." It was really the most authentic portrait of natural Negroes sent North since the underground railroad went out of business.

When it arrived in the Sunday department of The World, the editor forgot about a powerful article on settlement of the war debts. He tried it out on a copyreader. The copyreader distracted the rest of the staff by snickering all the way through the piece. Satisfied that he had made a discovery, the editor wrote Bradford for more. Bradford was on his way to his heaven.

"If The World had turned down that story," said Bradford last week, "I wouldn't have had the heart to be serious about my desire to write. I had always thought I could write. But the few pieces I had managed to get down on paper had been consistently rejected and I began to fear that I was kidding myself.

"Then came the letter from The World, accepting the story and asking for more. That was just the tonic I needed. I made the break as a free lance. It was easier than I had thought.

"All my stories have been about Negro life. I was brought up on a Tennessee plantation; I have known Negroes all my life. Most writers seemed to picture Negroes as clowns, or as tragic characters. I felt that there was a field for an unprejudiced interpretation of the Negro. In my stories I have tried to catch the primitive simplicity of the black people, which education and Northern influence have already nearly destroyed."

Bradford got the idea for "Child of God" while reporting Negro hangings in New Orleans.

WRITES OF NEGROES

Roark Bradford

"To the newspaper such an execution was worth only a paragraph; to me it was an amazing study in human nature. The convicted Negro, far from being downhearted at the approach of death, would joyfully harangue the crowd.

Negro's Religion

A Poker Game

"I am going to Heaven," he always shouted exultantly. The "Child of God" came back to haunt the hangman because he was hanged before he could deliver his speech.

"For the Negro, religion is a sort of poker game between God and the devil," said Bradford. "God is the stronger, but the devil has all the things that man desires. Heaven is a glorious place, to be sure; but the big bonfire in hell is a rather exciting idea, too."

Bradford is in his early thirties. He is now at work on a novel.

On Reading "Home to Harlem"

Race Problem: U.S.
Book Review

By E. C. Williams
(Librarian, Howard University, Washington, D. C.)

Many, many years ago, the writer of these lines heard the late Bob Cole, of the famous Gole and Johnson combination, relate with tears in his eyes his vain efforts to get white managers to accept colored shows of a higher type. A few months ago he heard a young colored woman, who has lived a sheltered life in a cultured home, defend her choice of a subject in a dramatic competition. She had written about people of a very low life, people about whom, presumably, she knew less than nothing. When asked why she had not chosen a type with which she was familiar, her answer was that she wanted to be sure at least that the judges would look at her play, and that was the kind of thing they wanted. Since the verdict in her case was a favorable one, her judgment would seem to have been vindicated. It has been alleged that "HOME TO HARLEM" is a pot-boiler, and that the author, in writing it, gave the publishers what he thought they wanted. For the sake of Mr. McKay's reputation as an artist, we hope that this is so. So much by way of introduction.

"HOME TO HARLEM," like its prototype, "NIGGER HEAVEN," will have to be classified as a "vagabond novel," to use an inexactly expressive term for the want of a better one. Of couse it is not a novel at all, though it seems to have more plot than "NIGGER HEAVEN," and is, as a story, perhaps more interesting. It illustrates very aptly two or three things. First, that the white American, in the opinion of the publishers, is interested in the Negro only on the lowest level; second that our younger writers take to the "modern" in art like ducks to water; and third, that they are convinced, apparently, that life is nothing but sex-expression, that really artistic material can be found only in debased humanity, that only degraded, unmoral or immoral people are natural, and only license is life. They are perfectly sure, as was the naive old lady, that "temptation are things we yield to."

Of course, Mr. McKay can hardly hope to compete with Mr. Van Vechten in the highly sophisticated art of veiled obscenity. With a shorter background of cabarets, we might expect this hero to be more frankly animal like and somewhat less tainted by the corrupting influences of civilzation on the higher cultural levels. And so we do find Jake crude, with a considerable contempt for parasitism, and a horror of living on women.

I presume that there is little hope that American publishers—and the public to which they are supposed to cater—will change their taste in Negroes, who must be either good-natured buffoons, cheerful leach, or more or less degenerate frequenters of cabarets; and that Negro writers, being human, will refuse to pander to this taste, and offer up their people as a sacrifice to Mammon, for are not many of our distinguished white writers shining examples of the profits to be found in the age-old profession of pandering? But may we not hope that the pendulum will swing back again to the place where certain of the manifastations and activities of youth, which our fathers recognized as normal and natural, if at times troublesome, shall be relegated to their proper place in the scehem of things, and not discussed with megaphones from the housetops, and occupy the foreground, center, and background of the stage, to the exclusion of everything else?

5-26-28

As I see it, the present generation of flaming youth has invented or discovered nothing especially new and original. There have been other generations of flaming youths. From the "Young France" of the Romantic Period and the "Young Germany" of 1848 to the "Young Turks" of the first decade of this century the periods of revolt have been numerous. If the records of human society are to be believed, the French Revolution overturned about everything but the earth itself. Religion, social conventions, manners, dress, the calendar, and even many of the decencies of life—all went temporarily into the discard. If, as one of the signs of the originality of this generation, you point to its anti-religious tendencies, one has only to recall the dedication of the French churches to the worship of Reason, and to the wholesale guilloting of the non-juring clergy.

In the world of literature, and even in those very qualities in which they seem to take especial pride, the writers of today seem to have produced nothing which cannot be duplicated, and bettered, by the writers of bygone days. In mere lewdness they are excelled by Emile Zola, whose quality in this respect has not been equalled by any writer of power in this generation. In the exposition of degeneracy they have been surpassed by those eminent pioneers, the Marquis de Sade and Leopold Sacher-Masoch, and by Catulle Mendes, Octave Mirbeau, and others too numerous to mention. In devotion to the morbid, the repulsive, and the disgusting, Baudelaire and the elder Richepin outstrip them.

The trouble is that many of our young folks today have read nothing written before 1918, and many of those who live in New York seem unaware that there is anything worth knowing about west of the Hudson River. To read the public prints, one might think that they had invented sex, but I believe that even our fathers knew something about that. Self-expression, with which the term sex-expression would seem to be almost synonymous today, was not unknown before 1918, but they used to call it self-indulgence, and I have never heard that it required either originality, or strength of will, mind, or character to be an adept at it. Two new and original things which accompany the present wave of self-expression seem to me to be a curious sense of pride in self-indulgence, and a peculiarly blatant and malignant species of bad taste.

PUBLIC LEDGER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MAY 15 1928

LITERARY EXAGGERATION

A Criticism of Present-Day Writers of Negro Fiction

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—American fictionists of both the white and Negro races have discovered another field for commercial exploitation in the lowly life among the Negro race. Beginning with numerous magazine stories and continuing with Van Vechten's "Nigger Heaven" and Claude Mackay's "Home to Harlem," we have had a veritable avalanche of fictional information and misinformation of the aforesaid class.

The right of the novelist to write about any particular race or class is conceded, providing he does not commit the fatal mistake of exaggeration or misrepresentation. This, it appears, is the main fault of many present-day writers of Negro fiction, which is more or less of the imaginative sort. For instead of confining their reasoning to the lowly element, they attempt to make this class representative of the entire race, including that element which is representative of the best in any racial group.

Were these writers other than mere fictional propagandists, they would certainly refrain from such belittling activity. For few people can deny the existence in America of a higher class of Negroes—people who are culturally developed and whose economic and social life compares favorably with that of the white race. Numerically this element is increasing

Exemplary of the opinion of most white people concerning novels written of the above-mentioned class, Fannie Butcher in her review of Jessie Redmonds Fauset's book, "There Is Confusion," for the Chicago Tribune, writes: "The characters talk like their white neighbors; act in most cases like them; love and live like them. Also, the possibilities of Negro writers lie in catching the essential Negro psychology and reflecting the thing in the life of the Negro which makes him himself." And for the Negro to be himself Miss Butcher would have him remain in a primitive and undeveloped state.

Environment has much to do with the development of life. And in regard to the Negro, this simply means that so long as he continues to live in the American environment he will become completely Americanized. This means that he will continue to assimilate and practice American culture and that under these conditions it will be hard indeed for him to become the real embodiment of his remote African ancestor.

The new Negro is neither depicted in "Nigger Heaven" nor in "Home to Harlem." Both these books cater to interracial misunderstanding and prejudice against the Negro race, and particularly the latter. The consensus of opinion among Negroes concerning "Home to Harlem" is that it savors so much of the immoral that it should be consigned to the fire of human indignation.

There are too many fiction writers who think that they have the privilege of writing about any existing condition gardless of whether it endangers o morals. If this were the case, one migl write freely of the immoralities that naturally exist among all races and classes. But such would be entirely inconsistent and beyond the toleration of a decent public, because immoral and vulgar literature has the same effect upon the morals of the people that immoral living has upon them.

Finally, what the Negro most strenuously objects to in race fiction is that tendency to exploit the undeveloped class to the exclusion and disregard of the developed class, and, also, in making the one element representative of the other. Therefore, fictionists of both races would do well to consider this objection and in consequence thereof to accord to each class its rightful place in the world. Thus will we obtain a more even balance of just judgment. FLOYD L. LOGAN.

Philadelphia, May 9, 1928.

Race Problem - 1928.
West Indies.

Rican Editor Takes Boston Traveler To Task For Publishing Misleading Photos Of Native Tots

Half-Naked Children "Possess White Soul Of Childhood" and Are Poorly Dressed Since Parents Have Been Robbed by Americans

Age. New York N.Y. 2-19-28.

The recent visit of Col. Charles Lindbergh, the American aviator, to Porto Rico on his air trip of goodwill through Central American countries and the West Indies, gave the Boston Traveler opportunity to publish the picture of two little naked and half-naked Porto Rican children, standing in the jungle, with a caption saying that they were "ready to receive Col. Lindbergh in case he should land near their homes."

When copies of this paper reached Porto Rico, the citizens of that island were stirred to indignant protest against what they considered an affront to Porto Ricans. This feeling was expressed in a letter written by Jose Davila-Ricci, director of La-Democracia, San Juan, to the editor of the Boston paper, protesting against the use of the photograph, and denying that the children portrayed were representative ones. His letter, with a reproduction of the photo, was printed in La Democracia, in the original Spanish. A translation has been furnished The Age by Miss Belen Strawn, a Porto Rican girl, who is one of the 137th Street Y. W. C. A. club girls.

Make Charges of Exploiting.

In his letter, the Porto Rican editor wrote: "I would not be surprised that you have used these children as representatives of the entire population of Porto Rico, for I am well aware of the fact that you Americans know very little about the geography of the world; you only know that, geographically, the United States extends from the Canadian Frontier in the North to the Texan boundary of the Rio Grande on the Mexican frontier, and that politically it pretends to stretch around the world.

For it is like this: for you, there only exists the United States of America; you are ignorant of the fact that in Porto Rico, proportionally, there are less Negroes than in the United Staes, and that these two humble little children, brothers of yours by citizenship, will not be the ones to receive the gallant Col. Lindbergh whose glory you exploit—you who are accustomed to exploit everything as objects of commerce.

"These two little children of our country may not be as blonde as the sun, but they possess the white soul of childhood which shall be preserved in them throughout their lives, for they are not treated as miserably here as those of their color are treated in your country.

Robbed for 25 Years.

"And the parents of these children—colored, yes, but of an advanced type—are, understand clearly, worthy, honest and decent; and if their children appear naked or poorly dressed, it is because your countrymen, Mr. Editor, have been robbing them for the past twenty-five years of the fruits of their labor.

"Well-honored would Col. Lindbergh have felt if these two children, whose photograph you published as a means of reproach against this country, where the brutal savagery of lynching is unknown, (do you faint?) had greeted him. It would have been Innocence saluting Valor and rendering pledges of heroism. Instead of publishing the photographs of these two Porto Rican children, why did you not secure some views of the pitiable sights so frequently seen in the southern part of your country as examples of the crowds who went to greet Lindbergh when the famous aviator realized his continental fly.

Americans Deny Doctrine.

"Many Americans do not honor good doctrines or high and noble principles. They are denying the memory of President Monroe in the spirit of his Doctrine; yesterday, today and right now they are faltering in the veneration which the emancipation of Negroes ought to merit, and they have not acknowledged, and have no intention of doing so, the sovereignty of the small states. What can be done before stubbornness and force?"

Senor Davila-Ricci's letter has been approved by many Porto Ricans, who have expressed themselves vocally and by letters. Jose Mauleon jr., of San Juan, wrote saying that "as a Porto Rican and a colored man, I congratulate you heartily for your sincere and noble attempt to protect the dignity and good name of the Porto Rican against the socalled democracy of a country where the colored man is degraded with the most unjust insults by his own countrymen."

STANDARD EXAMINER
OGDEN CITY, UTAH
FEB 26 1928

National Men and Affairs

Spaniards More Popular in Cuba Than Americans; Cubans Don't Even Own Their Government; Labor Ill Paid in Sugar Fields; Only Taxi Business Native Controlled

By WILLIAM HARD
(Copyright, 1928, Consolidated Press Association.)

HAVANA, Feb. 25.—What is left Cubans in their own country? Let's take in a jai lai game, the great national sporting and betting pastime. Girls' night! all the players girls, wielding tennis raquets, hitting the balls against a distant wall. Professionals, but Cubans? No all Spaniards, brought from Spain and kept here safely sheltered as if in convents. They cannot marry except by going back to Spain. Men jai lai players, as well as women jai lai players, Spaniards, Spaniards.

Let's buy something. Let's tour the mercantile establishments. Cuban? Largely Spanish. Great mercantile fortunes here are made by Spaniards. Much popularity here too, for Spaniards. Only 30 years since San Juan hill and the Rough Riders. Spaniards now, however, are more popular here than we.

Let's see some clubs. The most wonderful series of gorgeous clubs in town are properties of associates of Spanish immigrants. These immigrants often individually are very poor. Collectively for their pleasures and benefits they have quarters perfectly palatial. More conspicuousness for Spain.

Let's go to the cabarets, to the night clubs. "Hostesses," spreading a spirit of sociability. Largely from the United States. Is there no end to American imperialistic aggression? Cannot the Cuban fair sex be at any rate granted the concession and the monopoly of providing the hostesses in Cuban cabarets which are supposed to portray Cuban life?

Let's cash a check. What are the banks? Royal bank of Canada, Chase National, National City and so on. North American finance. Where is Cuban money? Lots of fine and lovely houses in Havana owned by Cubans. But Cuban organized finance? Relatively little of it. Outstanding peaks of finance here principally from the United States.

Cubans have sold to Americans. They have sold 5,000,000 acres of the soil of Cuba to Americans for sugar. Cuba is a one crop country, a sugar farm. American sugar mills now in last year of record produced 80 per cent of Cuba's one central big money crop. Wages for Cuba's laborers on sugar plantations are extremely low. Yet the government permits importation annually of a large multitude of negro sugar laborers from other parts of the West Indies.

Cuban capitalists submerged by North American capitalist. Cuban merchant submerged by Spanish merchant. Cuban sugar laborers competed out of much work by negroes from Jamaica.

The one great remaining hold of Cubans upon their own country is politics. Politics naturally and necessarily, is in the hands almost entirely of native Cubans. No wonder they would like to see the "Platt amendment" removed from the treaty between Cuba and the United States. No wonder they would like to see Cuba granted her unconditional and unrestricted independence. If they cannot even completely own their own government what have they got left in their own island? One must emotionally sympathize.

But oh, the taxicabs. Plenty of Cubans taxi driving. On two-way streets they seem to drive on either side of the street at will. Yet there are few accidents apparently and few quarrels. They drive very fast. They drive well. They will start off with you to any point even if they do not know where it is and they will often make it. Intelligent, good-humored, taxi business here, though perhaps it shows exactly why the foreigners take big organized business away from Cubans. There are no taxi companies with identical special cabs and uniformed chauffeurs. Each taxi is ordinary passenger touring car of any old make driven by individual owner in ordinary day clothes. Good driving and a good, happy time, but no organization, no large scale development. Typically Cuban?

So who is to blame? Nobody, yet the visitor has to hope that some day Cuba will reown more of it.

Race Problem - 1928.
West Indies.

Rican Editor Takes Boston Traveler To Task For Publishing Misleading Photos Of Native Tots

Half-Naked Children "Possess White Soul Of Childhood" and Are Poorly Dressed Since Parents Have Been Robbed by Americans

Age. New York N.Y. 2-19-28.

The recent visit of Col. Charles Lindbergh, the American aviator, to Porto Rico on his air trip of goodwill through Central American countries and the West Indies, gave the Boston Traveler opportunity to publish the picture of two little naked and half-naked Porto Rican children, standing in the jungle, with a caption saying that they were "ready to receive Col. Lindbergh in case he should land near their homes."

When copies of this paper reached Porto Rico, the citizens of that island were stirred to indignant protest against what they considered an affront to Porto Ricans. This feeling was expressed in a letter written by Jose Davila-Ricci, director of La-Democracia, San Juan, to the editor of the Boston paper, protesting against the use of the photograph, and denying that the children portrayed were representative ones. His letter, with a reproduction of the photo, was printed in La Democracia, in the original Spanish. A translation has been furnished The Age by Miss Belen Strawn, a Porto Rican girl, who is one of the 137th Street Y. W. C. A. club girls.

Make Charges of Exploiting.

In his letter, the Porto Rican editor wrote: "I would not be surprised that you have used these children as representatives of the entire population of Porto Rico, for I am well aware of the fact that you Americans know very little about the geography of the world; you only know that, geographically, the United States extends from the Canadian Frontier in the North to the Texan boundary of the Rio Grande on the Mexican frontier, and that politically it pretends to stretch around the world.

For it is like this: for you, there only exists the United States of America; you are ignorant of the fact that in Porto Rico, proportionally, there are less Negroes than in the United Staes, and that these two humble little children, brothers of yours by citizenship, will not be the ones to receive the gallant Col. Lindbergh whose glory you exploit—you who are accustomed to exploit everything as objects of commerce.

"These two little children of our country may not be as blonde as the sun, but they possess the white soul of childhood which shall be preserved in them throughout their lives, for they are not treated as miserably here as those of their color are treated in your country.

Robbed for 25 Years.

"And the parents of these children—colored, yes, but of an advanced type—are, understand clearly, worthy, honest and decent; and if their children appear naked or poorly dressed, it is because your countrymen, Mr. Editor, have been robbing them for the past twenty-five years of the fruits of their labor.

"Well-honored would Col. Lindbergh have felt if these two children, whose photograph you published as a means of reproach against this country, where the brutal savagery of lynching is unknown, (do you faint?) had greeted him. It would have been Innocence saluting Valor and rendering pledges of heroism. Instead of publishing the photographs of these two Porto Rican children, why did you not secure some views of the pitiable sights so frequently seen in the southern part of your country as examples of the crowds who went to greet Lindbergh when the famous aviator realized his continental fly.

Americans Deny Doctrine.

"Many Americans do not honor good doctrines or high and noble principles. They are denying the memory of President Monroe in the spirit of his Doctrine; yesterday, today and right now they are faltering in the veneration which the emancipation of Negroes ought to merit, and they have not acknowledged, and have no intention of doing so, the sovereignty of the small states. What can be done before stubbornness and force?"

Senor Davila-Ricci's letter has been approved by many Porto Ricans, who have expressed themselves vocally and by letters. Jose Mauleon jr., of San Juan, wrote saying that "as a Porto Rican and a colored man, I congratulate you heartily for your sincere and noble attempt to protect the dignity and good name of the Porto Rican against the socalled democracy of a country where the colored man is degraded with the most unjust insults by his own countrymen."

STANDARD EXAMINER
OGDEN CITY, UTAH

FEB 26 1928

National Men and Affairs

Spaniards More Popular in Cuba Than Americans; Cubans Don't Even Own Their Government; Labor Ill Paid in Sugar Fields; Only Taxi Business Native Controlled

By WILLIAM HARD
(Copyright, 1928, Consolidated Press Association.)

HAVANA, Feb. 25.—What is left Cubans in their own country? Let's take in a jai lai game, the great national sporting and betting pastime. Girls' night! all the players girls, wielding tennis raquets, hitting the balls against a distant wall. Professionals, but Cubans? No all Spaniards, brought from Spain and kept here safely sheltered as if in convents. They cannot marry except by going back to Spain. Men jai lai players, as well as women jai lai players, Spaniards, Spaniards.

Let's buy something. Let's tour the mercantile establishments. Cuban? Largely Spanish. Great mercantile fortunes here are made by Spaniards. Much popularity here too, for Spaniards. Only 30 years since San Juan hill and the Rough Riders. Spaniards now, however, are more popular here than we.

Let's see some clubs. The most wonderful series of gorgeous clubs in town are properties of associates of Spanish immigrants. These immigrants often individually are very poor. Collectively for their pleasures and benefits they have quarters perfectly palatial. More conspicuousness for Spain.

Let's go to the cabarets, to the night clubs. "Hostesses," spreading a spirit of sociability. Largely from the United States. Is there no end to American imperialistic aggression? Cannot the Cuban fair sex be at any rate granted the concession and the monopoly of providing the hostesses in Cuban cabarets which are supposed to portray Cuban life?

Let's cash a check. What are the banks? Royal bank of Canada, Chase National, National City and so on. North American finance. Where is Cuban money? Lots of fine and lovely houses in Havana owned by Cubans. But Cuban organized finance? Relatively little of it. Outstanding peaks of finance here principally from the United States.

Cubans have sold to Americans. They have sold 5,000,000 acres of the soil of Cuba to Americans for sugar. Cuba is a one crop country, a sugar farm. American sugar mills now in last year of record produced 80 per cent of Cuba's one central big money crop. Wages for Cuba's laborers on sugar plantations are extremely low. Yet the government permits importation annually of a large multitude of negro sugar laborers from other parts of the West Indies.

Cuban capitalists submerged by North American capitalist. Cuban merchant submerged by Spanish merchant. Cuban sugar laborers competed out of much work by negroes from Jamaica.

The one great remaining hold of Cubans upon their own country is politics. Politics naturally and necessarily, is in the hands almost entirely of native Cubans. No wonder they would like to see the "Platt amendment" removed from the treaty between Cuba and the United States. No wonder they would like to see Cuba granted her unconditional and unrestricted independence. If they cannot even completely own their own government what have they got left in their own island? One must emotionally sympathize.

But oh, the taxicabs. Plenty of Cubans taxi driving. On two-way streets they seem to drive on either side of the street at will. Yet there are few accidents apparently and few quarrels. They drive very fast. They drive well. They will start off with you to any point even if they do not know where it is and they will often make it. Intelligent, good-humored, taxi business here, though perhaps it shows exactly why the foreigners take big organized business away from Cubans. There are no taxi companies with identical special cabs and uniformed chauffeurs. Each taxi is ordinary passenger touring car of any old make driven by individual owner in ordinary day clothes. Good driving and a good, happy time, but no organization, no large scale development. Typically Cuban?

So who is to blame? Nobody, yet the visitor has to hope that some day Cuba will reown more of it.

Co-operation Between West Indian and U. S. Negroes

By WILLIAM PICKENS

The basis of co-operation is common interest. Members of ant colonies and bee colonies work together on the same principles: their common interest in preserving life against winter elements and in preserving their race or species against enemies.

Every community of interest, therefore, between West Indian and American Negroes is a complete argument for their co-operation and mutual aid. We are thinking especially of the West Indian Negro groups that live in the United States.

If the interests of two groups were necessarily and unchangeably antagonistic, that fact would furnish at least an understandable cause for their mutual antagonism, hatred and warfare. When any two groups want the same thing, a definite and limited thing, unless they can agree to share it in some way together, there will, of course, be warfare between those two groups, and neither reason nor religion could prevent war.

But there is no such limited and definite thing lying "in no man's land" between American and West Indian Negroes. They have nothing to take from each other; they have everything to take from the opposition—the opposing circumstances, conditions, prejudices, traditions—and from the opposition of other groups who, because of segregation, cannot know and understand them.

The struggle against these handicaps is one undivided and indivisible interest for American and West Indian Negroes in the United States. It is notorious that prejudice of other races never distinguishes between West Indian Negroes and American Negroes: in segregation movements the segregationist never says "West Indian Negroes" or "native-American Negroes;" but he says simply: "We exclude Negroes!" In such a situation these two groups have a reason for co-operation—a cause for friendship and not a casus belli.

In the United States of America the same thing is true with every other important interest of these two groups: What is against one is against the other also. The enemy of the one is the other's enemy. There can be no victory but a common victory. The only sensible strife between these two peoples, therefore, should be a friendly strife—a sort of rivalry of efforts to achieve this victory for all.

How, then, has the queer notion ever arisen that there is some natural or unavoidable cause for antagonism between West Indian and American Negroes? Some say that the fault is in the clannishness of the West Indian Negro; that he segregates himself and assumes a distinction or difference from the American.

But let us consider the situation of people who migrate from their own home and enter as a small minority into a strange land. It is but natural that a little group of people so situated will feel an increased dependence upon each other, and in the strange land will feel even nearer together in interests than they felt at home.

What is called clannishness in the West Indian is perhaps to be expected in any group so situated; a small group of American Negroes in West Africa or Jamaica would show the same reaction.

It has been noticed that West Indian groups who were not especially friendly to each other in their own country will "stand up" for each other in New York. That is commendable rather than otherwise. Some that did not even know each other in their homelands, who came perhaps from different parts of the sea, like the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Jamaica and Trinidad, will in America feel nevertheless a common interest and kinship when they find themselves all lumped together as "those West Indians."

This very conditional unity of various West Indian groups is in itself encouraging and offers evidence for what we are claiming in this editorial: That co-operation does not depend upon common origin but upon community of interests.

The same principles should unite the American Negro and these West Indian groups in a common struggle against the almost universal barriers erected by greed and ignorance against their kind. And in spite of our human weakness (or because of it), such a co-operation of Negro groups in America is bound to come; for nothing is more reasonable, nor in the end more certain, than that indiscriminate attack will beget indiscriminate defense.

Others say that the fault lies in the American Negro's attitude, which, like that of most ordinary human beings, is likely to be tinged with a show of prejudice against the "foreigner," and to preen itself on the advantages which the native element usually has, as a start at least, over the immigrant. This, too, is a natural human weakness and, insofar, to be condoned. We all act like that until we think, and unfortunatey many of us think seldom or never.

But when we think, we see clearly that it makes no difference in this Western Hemisphere who a Negro is, where he is from or where he aims to go, he will yet have the same cause of battle with al other Negroes in a given place. In all this western world, therefore, Negroes are compatriots, of one cause if not of one country.

Group-conscious pride in the brave little West Indian groups is excusable. Ignorant prejudice in some American Negro classes is forgivable. A clean pride in the achievements of one's homefolks is even commendable. We all feel good when an American, of any color, puts one over as did Lindbergh.

If I were from Jamaica, in New York I would feel an extra bit of pride in the eminent achievement of any other Jamaican. I was born in South Carolina, and for that little fact I have always felt an extra interest in the many eminent South Carolinians whom I have met. Group pride can exist without malice, without jealousy or envy or mean strife. I am especially proud when a black South Carolinian achieves honor and success. I am not therefore without pride when any other Negro is fortunate and honored, be he from Mississippi, Massachusetts or Trinidad. When we THINK, the family circle widens. We are all one.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

OCT 28 1928

WEST INDIAN NEGROES USE AN IRISH ACCENT

Montserrat, West Indies, Oct. 27 (AP)—Many of the native Negroes of this British island claim descent from the Irish settlers who flocked here in large numbers about the year 1640.

A considerable fraction of the colored population speak with a strong Celtic brogue. A tourist, recently from Dublin, returned to his ship and remarked: "I met an Irishman on shore who said that he had been here for only 10 years. But, would you believe the powers of the tropical sun, that Irishman was as dark as my hat."

Machado Honored By Negro Societies

Cuban President Tendered Banquet at Cuban Capital

HAVANA, Cuba, Sept. 7.—Homage was paid to President Machado of the Republic of Cuba by the Union of Negro Societies which tendered him a great banquet in the National Theatre last night.

Besides the President, the banquet was attended by Vice-President La Rosa, the Mayor of Havana, the Secretary of Justice, other members of the President's cabinet and Negro delegates from every Negro society on the island. Also Mrs. Machado, her daughter, the wife of the commander-in-chief of the Cuban forces and Zoila Galbez, famous opera singer.

Aquilino Lombard, who presided as delegate-chairman, offered a brief tribute to the President, being followed by Dr. Miguel A. Caspedes, who delivered the official address in which he paid glowing homage to President Machado in behalf of all Cuban Negroes. He thanked him for the fairness and justice that has always characterized his dealing with this element of the Cuban population, and for the significant governmental appointments given to so many of their number.

President Machado was visibly touched by the tribute and responded in sincere and emotional tones.

Among other things he said: "No one can truthfully affirm that I am prejudiced, or a dictator. I do not mind the criticism of the press, unless they tend to undermine the government . . . the doors of the presidential palace are always open to the sons of Cuba and voluntary advisors, who wish to illustrate or to acquaint me with their opinions." He was thunderously applauded at the end of his speech.

Race Problem-1928 I

Haiti.

West Indies.

NEW YORK HERALD

MAY 27 1928

U.S. Intervention Saved Hayti From Barbarism, Says Author of "Black Democracy"

Book Portrays Country From Its Early Days

Davis Presents Occupation, Enforced in 1815, As Humanizing Force in Republic

By William L. McPherson

H. P. Davis's "Black Democracy: The Story of Hayti" (Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press), which is a political study as well as a history, has the merit of being distinctly non-academic. It is not the work of an outsider. Mr. Davis has lived in Hayti twelve years. He was engaged in business there and was for a time president of the American Chamber of Commerce of Hayti. He also collected much valuable Haytian historical material and has been on friendly personal relations with most of the Haytian leaders. He knows the Haytian people and their traditions and way of living as few Americans or other foreigners do.

Hayti is the oldest of the Latin-American republics. It achieved independence before the Spanish-speaking colonies broke away from Spain. Alexandre Pétion, first President of the Republic, was an admirer and friend of General Bolivar and aided the latter materially on two occasions in 1816 when he was driven out of Venezuela and landed with some of his forces on Haytian soil.

Bolivar promised in return to liberate the slaves in Venezuela and asked whether it would be proper to refer to Pétion in the emancipation proclamation which he intended to issue. Pétion was fearful of offending Spain, then not an enemy of Hayti, and requested that his name should not be used. Bolivar later presented him a beautiful court sword as a token of gratitude.

Hayti Remains Backward

But, though Hayti thus ranks first chronologically among the Latin-American states, it has remained the most backward and primitive of all of them. Economically it is in a far less flourishing state than it was before independence. Liberty was paid for by a swift plunge into barbarism and a century of stagnation or decadence. In the other Latin-American countries European culture was preserved and steady progress has been made in civilization. But Hayti in 1915, before the American intervention, was in the throes of anarchy—utterly discredited politically, financially and economically, and reduced to inconsequence, both nationally and internationally.

The title of Mr. Davis's book, "Black Democracy," has a sardonic flavor. Democracy has been unknown in Hayti. The first two rulers were military dictators—Dessalines, who afterward proclaimed himself Emperor, and Christophe, who proclaimed himself first President and then King of the State of Hayti (North Hayti). Of the twenty-four Presidents prior to the American occupation, as the author shows, seventeen were deposed by revolutions, two of them being murdered. Five died in office, one by poison, one in an explosion in his palace, one on the eve of an overthrow by revolutionists.

Two Finished Their Terms

Only two of the twenty-four finished their terms peacably. Eleven of the twenty-four serves for less than a year apiece. Hayti has had one king, two emperors, several Presidents for life, other presidents for four years, six years or seven years. But all these rulers imposed themselves on the country or were imposed on it by small cliques of politicians or military chieftains. In the period from 1908 to 1915—the span of one Presidency—seven Presidents were "elected" and "deposed." Revolution had developed into more than a political habit. It had become a business conducted for profit by the "cacos," who held an auction of the Presidency practically every year.

How could democracy have anything but an ironical and deceptive sense when applied to a community like this? Critics of the American occupation usually fall into the error of assimilating conditions in Hayti to those existing in the more advanced self-governing American states. They draw the inference that the effort of the United States to restore order, to guarantee security of life and property, to do away with fantastic misgovernment and to introduce the simplest elements of modern civilization involves some unwarrantable oppression of the Haytian people.

The Haytian masses had never enjoyed any of the benefits of self-government, or of passable government of any sort. They had never known any rule except that of a narrow and class-conscious oligarchy. It could not well be otherwise when 95 per cent of the population was both illiterate and poverty-stricken.

Only 30,000 Are Articulate

Mr. Davis says that of the 2,500,000 inhabitants of the republic only 30,000 may be considered "articulate"—that is, capable in any way in shaping public policy—and only 2,000 belong to the "élite" class, which has always monopolized power and leadership. And between the élite and the masses there exists a caste barrier which is utterly foreign to democracy as Americans know it.

To deplore intervention as a blight on Haytian self-development and progress is therefore to deplore a purely fanciful situation. No one who has lived in Hayti long enough to appreciate conditions there could be the victim of such an illusion. Mr. Davis takes the realistic view of the observer on the spot. The occupation found Hayti relapsed into savagery. There were no roads. The roads and bridges built by the French had been destroyed. Government had practically ceased to function.

There were virtually no schools and no hospitals. There was no such thing as sanitation. Voodooism challenged the religious worship inherited from the French colonials. Interest on foreign loans was in arrears. The revenues went to pay the cost of annual revolutions. Administration was utterly corrupt. Justice was for sale. Production had almost ceased. Personal security had vanished. The natives in the hills were forcibly recruited by the "caco" chiefs. The males had ceased to venture into the cities for fear that they would be drafted into the government forces. Freedom of speech or any other form of freedom was unknown. Yet there are critics of the occupation who now loudly complain that President Borno is allowed to send native editors to jail for uttering slander and fomenting sedition.

Republic Thickly Populated

The author notes all these facts. They are also recognized by anti-occupation writers. In a book, "Occupied Hayti," published last year in this country by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and referred to by Mr. Davis, an exceedingly frank picture was drawn of Hayti, even ten years after the assassination of President Guillaume San.

The republic is thickly populated, with 210 inhabitants to the square mile. But its productive and consumptive capacity is amazingly small. The average value of the products consumed by the peasants is $20 a year per capita. The average laborer's earnings are 20 cents a day. The value of a house, outside the cities, is from $10 to $25. There is hardly any industry. Productive enterprises undertaken by foreign capital have failed in most cases. There is no agriculture, in the ordinary sense. Plows and wheeled vehicles, carts or barrows are rarely seen. The soil is only scratched. Little more is grown than the people eat. Of the total exports in 1925, valued at $19,400,000, $15,220,000 were in coffee, which grows wild or with little cultivation. The government's revenue comes chiefly from the coffee export tax.

State Is Land Owner

Land cannot be cultivated on a large scale because most of the peasants have no documentary titles. Land is not taxed. It changes hands informally, without deed transfers. The state is a large land owner, but does not know where its holdings begin or end. The population is chronically underfed, anæmic and subject to hookworm and tuberculosis. It shrinks from the idea of agricultural development for three reasons—its physical debility, its fear that small squatter holdings will be wiped out and its psychological aversion to farm labor, a reaction from the slavery era of 125 years ago. From the economic point of view, what the country needs educationally is instruction like that given at Tuskegee. But many Haytians protest violently against vocational or agricultural education. Most of those who are capable of education want to stick to the old French classical and literary curriculum. These very candid admissions illustrate at once the extraordinarily primitive conditions (call them Arcadian or arrested, or what you will) which persist in Hayti and which set the country's economic and political problems so startlingly apart from those of the United States and of the other Latin-American republics.

"Tragedy of Retrogression"

Haytian history, from the rising of the slaves and the extinction of the French colonial regime down to the American occupation, is a tragedy of retrogression, not without its high lights and melodramatic episodes. Mr. Davis tells this story in the first half of his book and tells it unsensationally, though it is filled with horror and bloodshed. Some striking figures emerge, among them Toussaint l'Ouverture, who successfully matched brains with the French soldiers and administrators and became the father of the Black Republic.

Toussaint was romanticized by Wendell Phillips in an oration which used to figure in American schoolbooks. In it he put the Haytian ex-slave above Brutus, Hampden, Lafayette, George Washington and John Brown of Ossawatomie. But Phillips's rhetoric was heightened by his Abolitionist fervor. Wordsworth also wrote a sonnet exalting Toussaint. But these are largely sentimental testimonials. Toussaint was a good soldier and an adroit politician. He helped in 1794 to free the colony from British occupation, although to do so he had to desert from the Spanish to the French service. He changed sides easily and possibly aimed at all times at Haytian independence. But he was a man of intellectual force and energy and less brutal than most of the Negro leaders. He fell a victim to Napoleon's perfidy and died in prison

in France, so that he acquired a largely legendary fame. Mr. Davis says that it

Two Early Rulers of Negro Island Nation

Toussaint L'Ouverture, "First of the Blacks"

is impossible to give any true estimate of his character.

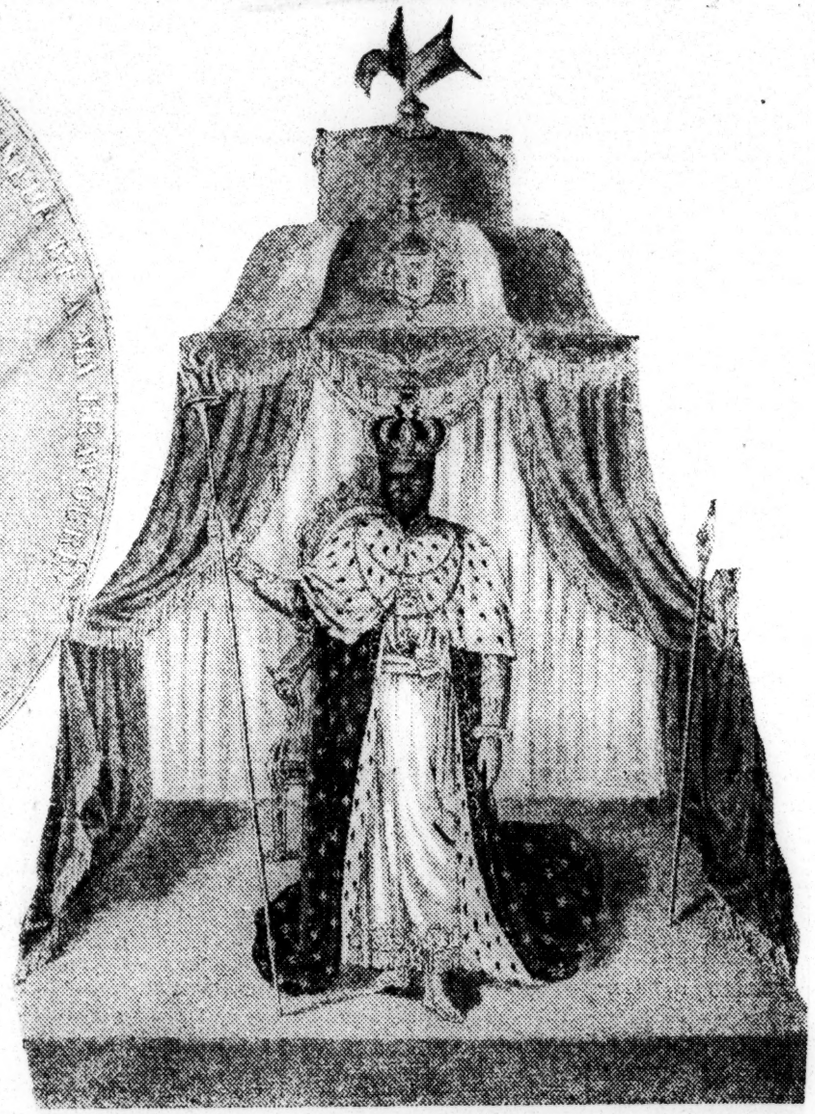
Monster of Cruelty

Dessalines, Toussaint's lieutenant, the first ruler of Hayti, is remembered chiefly as a monster of cruelty, who butchered Haytians while in the French service and former French white colonials after he became the head of the Haytian state. He hated the whites, but was General Leclerc's agent in massacering both mulattos and blacks. He was a stern soldier and a ferocious and ruthless master, virtually re-establishing forced labor in the liberated colony.

He was elected by the military leaders Governor General for life in January, 1804, and changed his title to Emperor in October of that year. His tyranny became so unbearable that most of the country rose against him and he was assassinated in October, 1806.

Christophe Second Dictator

Christophe, the second dictator, had also been one of Toussaint's associates. During the American Revolution he fought with the 800 Haytian recruits who shipped with Admiral d'Estaing for North America and joined the Continental forces in the Southern States. He was brutal and arrogant and had delusions of grandeur, which led him to erect the monumental citadel and castle of La Ferriere, which is still one



Faustin I, Emperor of Hayti

of the wonders of the island. In constructing it on a mountain top 2,600 feet above sea level the lives of 20,000 peasants were sacrificed. He also built the costly royal palace of Sans Souci at Milot.

Christophe ruled only the north of Hayti. Alexandre Pétion controlled the rest of the republic, having been elected its first President in March, 1807. Christophe called his portion the State of Hayti. He converted it into a kingdom in 1811 and reigned as King until 1820, when, having suffered a stroke of paralysis and being threatened with revolt, he shot himself in his mountain stronghold. He restored prosperity in the north, established schools, promulgated a modern code of law, protected foreigners and tried to better the condition of his subjects. For all his weaknesses and vanities he remains a national hero.

Pétion a Political Idealist

Pétion, President for life of the southern republic, remained in power for eleven years, dying in office. He was educated in France, was a trained soldier and something of a political idealist. He tried to better conditions by creating small land holdings and increasing production. But he had no driving power like Christophe's. Mr. Davis says that his ideas proved utopian and that the qualities which endeared him to the people also unfitted him to enforce labor or punish idleness and crime. He was succeeded by Boyer, under whom the republic, Christophe's kingdom and the Spanish section of the island were united into a single state.

Boyer's Presidency lasted till 1843. He had been a free mulatto before the revolution and continued the educated mulatto régime, which, spread over thirty-six years, assured the country an era of relative stability, if not of progress or very marked prosperity.

Soulouque in Office Twelve Years

Soulouque, a favorite of fortune, though grossly ignorant and incapable, had another long tenure in office—nearly twelve years. He was chosen President as a tool for others, but quickly turned on them. Like Dessalines, he massacred the mulattoes, and, also like Dessalines, proclaimed himself emperor. He created a nobility, consisting of four princes, fifty-nine dukes and large quotas of counts, barons and chevaliers. He also established a Legion of Honor. Under the title of Faustin I he ruled Hayti for a decade on the Louis XIV theory: "I am the state, and my will is law." He failed in two attempts to reconquer the Spanish part of the island, which had seceded after Boyer's death in 1843. The second failure led to his overthrow in 1859 and the liquidation of the Second Haytian Empire. Since then all the rulers have been Presidents in name and, up to the American occupation, essentially military or civil dictators.

U. S. Intervention in 1915

American intervention was brought about by the general collapse of government in Hayti. There was a suspicion in Washington that Germany was trying to acquire a coaling station at Mole St. Nicolas and was using German creditors' claims to bring about that result. Haytian finances were in confusion and interest on foreign loans was not being paid. The United States feared that, European intervention might be attempted and, specifically, that Germany might try to establish a naval base in Hayti.

In 1915 the violation of the French Legation occurred, followed by the murder of President Guillaume Sam, and an urgent appeal for American intervention was made by the French Minister and the British Chargé d'Affaires, as well as by the American Chargé. The United States heeded the appeal, and the Wilson Administration decided that conditions were so hopeless that general reorganization was both a political and humanitarian duty. The Monroe Doctrine was evoked, just as it had been evoked in 1898 in the case of Cuba.

Mr. Davis devotes half of his book to the occupation. He is a dispassionate historian, presenting the case for intervention, and also the reasons for the resistance made to it by the interested elite class, dispossessed largely of its power and privileges. This class of 2,000 out of a population of perhaps 2,500,000 tried to prevent ratification of the treaty of occupation and has even bitterly objected to the great work of renovation and economic betterment which followed.

Opposition to Occupation

The explanation is simple. The author says:

"Politics has not only been the principal occupation of the elite of Haiti, but, excepting law and medicine, the only recognized profession for the elite. The majority of upper class Haitians were dependent on incomes derived from political sinecures, which have been at least temporarily abolished. This class is now suffering acutely both in pride and pocket as a result of the intervention."

It is from this class, and from the "cacos," the professional revolutionists, that the oposition to the occupation has come. The inarticulate masses realize vaguely that their status has been bettered. They are indifferent, but far from hostile. Yet their view rarely attracts notice. The articulate and noisy politicos figure with American and other critics of the occupation as the real representatives of Haitian opinion.

The psychology of the politicos is amusingly illustrated by an incident at the time of the election of the first President under the occupation, Senator Dartiguenave. Mr. Davis writes:

"A few days previously Admiral Caperton had arranged a meeting between Dr. Bobo and Senator Dartiguenave, then the two most prominent Presidential candidates, for the purpose of ascertaining their views and their feelings toward the United States.

America Warns Hayti

"At this meeting, held at the American Legation, were present Senator Dartiguenave, Dr. Bobo and two United States Navy staff officers. Dartiguenave and Bobo were addressed as follows: 'Gentlemen, it seems likely that one of you will be elected President of Hayti. Hayti is in great trouble; she has suffered much. The United States has come to Hayti as a good friend, interested only in Hayti's welfare, in her happiness, in her prosperity. The United States has determined that revolution and disorder and anarchy must cease in Hayti; that unselfish and devoted patriotism must characterize hereafter the acts of the Haytian government

"Senator Dartiguenave and Dr. Bobo, realizing this momentous crisis in Haytian history, with the eyes of Hayti and of the United States upon you, do you promise that if elected President of Hayti you will, in your official acts, be guided solely by earnest devotion to Hayti's honor and welfare?'

Both Promise "Devotion"

"Admiral Caperton has reported that Dartiguenave replied: 'I will so promise. I have no other ambition than to be of service to my country'; and that Bobo exclaimed, rather theatrically: 'I promise. I would be happy to lay down my life for my

Race Problem—1928. II

Haiti.

West Indies.

beloved country.' The Admiral's report continues: 'Senator Dartiguenave, in case Dr. Bobo should be elected, will you promise that you will exert every influence in your power to assist him for Hayti's good; that you will join him heartily and helpfully and loyally?' 'If Dr. Bobo is elected President I will give him the most loyal, earnest support in every effort he may make for Hayti's welfare,' replied Dartiguenave, with simple dignity.

"'Dr. Bobo, if Senator Dartiguenave is elected President, will you help him loyally and earnestly in his efforts to benefit Hayti?' 'No, I will not!' blurted Bobo. 'If Senator Dartiguenave is elected President I will not help him. I will go away and leave Hayti to her fate.

"'I alone am fit to be President of Hayti; I alone understand Hayti's aspirations; no one is fit to be President but me; there is no patriotism in Hayti to be compared with mine; the Haytians love no one as they love me.' This seems to have been Bobo's swan song."

Achievements of Occupation

The second part of the book is in the main a tribute to the constructive achievements of the occupation. Roads and bridges have been built, communications improved, the finances restored, life and property are secure. The "caco" has been suppressed, hospitals have been opened, disease has been fought. Revenues have been increased through efficient administration and the debt has been funded and reduced. Production and trade have been stimulated. Agricultural and vocational instruction has been introduced, although this was not included originally within the scope of the treaty.

In outward appearance the Hayti of to-day is a vastly different Hayti from the Hayti of 1915. And all this reconstruction has been accomplished without depriving the people of Hayti of any liberties which they formerly enjoyed, except the liberty of the soldiers and politicians to exploit the rest of the population. Recently the government of President Borno has been authorized by a constitutional amendment to reform the judiciary, with which the occupation was not authorized by the treaty to interfere.

Occupation Ends in '36

No one can successfully challenge the efficiency and the good will of the American intervention. Mr. Davis believes, however, that it has not taken sufficiently into account the fact that the occupation will end by limitation in 1936 and is not adequately preparing the way for at least passable native government thereafter. There is no hope in the masses, he says. They are too backward and impotent to have their way. With all its faults, he argues, the elite caste is, nevertheless, the only element capable of governing—and the one element, too, which cannot be prevented from governing. It has, in fact, done all the governing since the first days of the republic. The author says with his customary pragmatism:

"It is true that the class which dominate the affairs of Hayti had failed to establish or maintain a competent government and that the record of the ephemeral governments which preceded the American intervention had demonstrated that without outside aid the Haytian people were unfitted to maintain a government which could keep order at home or discharge its international obligations, But, regardless of this conspicuous failure, it is evident that the only individuals in Hayti capable of maintaining any government at all are of the class which for the lack of a better term has been referred to in this book as the elite. . . . Granted that they have abused their privileges, the fact remains that they are the natural leaders of the people, and the co-operation of this literate minority is essential to any permanent betterment in conditions. Without such co-operation nothing that the intervention has accomplished will be of lasting benefit."

It is a harsh dilemma. The elite caste has opposed intervention and is in the main unsympathetic with its purposes and works. The politicos still hanker after the old order. But when the occupation terminates, American opinion expects something better than a return to the conditions of 1915. Can it build any hopes on the Haytian elite in its present embittered mood?

The occupation is an effort to lay the foundations of order, economic betterment and financial solvency, for our own benefit as well as for Hayti's. It is a measure of self-protection on our part, with benevolent intentions toward the Haytian people. The demand that the occupation shall end, regardless of results; that full native sovereignty be revived, with an almost certain lapse into the evils of the past, is based on a doctrinaire idea that the Haytians ought to be allowed to govern themselves, no matter how badly they do it, how much they suffer from the exploitation of a tiny educated caste and a succession of casual military dictators, and how many occasions for complications with European nations they create.

Intervention was a political necessity in 1915. It might become a necessity again by 1940. If the present occupation ends eight years hence it might as well be understood that the United States will not consent to see the beneficent work of the preceding twenty years sacrificed to satisfy the ambitions and cupidity of the former Haytian ruling class.

But that is a bridge which does not have to be crossed now. Whatever the attitude of the elite, the occupation will continue to do what it can for the Haytian people as a whole, with the firm conviction that its labors will count not only for the present decade, but for all the decades to come.

Hayti is a unique American state and its history has been much neglected. Mr. Davis's book is an admirable contribution to our knowledge of a "Black Democracy" in which democracy has never been either understood or practiced.

AFRO SMUGGLES DESPATCH FROM MUZZLED HAITI

Marines Now Clamp Lid Down On Incoming Mail In Haiti

U. S. HAS OUSTED EVERY HAITIAN MAYOR

Natives Displaying Picture Of Hero Said To Have Been Assassinated

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI--The recent pronunciamento of the U. S. Navy Dept. supporting President of Haiti, Mr. Borno, in his intention to resign in 1930, is by no means as blandly assuring as it may seem, according to advices received from Percival Thoby formerly Charge d' Affaires of the Haitian Legation at Washington and at present President of the Patriotic Union of Haiti.

The AFRO has been able to get several dispatches through from Haiti despite reported strict U. S. Censorship on outgoing mails.

Clippings from the "AFRO" on the Haitian situation were reported interrupted at Port au Prince, resulting in a decidedly more destructive supervision of incoming mails.

According to Mr. Thoby, spokesman for the Haitian patriots, the so-called voting on January 10 of this year was a most shameful spectacle of lawless balloting in which boys and men were coralled and carted from one booth to another, some to cast ballots as many as forty times under bogus names.

The "official" results reported were 200,000 votes cast of which 170,000 were in favor of the proposed Amendments to a Constitution under which the people of Haiti have lived for over a century and a quarter.

No Mayors

Monsieur Thoby evading the censorship further declares in a recent smuggled communication that with the present electoral law there is no possibility of free elections, for in January 10, 1928, no municipal elections took place and consequently there is not a single mayor now in Haiti, the few who were acting in January last having been illegally dismissed by Mr. Borno.

"Now it is the mayors who sign and deliver the electoral cards to the voters and for the elections of Januray 10, 1930 there will be only Municipal Commissioners appointed by Mr. Borno, to sign and deliver these cards.

"If therefore the U. S. Government desires to have a free and fair election in Haiti in 1930 the electoral law must clearly be either repealed or modified. Othewise it will be another farce that could easily be converted into tragedy

Extremists

Extremists are gaining ground in Haiti and are spreading the photograph of Charlemagne Peralte who fought the American Occupation until 1919. Finally, drawn into a snare, this Haitian hero was assassinated by an American officer aided by Haitian constables, employed by American forces, and disguised as Cacos fighters. Afterwards his body was exposed, half-naked, to give impression that he was a savage, at the Constabulary Headquarters at Cape Haiti, November 2, 1919."

HAITI'S REAL RULER.

The real ruler of Haiti landed in New York last week and pronounced that American intervention had made that island the safest country in the world, according to a ship news reporter of the New York World. This individual who wields the actual power, while President Borno poses as the head of the government, is known as Brigadier General John Henry Russell of the Marine Corps, American High Commissioner to Haiti. Pointing to some headlines in the New York papers, which told of two gangster killings in this city, the High Commissioner said: "You can go anywhere in Haiti alone and be safe. That is more than you can say for some countries."

General Russell also claimed that the American program, which has been in operation since 1915, has provided sanitation, education and financial and economic stability. As was to be expected, he denied that the lands of the farmers are being despoiled under the lease system. What was more incredible, he also asserted that free speech never has been denied to those opposed to the presence of Americans in their official capacity, which is a euphemism for the rule of the American occupation. He said nothing about the throwing into jail of the Haitian editors who dared to criticise the occupation and advocate the cause of the Independence League.

He asserted that the present government is building up a competent and responsible middle class that will be the backbone of the country when the Americans leave, but he would not say whether he thought the Haitians will be able to conduct their affairs properly by 1936, when the intervention treaty expires. If such a middle class as was indicated could be created in Haiti, it would probably render it easier to build up a republican form of government that would have a base in popular representation of the voters. One trouble with Haiti was, that there has been too great a separation between the former ruling class and the bulk of the population. Any change

that will bridge over this gap and give the majority education and representation in the government would tend to put the affairs of the country on a better basis.

But the American High Commissioner is the present ruler of Haiti and he rules that country in the same manner that a famous New York police captain, named Alex. Williams, ruled the notorious Tenderloin district.

What Is News in Haiti?

WE of *The Nation* think what is going on under the American flag in Haiti important. The destiny of American democracy depends in large part upon the manner in which we meet such imperial problems. When the United States forces a constitution and treaty upon a tiny republic at the point of the pistol, takes over the treasury and cuts off the salaries of recalcitrant officials, refuses to make payments in accordance with decisions of the Haitian Supreme Court, and, finally, annoyed at the court's independence, insists upon a new constitution giving the Executive, and, through the Executive, the United States marines, more power over the judiciary —when such things happen, they seem to us to constitute news in the sense of being interesting and significant happenings.

But they have not seemed to be news to the managing editors of the newspapers of the country or to the press associations. Little news has been put on the wires from Haiti, and that little has not been played up prominently. The assumption has been that Haiti did not interest newspaper readers; and perhaps the assumption was correct. At any rate, it seems to us, the question has never had a fair trial, unless in the New York *Times*. The *Times* sent one of its ablest correspondents, Clarence K. Streit, to Haiti at the time of the Lindbergh flight, and kept him there long enough to acquire the knowledge for several of the best articles on Haiti which have appeared in any American periodical. But most of the newspapers have not had correspondents in Haiti, and the news they have comes from a biased source. The Associated Press and the United Press correspondents in Haiti are both officers in the Marine Corps!

Two weeks ago *The Nation* printed an article by L. J. deBekker, News Are Scarce in Haiti, complaining of the news sent from Haiti and urging a Senatorial inquiry into conditions in that unhappy country. The *Editor and Publisher* has replied in a violent attack upon *The Nation* and Mr. deBekker. The *Editor and Publisher* has a right to attack that article. We have frequently criticized the newspapers for inaccuracy, and our own article was inaccurate. More than anyone else we regret that fact. But we think that the *Editor and Publisher* should have gone further in its investigation. The facts are not precisely as Mr. deBekker stated them. They are worse.

Mr. deBekker stated that the Associated Press was represented in Haiti by Captain Craige, U. S. M. C., former Marine Corps publicity man, and the United Press by H. P. Davis, author of "Black Democracy." He mixed his men, or his press associations. Captain Craige is the United Press correspondent; Mr. Davis was for many years representative of the Associated Press. Lately, as the *Editor and Publisher* points out, he has been replaced by Frank Evans. The *Editor and Publisher*, however, fails to add that Mr. Evans is an officer of the United States Marine Corps, chief of the Haitian gendarmerie, and, like Captain Craige, a former publicity man for that service!

It is, of course, difficult for a press association to find an unbiased correspondent in an out-of-the-way corner like Port au Prince; but does any editor in America think that the Haitians can possibly get anything like a fair break on the news when both of the chief correspondents in their country are officers of the occupying army, subject to discipline from their official superiors?

There has been news about Lindbergh and Will Beebe and archaeologists in Haiti, but almost no political news, and what there is is now subject to occasional censorship by President Borno. (Incidentally, Mr. Davis, the former Associated Press correspondent, assures us that his dispatches were never censored, either by Borno or by General Russell.) Mr. deBekker said that "no newspaper in America has been informed that Haiti has a new Court of Cassation [supreme court]," despite the importance of the story. The *Editor and Publisher* replies that both news associations sent out stories on the subject, the Associated Press on October 25, January 10, and March 31. That may be; but we have searched the files of five New York newspapers on the corresponding dates and not found a line on Haiti. Mr. deBekker should, of course, have inquired of the press services before making so sweeping a statement; but he knew that the press-clippings services had brought him no copies of the reports which the associations say they sent out. The fact is that Mr. Streit's stories in the *Times*, written after his return from Haiti and after the amendments had been put through, are the only adequate account we have seen in any American newspaper.

The *Editor and Publisher* has been a zealous fighter for an independent press. It wants, we are sure, unbiased news as much as we. But its editorial on Mr. deBekker's article was a partisan defense of the press associations and gave a distorted picture of the treatment of Haiti news by press associations and the Marine Corps.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

APR 27 1928

American Occupation of Haiti

BY JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

Secretary, National Association For the Advancement of Colored People.

(The latest step in the American occupation of the black republic is a proposed land law which would deprive many Haitians of their land tenure. Mr. Johnson, the author of this article, was formerly U. S. Consul to Puerto Cabelio, Venezuela, and at Corinto, Nicaragua.)

Under a Negro general, Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was able to defeat the armies of the great Napoleon of France, the Negro slaves in the Island of Haiti revolted early in the 19th century and won their land and their liberty.

From that time until the United States intervened in 1915, the black Republic of Haiti has governed itself. Physically, the island of Haiti was once described to a French king by a courtier who crumpled a piece of paper and dropped it on a table. The island is mountainous, with a number of fertile plains and river valleys. The centers of politics are the national capital, Port au Prince, and the second city in importance, Cape Haitien, at the northern tip of the island.

United States Marines were landed in Haiti obstensibly to preserve order under the provisions of the Monroe Doctrine, after assassination of President Gillaume Sam of Haiti. But, instead of policing the capital, the United States Navy seized all the custom houses, established posts in the interior and by force took over control of the entire island.

In the course of "establishing order," it is estimated that the Marines shot down in the neighborhood of 3,000 Haitians, some of whom had revolted because the Americans had revised an out-of-date law to force them into slave work on the roads. In this warfare, unauthorized by the United States Congress, less than 25 Marines were killed and wounded.

Since the seizure of Haiti by the Navy Department, the Constitution of the country has been amended over the objection of the natives. The Haitian Assembly was dissolved and an amendment to the Constitution which the Assembly had declined to enact, was added to that document, providing that foreigners could own land in Haiti. Since 1915 there has been no regular election as provided in the Constitution of Haiti and government has been carried on by a President and Council of State maintained in power by American armed forces.

Early this year the Haitian judges, who had heretofore held office for life, were made subject to removal by the Haitian President, creature of the American Occupation.

The latest step in the American domination of the black republic of Haiti, is a proposed land law which would require documentary proof of land ownership. Haitians claim that this law if enacted would disposses them, placing American corporations in control of land and making a landless proletariat of the natives. They point out that Haitians have been living on their homesteads for generations without documentary proof of ownership. And that to enact such a law, adjudicated either by Americans or by Haitian judges who have been deprived of their life tenure and therefore of their independence would result in ownership of land passing from the Haitian people altogether.

Although it has been claimed that American Occupation of Haiti was undertaken for the benefit of the Haitians, little has been accomplished in their behalf. Haitian journalists who ventured to criticize the Occupation have been jailed, some of them for months without trial. The news of what was going on in the black republic of Haiti reached America only despite the censorship maintained by the Occupation. Senator King, when he wished last year to visit the island, was barred from it. The fact that the order barring him came from the President of Haiti, deceived no one. The Haitian President takes his orders from General Russell of the U. S. Marines.

If the proposed land law is enacted in Haiti, that will be the final act in a progress of imperialist brutality and spoliation committed by a powerful against a week and helpless people.

(Copyright, 1928.)

Haiti.

A REAL "EMPEROR JONES" OF HAITI WHO DEFIED NAPOLEON

WITH his own hand he gave his treasures to the flames, setting an example for his followers, who fired the city. His house was the richest in the city of Cap François, on the island of Haiti. The flames gutted his paneled walls, melted down his golden plates, destroyed his rare tapestries, spread to the rest of the city, and aided in creating the desolation which greeted the French soldiers when they landed. They "blazed across a world," writes John W. Vandercook in "Black Majesty" (Harper's), and "gave challenge of war to Napoleon himself—Napoleon who had never known defeat." So Henry Christophe, negro Governor of Cap François, destined to be Emperor of Haiti, flung down the gauntlet before the Corsican. Here was contrast. Henry Christophe had been born in slavery, the author records, and had been successively stable boy and waiter in that part of Saint Domingue, as Haiti was then called, which was under French rule. In those days, the late eighteenth century, we read:

Saint Domingue, when one came to think of it, was a nervous sort of place. There were 40,000 whites, their number split in sharp division between planters and the class composed of artizans and traders, 24,000 free mulattoes, 500,000 slaves; certainly a very powder-barrel of a colony, for all its wealth and ease and surface brilliancy.

Each class hated all the others. The guests of the café joked about it, finding comfort in voicing private worries in the carefree surroundings of a wineshop. They thought of new ways of showing their contempt for those less than human cattle whose hair had a reprehensible urge to curl.

The mulatto freedmen, the affranchis, were their particular absorption. They were technically as free as the whitest Military Governor of Cap François. And there were twenty others of almost equal prominence who rose from the ranks of the moblike Army of the blacks.

For seven years of continuous, confusing, costly war these men had led their ragged Armies against Spain, against England, and, unhappily, often against one another—while in France a pale, vain little Corsican ran like a fire over Europe before the tornado of his own ambition.

In the first year of the nineteenth century, France, under the First Consulate of Bonaparte, found herself at peace for the first time in a decade. The Armies that had conquered Europe were idle. Insatiate Bonaparte was faced with the realization that rich colonies must be found for the Frenchman, but the whites sought every way to make them feel the inferiority of wealth and energies of France, if that wealth and energy were to continue. Saint Domingue, once the most important overseas resource of Europe, had slipt somehow through his fingers.

There were many men in Paris who formerly had been planters of Saint Domingue. Now peace had come and profitable occupations were scarce, they thought pensively of the wealth and ease they so unwillingly had left behind. Men were found who were close to the First Consul. They poured into his ears continual tales of Toussaint—who had first made himself dictator and then sent an envoy to Napoleon to tell him of the change in the government of Saint Domingue, without a word of "by your leave."

Soon Napoleon gave orders that six of his greatest shipyards should set to work at once to prepare the greatest fleet France in all her history had ever dispatched across a sea. Eighty-six ships of war were to carry 22,000 soldiers—the pick of the Army that had conquered Italy and Austria.

Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, Captain-General of the expedition, looked upon fortune as singularly kind, the narrative informs us:

In a time of meteors, his whirl across the sky of Europe had been luminous, second only to Napoleon himself. First a volunteer, then a captain, and soon a general, he had achieved great fame in Italy and won as prize Pauline, Napoleon's own sister.

In that winter of 1802, when the expedition sailed, Leclerc was thirty and Pauline, who went with him, was only twenty-two. They had married five years before. Leclerc wore splendid whiskers down his cheeks to add dignity to a youth the older soldiers found somehow offensive. Pauline, who was slender and beautiful and gay, was quite content to look her years. The world lay at their feet.

On the morning of February 3, 1802, Leclerc and the larger part of the fleet arrived in the open sea off Cap François. Three other divisions, each under a different general, were at the same time preparing to attack at other strategic points on the coast.

Leclerc, as soon as the great promontory at the western end of the bay was sighted, gave an order for the ships to come to rest in the open sea. Then he sent a young ensign named Lebrun to tell Christophe to prepare the town for his reception.

The small boat in which Lebrun approached the shore was hailed from a fortress on the extremity of the point. He made a landing on the narrow shale-strewn beach, and was greeted by General Christophe, whose reserved dignity, it is said, quite overwhelmed the young Frenchman.

HAITI, AMERICAN JUSTICE BETRAYED

Henry Wickham Stead, former editor of the London Times, wrote, last December, "Englishmen used to say, 'My country, right or wrong.' They say it no longer, or, at least a strong and influential body of them understand and have come to feel that the interdependence of peoples is now so marked that a criminally selfish nation would stand in the same relationship to the other peoples of the world as a bandit stands to civilized society. They identify the supreme interests of their country with those of international righteousness."

6-29-28

Be that as it may for England, with its long experience in exploiting subjugated peoples, the United States has developed no such "strong and influential body" of citizens who feel that way about our imperial policy, especially with respect to the islands in the Caribbean, of which Haiti is one suffering most from unwarranted occupation, unjust control, tyrannical administration, and greedy exploitation.

The descendents of those same black people who saved America at the dawn of the last century from the schemes of Napoleon, by defeating Le Clerc, his brother-in-law, and thus causing the emperor to sell Louisiana to the United States, now live under a triple government imposed by our military occupation: first, their own native officials who are inefficient figureheads; next, treaty officials, made up of the American high commissioner, the receiver of customs, and the financial adviser; and, third, the United States marines who hold high and low officers' posts in the constabulary. The first can not function except at the whim of the Americans, the second is inefficient and the third is indifferent to the wishes of the natives and to the treaty pledges made to do justice to a free people and a sovereign nation.

Under the mixed control of the navy, the marines, the constabulary and the civil officials, there is no placing of responsibility for the maladministration which is everywhere manifest.

There is no General Leonard

Wood, and hence no Cuba. The people are black and speak a French dialect, hence they are treated as animals or slaves. The "corvee" system is used to get work done on roads by compulsory labor. Punishment is savage and fiendish following trials in courts where the whole procedure is foreign to the language, customs, and habits of the natives; water treatment, the application of red hot machetes, and shooting prisoners who have been given an apparent opportunity to escape, characterizes the relations of the police who are headed by promoted marines serving like petty tyrants at grossly inflated salaries.

The system of "provost courts" makes anything "an offense against the military government," while the censorship of the press goes so far as to suppress such words as "general," "national," and "revolution"; and such phrases as "freedom of speech" and "freedom of thought" may not be copied even from publications printed in Santo Domingo or the United States. More than three thousand Haitians have been put to death since the American occupation.

Political bandits, "cocos," flock to the hills, daily, and people of formerly easy circumstances who have put their money into national bonds, find it necessary to sell those bonds at ridiculously low figures to organized gangs who pay for them with moneys got by loans for which the property is security. Of the twenty-five million dollars of debts, more than seventeen millions is for loans, while industry and commerce are stifled by the action of the American civil officials.

Our trusteeship—which alone justifies our slightest interference in any Latin-American country—is summoned into a court of international equity. The American spirit of fair play and the proud boasts of national magnanimity, have fallen into the mire of greedy, insolent arrogance due to bigness and strength.

Our country has used economic and political pressure, chicanery, military force and the corruptability of Latin-American politicians to perpetrate the crime of a "selfish nation" against helpless little countries which are simply working out their national salvation in their own slow and turbulent manner.

The United States can not speak from a heart of "international righteousness" as she did prior to 1915, and Spain, France, Italy, England and Germany, all of whom have interests and intentions in Latin-America, must soon rate our government "as a bandit stands to civilized society."

Before it is too late, this nation must reform its relations to weaker nations, and readjust its administration of affairs in Latin-America, in spite of international financial influences.

"We speak the truth, and what care we
For hissing and for scorn,
While some faint gleaming we can see
Of Freedom's coming morn?"

100,000 HAITIANS STARVE

President Borno Appeals For Outside Help After Hurricane.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 29.—(AP)—An intimation that outside held is needed for rehabilitation of the hurricane stricken district of Haiti was contained in a statement issued by President Borno today. The statement said:

"More than 100,000 people are facing starvation in the hurricane devastated area. All animals were killed and entire crops were destroyed. Cultivated farms were either drowned out or completely washed out. It will take from three to six months to grow new crops.

"The resources of the government are not sufficient to help adequately these unfortunate people. We must rebuild roads and bridges and provide food and shelter."

It was stated that it will be at least three months before it will be possible to obtain food for the stricken area from local sources.

HAITI REPORTS A YEAR OF PROGRESS

The high yield of Haiti's leading agricultural crop and favorable markets for exportable products in the fiscal year ended September 30 made that period one of the most prosperous which Haiti has enjoyed, according to the Department of Commerce.

Expansion of the export trade resulting from greater agricultural returns caused a steady expansion of business, although a seasonal slackening was in evidence in the final quarter of the fiscal year, according to M. J. Meehan, Division of Regional Information of the Department. The foreign trade reached a value which has been exceeded only in the year 1919-20 when Haiti shared in the world-wide post-war inflation.

The value of exports in the past year was even greater than in the year 1919-20 although less than in 1918-19 which witnessed a flood of accumulated local produce into export markets with the termination of the war. The value of imports was greater than in any year except 1919-20 when the country enjoyed an abnormally high purchasing power as a result of two successive years of exceedingly favorable export markets. Taking into consideration the highly inflated price levels prevailing in 1919 and 1920, the actual volume of both imports and exports in the fiscal year 1927-28 compares very favorably with the volume of trade in those peak years.

The distribution of the foreign trade was much more favorable than in the preceding year and resulted in an excess of exports of $2,418,989 as compared with an excess of imports of $452,232 in the year 1926-27. The favorable trade balance has not been exceeded in a normal year and only once, in 1918-19 since the establishment of the receivership.

The total value of the foreign commerce in 1927-28 was $42,915,502, an increase of $11,865,094, or about 38 per cent over the preceding year. Of the total trade, exports amounted to $22,667,246 as compared with $15,299,088 in 1926-27 and imports to $20,248,256 as against $15,751,320 the year before. The year 1926-27 witnessed a considerable recession in business, but the 1927-28 trade was also about 10 per cent above that of 1925-26 and nearly as far above that of 1924-25, two years which were generally regarded as very favorable.

The expansion of trade which occurred in 1928 was largely the result of an exuberant yield of coffee at remunerative prices. Exports of coffee increased 43 per cent in quality and 57 per cent in value over those of the fiscal yead 1926-27 and represented 79 per cent of the value of all exports as compared with 74.4 in the preceding year.

Despite the increases which occurred in other articles of exportation in the past year, the foregoing percentages forcibly illustrate the dependence of Haiti on the coffee crop and the influence of that commodity on the trend of economic conditions. Good prices for cotton caused a substantial increase in the value of exports of this commodity but the quantity shipped was smaller than a year ago. The decline in the exports of cottonseed reflects not only the smaller quantity available as indicated by reduced cotton shipments, but also the increased use of this product locally for the manufacture of lard and cottonseed fertilizer.

The expansion of the production of raw sugar was reflected in an increase of 22 per cent in the quantity exported, but lower prices more than offset the quantitative gain. The progress of this industry is a step towards greater diversification of agricultural production, from which Haiti will benefit to a large extent when sugar prices reach more remunerative levels.

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

What the Governor of the Virgin Islands Said to Colonel Lindbergh

Amsterdam News New York. Feb. 22, 1928.

And What Colonel Lindbergh Said to the Governor and People Assembled to Greet Him at St. Thomas

On the second day after his arrival at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, a public reception was held for Colonel Lindbergh at Emancipation Park, at which time the Governor, in addressing the "Lone Eagle," said:

"As Governor of the Virgin Islands I wish to make known to you the honor you have conferred upon us in accepting our invitation to visit the Virgin Islands.

"Your heroic conquests have been acclaimed by Presidents, Kings, Ambassadors, and the people of many nations, but I wish to assure you that the welcome extended in lands you have heretofore visited is no more sincere than the welcome we extend.

"We want you to feel that you have returned home, for here the newest citizens of the United States feel the same pride and hold you in the same esteem as on the mainland.

"Our hearts were with you on your memorable flight to Paris and we rejoiced when the cable flashed your safe arrival.

"We had hoped that it might be our good fortune to do honor to you and your famous plane. Fate has been kind.

"Today we gather here to give evidence of the love and esteem in which you are held by the people of these islands.

"It is indeed inspiring to have you in our presence for the courage, faith and skill necessary for your achievements give ample proof that our Great Republic, which could give such a noble son, may face the future with assurance.

"Your contribution to science as an aviator, while marked, is less important to our nation than your exemplification of the virtues necessary for success. Your ceaseless industry, temperance, modesty and determination are emblazoned throughout the world and American youth, inspired thereby, will undoubtedly profit.

"Your contribution to the cause of aviation, the impulse you have given to public interest in aeronautics, are too well known to occasion further comment by me.

"As you approached these beautiful islands in your flight across the Spanish Main you traversed the route taken by Columbus in 1493, and I venture to say you were no less enchanted with their loveliness than Columbus, who named them the eleven thousand Virgins.

"We are happy and proud to have you in our midst today. We are happy to express our appreciation of your visit and we hope that you will take with you the most pleasant recollections of your trip through the West Indies and a particularly fond remembrance of your friends in Saint Thomas."

At the conclusion of Governor Evans' speech of welcome Colonel Lindbergh rose and replied in the following words:

"Governor Evans, citizens of Saint Thomas:

"First I want to thank you all for the welcome you gave me yesterday on my landing in St. Thomas. I appreciate very greatly what you have done to make my trip and my visit most enjoyable to your island. I also want to thank you for the gift which I assure you will be one of my most appreciated possessions. After flying over the islands of the West Indies yesterday from the Venezuela coast I wished that I had arranged or might have arranged to spend as many weeks at St. Thomas as I can spend days. I have never made a more interesting or beautiful flight than over the islands of the West Indies yesterday, and I regret greatly that it is necessary for me to leave your city tomorrow morning in order to keep up to my schedule, which requires arrival at Havana on the eighth. Before leaving, however, I wish to thank you for what you have done during my visit."

J. E. Kuntz, chairman of the Colonial Council, speaking in behalf of his colleagues in the legislative body of the islands and the people as a whole, addressed Colonel Lindbergh in the following words:

"Colonel Lindbergh:

"His Excellency the Governor, your countrymen and fellow citizens have assembled here to greet you and to extend to you a most hearty welcome.

"We fully realize the privilege and honor conferred on us by your having accepted our invitation to visit St Thomas, and thank you sincerely from the bottom of our hearts. We are exceedingly glad to have the opportunity to meet and to congratulate a hero of such extraordinary skill, courage and daring as you possess. Your glorious achievements in the aeronautic world; your having traversed the broad Atlantic, from the shores of your native land to those of France, alone and unaided, have won for you at so early an age incomparable admiration of people of every race and clime.

"Rulers, leading statesmen and [illegible] representing the citizens of their respective countries of the old continent, who were the first to greet you, vied with the President of our country, with General Pershing and others of note, with people of the Americas in rendering to you deserved tributes of esteem, and we of St. Thomas, forming as we do an integral part of the nation, take just pleasure in acclaiming our national hero. The United States of America must look upon you with pride and thankfulness because of the international fame your genius and energy have acquired, and we are sure the United States rejoices in concert with your dear mother for the possession of such a talented son.

"You have visited the 48 states of the Union and 82 of the principal cities of these states. We can imagine the great thrilling sensation it must have given you to witness the enthusiasm of millions of admirers and well wishers, but I beg leave to assure you that on no occasion have those demonstrations been more sincere than the present expressions of this southernmost possession of the United States.

"Welcome, Colonel Lindbergh, thrice welcome to St. Thomas. May your stay among us be replete with pleasant and enduring impressions; may the Guiding Hand that protected you and the 'Spirit of St. Louis' throughout your voyages on your departure guide you safely to your homeland, and ever and always protect you."

Probe Of Occupation Of Haiti Is Sought

Senator King, Of Utah, Democrat, Introduces Resolution In Congress

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—(AP)—An investigation by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of American occupation of Haiti was proposed by Senator King, Democrat, Utah. Under a resolution which he introduced the committee would be directed to investigate allegations charging "seizure" of Haiti by the United States without cause, suppression of the Constitution, "pretended" election of President Borno and to report recommendations for the withdrawal of American forces so as to permit the Haitian people "to set up a government of their own choice."

Advertiser 2-24-28

The Utah senator served notice that he intended to ~~speak in~~ support of his resolution at a later date. It comes as an echo of the clash between King and the Haitian president last year when King attempted to visit the country and was denied entry.

INTERVENTION IRKS PROUD HAITIAN FOLK

Observers Find Opinion Against Our Control Growing in Negro Republic.

IT HAS LED TO PROSPERITY

But Native Leaders Say Country Is Slipping Away From Them Into American Hands.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT,

Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 9.—In the Black Republic of Haiti, the question of American intervention, which has been agitating the Pan American conference at Havana, can be seen as a policy already in practice for nearly thirteen years. The picture of intervention in action that one sees here is a picture with at least two sides. Times

The side likely to be seen first by the American visitor to Haiti today throws in strong relief the beneficent effects of our work—the establishment of order, sound finances, numerous public works, sanitation, rural farm schools. It portrays a fertile but backward country in the process of being endowed with the appurtenances for stimulating productivity for which America is known. 2-19-28

The other side shows these ever-increasing good works resting, figuratively, on somewhat doubtful foundations and not winning for us the ever-increasing friendship one might expect. Neutral observers say that Haitian sentiment against us, in the small but important minority which is articulate, is growing steadily stronger and more widespread. New York

Certainly it is the general opinion of Americans, Haitians and neutrals that, if we should withdraw from Haiti now, the President, Louis Borno, who strongly supports our intervention, would be well advised to quit the country with us. Fear is expressed among responsible American officials that much of our work will fall, when we leave, in a wave of anti-Americanism, though they comfort themselves with the belief that "Haiti, at worst, will never fall back quite to where she was before we intervened."

Neither of these two aspects of our intervention, however, can be fairly appreciated when drawn in such simple outline. More detail needs to be painted in each.

Acted After 1915 Killings.

We intervened in Haiti in 1915 when President Vilbrun Sam, after having 167 political opponents slaughtered in cold blood, was himself seized and put to violent death by a mob of their infuriated relatives who, to capture him, violated the French Legation in which he had sought refuge.

We found a country in chaos from almost every point of view. General Sam was the seventh President Haiti had had in the previous four years. We found a negro nation which had emerged from slavery but a hundred years before, a people shot through with disease and a prey to superstition, ignorance and graft, a rich land whose production had fallen to a fraction of what it had been as a French colony 125 years before.

We ratified in 1916 a treaty with Haiti, on which our intervention since then has been based and in which its aims, briefly stated, are: For a maximum period of twenty years, to aid the Haitian Republic, which we recognize as a sovereign and independent State; to maintain tranquillity, put its finances on a sound basis and develop its agricultural, mineral and commercial resources.

Under the provisions of this convention, five "treaty officers" have been appointed by the President of Haiti on the nomination of the President of the United States. The present incumbents are: Financial Adviser-General Receiver, Dr. Arthur S. Millspaugh, formerly Financial Administrator of Persia; Chief of the Gendarmerie, Major Gen. Frank E. Evans (Colonel United States Marine Corps); Engineer-in-Chief, Captain Frederick H. Cooke, U. S. N.; Sanitary Engineer, Commander Kent C. Melhorn, U. S. N., and the Director General of the Agricultural Service, Dr. George F. Freeman.

Above these men is our High Commissioner, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, Marine Corps, who has now served eleven years in Haiti and has held his present position since it was created in 1922 to correlate the work of the treaty officers. They meet with him as a sort of Cabinet once a week.

The remainder of our intervention force consists of the twenty to thirty Americans on the staff of each treaty officer, except in the case of General Evans, who has 128 gendarmerie officers detached from our Marine Corps, and also a skeleton brigade of about 700 marines. These latter are concentrated on garrison duty in the two largest cities, and are kept strictly in the background, the occupation being maintained now merely as a "moral force."

Accomplishments of Intervention.

The accomplishments of our intervention under this organization are impressive and manifold.

Peace and order reign, maintained easily by a gendarmerie of 2,537

Haitians, with 182 officers, of whom fifty-four (none above the rank of Captain) are Haitians, the rest being United States Marines. One sees no evidence of popular fear of the gendarmes and hears next to no complaints of brutality on their part. Indeed, the gendarmerie is praised by Haitians who condemn other phases of our intervention. The penitentiary has become in nearly all respects a model institution, and there has not been a capital execution in years.

The finances of Haiti are in excellent shape. The currency is stabilized and the public debt consolidated and reduced from a peak of $35,600,000 in 1918 to $19,300,000 at the beginning of this year. All other outstanding claims against the Government have been settled through an Arbitral Commission. The fact that of a total of $40,000,000 claimed, chiefly by non-Haitians, it allowed only $3,500,000, and that only one-twelfth of the claims of our citizens were recognized as just, indicates how the Haitian Treasury is being protected under our intervention.

The budget has not only been kept balanced, but conservative financing has provided Haiti now with an unobligated cash reserve of more than $2,000,000, equal to about one-third of the budget expenditures for this year. At the same time, funds have been provided every year for public improvements of all kinds.

Expenditure for public works in Haiti exceeds that for any other purpose, except the debt service. More than 750 miles of highway have been built. The way in which the roads have been improved may be seen from the fact that there were practically no automobiles in Haiti when we intervened. Now there are more than 1,500. A network of telephone and telegraph lines has been installed.

Extensive work has been done toward reclaiming land by irrigation and much more is planned. Wells have been drilled for towns formerly dependent on the most unsanitary sources for water; public buildings, great and small, have been erected everywhere; numerous solid bridges have been built, drainage systems installed, streets paved in the capital, lighthouses provided—and the list is not ended. Much remains to be done, but, considering the funds available, the amount already accomplished is truly remarkable.

Vital Sanitary Work Done.

The work done for public health under our intervention is even more striking. Sanitary conditions as we found them in Haiti can best be described as unspeakable. Since then, in addition to a general "clean-up" campaign, in which great strides have been made toward exterminating the malaria-carrying mosquito, free hospitals have been provided and free rural dispensaries and clinics dot the land. In these rural clinics 500,000 people, or one-fourth of the population of Haiti, are now being treated. Haitian nurses and doctors have been trained and a free medical college, long a Haitian ideal, has been realized with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. Haiti last year spent 42 cents per capita on public health, as against 16 cents in the United States. It needs only to be added that the work of our sanitary service is the one the most universally commended by the Haitians, including members of the opposition. The agricultural service that we instituted in 1923 in Haiti has for its object the development of Haiti's productivity by educating the peasants in the use of more modern farming methods and by research work aiming not only at increasing the yield, but at encouraging more diversified crops so as to release the country from its present dependence on one thing alone, coffee. This service, like the others, had to be started from the ground up.

Now there is a new agricultural college at which 150 students are being trained as teachers, and the size of the school is being doubled. Fifty rural farm schools have been built and their enrollment has increased in five years from fifty-one to more than 5,000. Secondary agricultural schools and industrial schools for boys and girls have also been provided. Efforts are being made to reach the present generation through demonstration and experiment farms and by farm advisers scattered through the country.

A great deal of work is being done to inoculate live stock against disease and to improve the breed. Haiti has been found well adapted to the growing of sisal, cotton and pineapples, and progress toward the development of these crops is being made.

Our intervention has been fruitful in Haiti and our administration, moreover, impresses one as being of a high degree of honesty and efficiency. One is struck too by the deep interest which the Americans in Haiti show in their work. This is especially true of High Commissioner Russell and the treaty officers. The writer, at least, is convinced that they are sincerely striving to help Haiti according to their best lights. Their enthusiasm is not for "imperialism," but for the job they have on hand of putting Haiti on its feet.

General Russell's zealous efforts to protect Haiti from the consequences of certain pre-intervention concessions has even caused Americans who now control them to call him "un-American."

Complaints of Methods.

Yet, despits these good works and these good intentions, there remains the other side of the picture. Our intervention, it is generally admitted, was welcomed by most Haitians as ending an unbearable state of anarchy. Yet today, Haitians who are not firebrands, who do not seem fundamentally hostile to the United States and who concede that they have gained much and have much to gain from our help, say that they would prefer even the Haiti of 1914 to the continuance of the present régime. What they complain of is not so much our works, though they criticize some of them, but our method.

If we found in Haiti a backward country, we also found, by general American opinion, a proud and sensitive people. One is struck by the fact that even the peasants, descendants of slaves, although they are docile and tractable, do not have a servile manner and to cherish the freedom and independence that their small farms give them.

If we found an ignorant people, we found, too, a people who were the first, outside of the United States, to establish an independent republic in the Americas. Nor can the Hatians forget that they were the first and only negro slaves ever to emancipate themselves permanently. They fought for more than ten years against the French, the Spaniards, the English and Napoleon to do it.

In running their State, since then, these Haitians have been handicapped, not only by their lack of experience, but by the fact that nine-tenths of the population are illiterate, inarticulate peasants. These are nearly all pure negro. The remainder, who form the governing class, live in the towns and one meets among them people who are highly cultured and widely traveled. This class is mulatto, with a black minority. A color line, socially and politically important, divides the mulattoes and the blacks.

It is in this articulate minority, where Haitian pride is strongest, that feeling against our intervention is concentrated. To these Haitians, whose attitude is important since they are the ones almost certain to govern when we go, the situation appears in this light:

The Americans came to cooperate, but, instead of acting as mere advisers, they are running the country to suit themselves. They came to help Haiti for a period of twenty years, but they seem to have forgotten that time limit entirely and are preparing for a long stay.

Haitian National Viewpoint.

These Haitians say that "our country may be backward, but it is all we have. We fought for it and it is our own. We feel that it is slipping away from us, into the hands of the Americans."

They attribute this to imperialist designs on the part of our Government and our administrators. There is no space here to go into our record in Haiti, but it must be said that when one studies it, it is not so hard to understand this Haitian view.

How our officials, without conscious imperialist motives, could give this impression of imperialism may be explained in this way: Finding everything in Haiti to be done, our advisers to Haiti plunged with characteristic American energy into the job of getting everything done as quickly as possible. With our national proneness to emphasize material accomplishments and speed they have tended to neglect the human and political side of the Haitian problem. To cite but one instance: While our officials point with just pride to before and after photographic or statistical exhibits of what they have done with such things as roads and the public debt, it seems never to have occurred to them to devise such instruments for showing the effect of our intervention on the standard of living of the individual Haitian. There are no before and after statistics of the wage scale or the cost of living.

To provide Haiti with the greatest amount of material improvements in the shortest time we have favored a policy of reducing Haitian political discussion of this program to a minimum. Haiti, since 1918, has been governed under a transitory arrangement by which the President names a Council of State of twenty-one, which, in turn, elects the President, subject to the confirmation of our "recognition."

Since 1922 the President has been Louis Borno, a shrewd and intelligent man, who firmly supports both the program and method for aiding Haiti which our representatives favor. He has openly proclaimed that the Haitians are not capable of exercising the ballot. He believes that the situation demands that he be a dictator, backed by us.

Power Is Closely Centred.

The result of all this is that power in Haiti has come to be centred in a smoothly working, close corporation consisting of the President on one hand and our High Commissioner and treaty officials on the other. It is a system adapted more to speeding material work than to giving practice in self-government. It has the further disadvantage of hitching our chariot very close to that of one man, President Borno, whose policy of repressing opposition has especially inflamed sentiment against not only him but us.

Moreover, the development of our program of material help does not seem to be governed by the fact that the treaty expires in 1936. The tendency is to give Haiti all the improvements that the budget will allow, rather than to limit the objective to providing the Haitians with a machine which they will be able to run themselves at the end of twenty years.

While we are doing much to train Haitians for subordinate positions, we have done next to nothing toward training them to take over our high administrative functions. Some steps are being taken now toward this end, but the characteristic attitude of our officials seems still to be, "We haven't time to waste in explaining and debating; there is too much yet to be done."

All in all, one gets the impression in Haiti that, with notable exceptions, our officials have not paid sufficient attention to Haitian susceptibilities, to political realities, to the human side of the question. Among the exceptions, special mention deserves to be made of Mrs. Russell, who fills with great tact and broad human sympathy the difficult and important rôle of wife of the High Commissioner in a country troubled with a color line to which our own has been added.

To the lack of tact which neutrals say is our greatest fault in Haiti, and of which as many examples could be cited as of our efficiency, may be added a lack of contact, a tendency by our highest officials to rule from ivory towers, in cooperation with a President who rarely leaves his palace. It is a tendency of which even American businessmen in Haiti complain.

We have worked, in short, for the Haitians rather than with them. Eight years, however, remain before our treaty expires. It is quite possible that much better feeling toward us can be generated in that time; that it will not be said of us in 1936 that we have paved Haiti with good intentions.

Want Withdrawal Of Marines in Haiti

All-American Anti-Imperialist League Sponsors Mass Meeting

"The independence of Haiti should be unqualifiedly recognized," declared L. T. De Bekker, white, secretary of the Committee on Haiti, at a protest meeting against United States rule in Haiti, held Sunday afternoon at Embassy Mansions, 20 West 115th street, under the auspices of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

A brief and interesting history of Haiti was given by W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis Magazine, who stated that the subject under discussion was of great interest not alone to Haiti and the United States but to al civilization, as it demonstrated "the method of the times." He stated that the whole problem was an economic one in which Haiti and other smaller countries are dominated for the benefit of capitalists and investors.

Mr. de Bekker read to the audience resolution number 158 introduced in Congress by United States Senator William H. King, Democrat, from Utah, in which was revealed the details of this country's military rule in Haiti.

Mention was made of the shooting down of 2,500 Haitians and the complete control of elections by military force against the will and consent of Haiti's National Assembly; the substituting of a new constitution for Haiti which was diametrically opposed by its National Assembly; the suppression of free speech; the pressure upon and intimidation of its citizens and the destruction of a free press. In this resolution Haiti's independence was asked for and the withdrawal of military forces demanded.

Those present at the meeting unanimously approved a telegraphic communication to President Coolidge opposing the war against Nicaragua and demanding the withdrawal of United States forces from Haiti, Nicaragua and all Latin-American countries; also demanding the release of 107 pickets who were arrested in front of the White House in Washington where they staged a protest demonstration with placards denouncing the war in Nicaragua.

Other speakers on the program were Richard B. Moore of the American Negro Labor Congress; Robert Minor, white, editor of The Daily Worker, and Henry Rosemond of the Haitian Patriotic Union, who branded as false and misleading the optimistic picture of conditions in Haiti as presented in the annual report of General H. Russell, American High Commissioner of Haiti.

Haitians, with 182 officers, of whom fifty-four (none above the rank of Captain) are Haitians, the rest being United States Marines. One sees no evidence of popular fear of the gendarmes and hears next to no complaints of brutality on their part. Indeed, the gendarmerie is praised by Haitians who condemn other phases of our intervention. The penitentiary has become in nearly all respects a model institution, and there has not been a capital execution in years.

The finances of Haiti are in excellent shape. The currency is stabilized and the public debt consolidated and reduced from a peak of $35,600,000 in 1918 to $19,300,000 at the beginning of this year. All other outstanding claims against the Government have been settled through an Arbitral Commission. The fact that of a total of $40,000,000 claimed, chiefly by non-Haitians, it allowed only $3,500,000, and that only one-twelfth of the claims of our citizens were recognized as just, indicates how the Haitian Treasury is being protected under our intervention.

The budget has not only been kept balanced, but conservative financing has provided Haiti now with an unobligated cash reserve of more than $2,000,000, equal to about one-third of the budget expenditures for this year. At the same time, funds have been provided every year for public improvements of all kinds.

Expenditure for public works in Haiti exceeds that for any other purpose, except the debt service. More than 750 miles of highway have been built. The way in which the roads have been improved may be seen from the fact that there were practically no automobiles in Haiti when we intervened. Now there are more than 1,500. A network of telephone and telegraph lines has been installed.

Extensive work has been done toward reclaiming land by irrigation and much more is planned. Wells have been drilled for towns formerly dependent on the most unsanitary sources for water; public buildings, great and small, have been erected everywhere; numerous solid bridges have been built, drainage systems installed, streets paved in the capital, lighthouses provided—and the list is not ended. Much remains to be done, but, considering the funds available, the amount already accomplished is truly remarkable.

Vital Sanitary Work Done.

The work done for public health under our intervention is even more striking. Sanitary conditions as we found them in Haiti can best be described as unspeakable. Since then, in addition to a general "clean-up" campaign, in which great strides have been made toward exterminating the malaria-carrying mosquito, free hospitals have been provided and free rural dispensaries and clinics dot the land. In these rural clinics 500,000 people, or one-fourth of the population of Haiti, are now being treated. Haitian nurses and doctors have been trained and a free medical college, long a Haitian ideal, has been realized with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. Haiti last year spent 42 cents per capita on public health, as against 16 cents in the United States. It needs only to be added that the work of our sanitary service is the one the most universally commended by the Haitians, including members of the opposition. The agricultural service that we instituted in 1923 in Haiti has for its object the development of Haiti's productivity by educating the peasants in the use of more modern farming methods and by research work aiming not only at increasing the yield, but at encouraging more diversified crops so as to release the country from its present dependence on one thing alone, coffee. This service, like the others, had to be started from the ground up.

Now there is a new agricultural college at which 150 students are being trained as teachers, and the size of the school is being doubled. Fifty rural farm schools have been built and their enrollment has increased in five years from fifty-one to more than 5,000. Secondary agricultural schools and industrial schools for boys and girls have also been provided. Efforts are being made to reach the present generation through demonstration and experiment farms and by farm advisers scattered through the country.

A great deal of work is being done to inoculate live stock against disease and to improve the breed. Haiti has been found well adapted to the growing of sisal, cotton and pineapples, and progress toward the development of these crops is being made.

Our intervention has been fruitful in Haiti and our administration, moreover, impresses one as being of a high degree of honesty and efficiency. One is struck too by the deep interest which the Americans in Haiti show in their work. This is especially true of High Commissioner Russell and the treaty officers. The writer, at least, is convinced that they are sincerely striving to help Haiti according to their best lights. Their enthusiasm is not for "imperialism," but for the job they have on hand of putting Haiti on its feet.

General Russell's zealous efforts to protect Haiti from the consequences of certain pre-intervention concessions has even caused Americans who now control them to call him "un-American."

Complaints of Methods.

Yet, despits these good works and these good intentions, there remains the other side of the picture. Our intervention, it is generally admitted, was welcomed by most Haitians as ending an unbearable state of anarchy. Yet today, Haitians who are not firebrands, who do not seem fundamentally hostile to the United States and who concede that they have gained much and have much to gain from our help, say that they would prefer even the Haiti of 1914 to the continuance of the present régime. What they complain of is not so much our works, though they criticize some of them, but our method.

If we found in Haiti a backward country, we also found, by general American opinion, a proud and sensitive people. One is struck by the fact that even the peasants, descendants of slaves, although they are docile and tractable, do not have a servile manner and to cherish the freedom and independence that their small farms give them.

If we found an ignorant people, we found, too, a people who were the first, outside of the United States, to establish an independent republic in the Americas. Nor can the Hatians forget that they were the first and only negro slaves ever to emancipate themselves permanently. They fought for more than ten years against the French, the Spaniards, the English and Napoleon to do it.

In running their State, since then, these Haitians have been handicapped, not only by their lack of experience, but by the fact that nine-tenths of the population are illiterate, inarticulate peasants. These are nearly all pure negro. The remainder, who form the governing class, live in the towns and one meets among them people who are highly cultured and widely traveled. This class is mulatto, with a black minority. A color line, socially and politically important, divides the mulattoes and the blacks.

It is in this articulate minority, where Haitian pride is strongest, that feeling against our intervention is concentrated. To these Haitians, whose attitude is important since they are the ones almost certain to govern when we go, the situation appears in this light:

The Americans came to cooperate, but, instead of acting as mere advisers, they are running the country to suit themselves. They came to help Haiti for a period of twenty years, but they seem to have forgotten that time limit entirely and are preparing for a long stay.

Haitian National Viewpoint.

These Haitians say that "our country may be backward, but it is all we have. We fought for it and it is our own. We feel that it is slipping away from us, into the hands of the Americans."

They attribute this to imperialist designs on the part of our Government and our administrators. There is no space here to go into our record in Haiti, but it must be said that when one studies it, it is not so hard to understand this Haitian view.

How our officials, without conscious imperialist motives, could give this impression of imperialism may be explained in this way: Finding everything in Haiti to be done, our advisers to Haiti plunged with characteristic American energy into the job of getting everything done as quickly as possible. With our national proneness to emphasize material accomplishments and speed they have tended to neglect the human and political side of the Haitian problem. To cite but one instance: While our officials point with just pride to before and after photographic or statistical exhibits of what they have done with such things as roads and the public debt, it seems never to have occurred to them to devise such instruments for showing the effect of our intervention on the standard of living of the individual Haitian. There are no before and after statistics of the wage scale or the cost of living.

To provide Haiti with the greatest amount of material improvements in the shortest time we have favored a policy of reducing Haitian political discussion of this program to a minimum. Haiti, since 1918, has been governed under a transitory arrangement by which the President names a Council of State of twenty-one, which, in turn, elects the President, subject to the confirmation of our "recognition."

Since 1922 the President has been Louis Borno, a shrewd and intelligent man, who firmly supports both the program and method for aiding Haiti which our representatives favor. He has openly proclaimed that the Haitians are not capable of exercising the ballot. He believes that the situation demands that he be a dictator, backed by us.

Power Is Closely Centred.

The result of all this is that power in Haiti has come to be centred in a smoothly working, close corporation consisting of the President on one hand and our High Commissioner and treaty officials on the other. It is a system adapted more to speeding material work than to giving practice in self-government. It has the further disadvantage of hitching our chariot very close to that of one man, President Borno, whose policy of repressing opposition has especially inflamed sentiment against not only him but us.

Moreover, the development of our program of material help does not seem to be governed by the fact that the treaty expires in 1936. The tendency is to give Haiti all the improvements that the budget will allow, rather than to limit the objective to providing the Haitians with a machine which they will be able to run themselves at the end of twenty years.

While we are doing much to train Haitians for subordinate positions, we have done next to nothing toward training them to take over our high administrative functions. Some steps are being taken now toward this end, but the characteristic attitude of our officials seems still to be, "We haven't time to waste in explaining and debating; there is too much yet to be done."

All in all, one gets the impression in Haiti that, with notable exceptions, our officials have not paid sufficient attention to Haitian susceptibilities, to political realities, to the human side of the question. Among the exceptions, special mention deserves to be made of Mrs. Russell, who fills with great tact and broad human sympathy the difficult and important rôle of wife of the High Commissioner in a country troubled with a color line to which our own has been added.

To the lack of tact which neutrals say is our greatest fault in Haiti, and of which as many examples could be cited as of our efficiency, may be added a lack of contact, a tendency by our highest officials to rule from ivory towers, in cooperation with a President who rarely leaves his palace. It is a tendency of which even American businessmen in Haiti complain.

We have worked, in short, for the Haitians rather than with them. Eight years, however, remain before our treaty expires. It is quite possible that much better feeling toward us can be generated in that time; that it will not be said of us in 1936 that we have paved Haiti with good intentions.

Want Withdrawal Of Marines in Haiti

All-American Anti-Imperialist League Sponsors Mass Meeting

"The independence of Haiti should be unqualifiedly recognized," declared L. T. De Bekker, white secretary of the Committee on Haiti, at a protest meeting against United States rule in Haiti, held Sunday afternoon at Embassy Mansions, 20 West 115th street, under the auspices of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

A brief and interesting history of Haiti was given by W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis Magazine, who stated that the subject under discussion was of great interest not alone to Haiti and the United States but to al civilization, as it demonstrated "the method of the times." He stated that the whole problem was an economic one in which Haiti and other smaller countries are dominated for the benefit of capitalists and investors.

Mr. de Bekker read to the audience resolution number 158 introduced in Congress by United States Senator William H. King, Democrat, from Utah, in which was revealed the details of this country's military rule in Haiti.

Mention was made of the shooting down of 2,500 Haitians and the complete control of elections by military force against the will and consent of Haiti's National Assembly; the substituting of a new constitution for Haiti which was diametrically opposed by its National Assembly; the suppression of free speech; the pressure upon and intimidation of its citizens and the destruction of a free press. In this resolution Haiti's independence was asked for and the withdrawal of military forces demanded.

Those present at the meeting unanimously approved a telegraphic communication to President Coolidge opposing the war against Nicaragua and demanding the withdrawal of United States forces from Haiti, Nicaragua and all Latin-American countries; also demanding the release of 107 pickets who were arrested in front of the White House in Washington where they staged a protest demonstration with placards denouncing the war in Nicaragua.

Other speakers on the program were Richard B. Moore of the American Negro Labor Congress; Robert Minor, white, editor of The Daily Worker, and Henry Rosemond of the Haitian Patriotic Union, who branded as false and misleading the optimistic picture of conditions in Haiti as presented in the annual report of General H. Russell, American High Commissioner of Haiti.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

Haiti.

Freedom of Press Abolished in New Amendments to Haitian Constitution

Grave Danger Seen in Imposing so Much Power in American High Commissioner and President of Republic

By ARTHUR RUHL

(Writing in the New York Herald Tribune, Sunday, Jan. 22.)

An example of the indifference of the American public to the everyday realities of our Caribbean relations, as contrasted with their occasional excitement over such comparatively picturesque episodes as the row with Sandino, or the fact that the Havana populace greeted Mr. Coolidge with shouts of "Viva el Presidente!" is offered in the passing almost unnoticed and coincident with the Havana conference of the amendments to the Haitian constitution, against which there was sharp protest both in Haiti and in some quarters here, when the amendments were first proposed last fall.

These documents, so their critics asserted, would, if passed, seriously restrict freedom of speech and trial by jury and put the judiciary under the control of the Haitian President—which is to say, things being as they are, under the control of the American occupation.

Question of Expediency

How far right these circumstances were, what questions of expediency may have dictated the amendments, is beside the point with which we are immediately concerned—that important changes in a constitution (itself written by Americans, according to testimony brought out during the Senate investigation of affairs in Haiti) are first proposed, without exciting a ripple of comment in this country and later passed by a so-called popular vote, and all so quietly that the writer was put to some trouble to find anyone who could confirm the fact that a vote had actually been taken and the amendments passed!

Article 16 of the old constitution, granting freedom of speech, was modified to read "freedom of the press is guaranteed, subject to conditions determined by law." As there has been no legislature in Haiti since the American occupation, the government, consisting of the Haitian President and Council of State, acting in conjunction with the American High Commissioner and the other treaty officials, this clause, it is asserted, would leave regulation of the press to such measures as the President and High Commissioner saw fit to pass.

Article 19, which read "Right of trial by jury is established in criminal cases and in cases involving political offenses and those committed by the press," is changed to read, "trial by jury is established in criminal prosecutions in those cases specified by law." The critics assert these two clauses taken together would make it possible for jury trial to be denied to those accused of having offended in the press.

Changes in Judiciary

The amendment referring to the judiciary restricts the terms of Supreme Court judges from life to ten years, and while stating that "once judges are appointed they are not subject to revocation by the Executive," adds, "however, the judges continue to be subject to . . . special legislation which will determine the causes for removing them from office."

This clause, the critics say, virtually puts the judiciary under the control of the President. Moreover, the amendments contain the provision that "for a period of twelve months following the adoption of these amendments the Executive is authorized to make changes in the present personnel of the courts which he deems necessary."

Another interesting feature of the situation is that while the reason given for the failure to permit the Haitian people to hold an election for a legislature is their political incapacity for such an election, the constitution itself was passed by a popular vote, under the supervision of American marines, and it was by a similar popular vote that the present amendments were made law.

HAITI BOYCOTTS GOODWILL FLIER

Marines, Sailors Held to Protect Lindbergh

Lindbergh's arrival in Haiti today will be met by a general boycott, and native papers are carrying such phrases about Lindbergh as "On his visit here he is only a traveling salesman of Wall Street," and that Lindbergh "is not known here as a friend."

Sailors Held Over.

As a result the sailors of two units of the United States fleet, the Wyoming and the Utah, are being held over for the reception, and four hundred marines will be on hand to protect the "good-will" flyer. The marines and sailors with the additional 1200 Americans at Port-au-Prince, are expected to make up the bulk of the crowd at the reception which the bulk of the Haitians will stay away from.

Borno Closes Club.

In order to curb the opposition, the Borno dictatorship, maintained under the wing of American marines, has gone so far as to close the Circle Bellevue, the oldest social club in the capitol. This is seen as an indication of the opposition of the moderates as well to the visit of Lindbergh. It has been further announced that the opposition sentiment is so strong that even American merchants are hesitating about attending under fear of losing the trade of the people, while on the other hand they may feel forced to attend in order to keep in good with the Borno dictatorship.

WANTS TROOPS RECALLED BY STATE ORDER

Says Americans Have Killed 2,500

Washington, D. C., March 2.—A resolution directing the foreign relations committee to investigate the American occupation of Haiti was introduced in the senate last Thursday by Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah.

This resolution would authorize the foreign relations committee "to make such investigations as are necessary to ascertain the reason for the seizure and continued occupation of Haiti by the United States, the reasons why the constitution of Haiti was superseded, the election suppressed, the rights of the Haitian people interfered with and the guaranties of liberty, freedom of speech and of the press under said constitution impaired."

Would Aid Haitians

The foreign relations committee would be authorized also "to inquire into the present conditions in Haiti and report their findings to the senate, together with such measures as shall permit the Haitian people to set up and establish a government of their own choice and assume control of the same and their civil and political affairs."

Legislation to be proposed by the committee as a result of its investigation would also provide "for the withdrawal from Haiti of all military forces of the United States and all officers—military, naval and otherwise—except only regularly accredited diplomatic representatives or consular agents as may be agreed upon by the government of the United States and the government of the Haitian republic."

The preamble to the resolution recites incidents from the landing of the United States marines and their seizure of public buildings and important military positions in July, 1915, to date. More than 2,500 Haitians have been killed in conflict with the armed forces of the United States, it is charged in the resolution.

Senator Is Barred

Senator King himself attempted to enter Haiti from Santa Domingo last summer to make a personal investigation of conditions in the Haitian republic, but Louis Borno, president of Haiti, would not permit him to come in. Senator King upon his return here charged that Borno was simply a puppet carrying out the orders of the state department and Gen. Russell, the American high commissioner.

Senator King served notice that he will discuss his resolution at an early date.

West Indian Negro Labor Excluded From Cuba

Havana, Cuba.—Entry of West Indian Negro labor into Cuba, which has been authorized every year by special Presidential decree at the request of sugar mills needing harvest hands, will no longer be permitted, it was stated in official circles on February 23. The entry of such labor was prohibited by a military decree issued by the late Gen. Leonard Wood twenty-seven years ago.

The decision to bar the labor this year is understood to have been reached at a cabinet meeting. No legislative action will be necessary because the doors of Cuba are automaticaly closed except when opened by Presidential decree.

Although this labor is supposed to be brought in under bond and shipped back after the harvest season, there are 70,000 British West Indians registered at the British Consulate-General of Cuba.

RECORD

Miami, Fla.

FEB 23 1928

BARS NEGRO IMMIGRATION

HAVANA, Feb. 23—(AP)—Entry of West Indian negro labor into Cuba, which has been authorized every year by special presidential decree at the request of sugar mills needing harvest hands, will no longer be permitted, it was stated in official circles today. The entry of such was prohibited by a military decree issued by the late Gen. Leonard Wood 27 years ago.

MARINES' WORK IN HAITI LAUDED BY UPDIKE

Taken Sharply To Task By La Guardia Of New York On House Floor

Special to the Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., March 12.—Defending the sending of United States Marines into Nicaragua, Representative Ralph E. Updike, Republican, of Indiana, declared that the same situation exists today in the Central American republic as existed in Haiti in 1916 until the marines were able to stabilize the Haitian government.

Mr. Updike said that he had served as a marine in Haiti, San Domingo and Cuba before the war, "and I know the good work that was done in that vicinity by the United States Marine Corps."

In a running debate with Representative F. H. La Guardia, Republican, of New York, Mr. Updike stated that "the good citizens of Haiti and the good citizens of San Domingo welcomed the United States in the supervision of their elections in 1916 which were carried on in orderly way."

When Mr. Updike said that the United States is in Nacaragua to create a friendly feeling, Mr. La Guardia added, "at the point of the bayonet."

Mr. Updike concluded that the marines were protecting American life and property in Nicaragua.

MARINES MAKE HAITIANS VOTE 40 TIMES EACH

Letters Smuggled Out Of Island Tell Of U. S. Outrages There

BOY OF 14 HAD TO SERVE AS REPEATER

Government Workers Made Drunk With Tafia Under U. S. Orders

Further outrages perpetrated by the United States marines occupying Haiti have just become known through letters smuggled into the United States, the AFRO learned today.

The Borno government under the thumb of General Russell and the United States marines has just declared that all Haitian judges ought to be dismissed and new judges appointed favorable to the United States.

To enable the government to make this change, amendments to the Constitution were voted upon January 10 and 11.

Letters To AFRO

Letters sent to the AFRO, explain the means by which these amendments were passed. The letters say that all the street sweepers and municipal laborers were packed in truck cars that they might not escape. They were taken to the voting places and obliged by strict orders to cast their vote for the amendments. As the number of voters was small, each man voted not less than 40 times, going from one polling place to another; each time using a false name.

In Port au Prince

In Port au Prince all custom house clerks, employees and laborers were sent for and organized in groups of 11 each to be sent to the polling places. When the pay roll was called, each man under the control of a supervisor was forced to cast as many votes as ordered.

Dr. M. Desbrosses, assistant to the president, was reported as voting boys of 14 and 15 years of age.

Government laborers, tired and ashamed, escaped one at a time. In order to keep them they were made drunk with tafia (white rum). Patriots estimate that at least 100,000 fraudulent electoral cards were issued by General Russell and President Borno.

Bellevue Club Raided

Three American officers and a Haitian officer of the constabulary accompanied by the justice of the peace, evicted members of the Bellevue Club from their building January 30. The delegation was accompanied by constables armed with sticks and revolvers.

There were about 80 patriots in the club at the time who left peaceably in order to avoid ill treatment to the Haitian women.

The hall was closed because the patriots had refused to organize a ball in honor of President Vasquez and his party during the latter's visit to Borno.

Cold To Lindbergh

Patriots also regret the cold welcome given to Colonel Lindbergh on his trip here. They made no demonstration at all because they understood that Lindbergh's trip was designed to fasten still tighter the hold of the American's on the island.

Haitian Adviser Charges Republic Near Slavery Under American Rule

Native Makes Forceful Reply To Commissioner Russell's Report As Published In Journal and Guide; Declares Natives Have No Rights American Respect

By HENRY ROSEMOND

(First Adviser to the Haitian Patriotic Union in America, Brooklyn, N. Y.)

While reading the Norfolk Journal and Guide of April 7th, a very interesting weekly newspaper, of Norfolk, Va., I ran across a note which was sent to them direct from Washington, D. C., on April 3rd with the following statements about the little Republic under the oppression of the United States since July, 1915.

From Bad To Worse

This statement tells that the rehabilitation of Haiti is progressing at an almost unbelievable pace and the prosperity and happiness of the Haitian people have already been materially increased. In his annual report to Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, by the famous big American fish in Haiti, John H. Russell, so-called high commissioner of U. S. A. in Haiti.

I wonder how could you, Russell, have enough nerve to send such a report to Washington when you know that it isn't true? The misery has increased 100 per cent. in Haiti since the American occupation there. Conditions have gone from bad to worse.

Mr. Russell has made almost every week a new law against the advantage of the Haitian people.

The people of Haiti are suffering such that they are compelled to emigrate themselves daily to France, to Cuba, to the United States, with the intention of never returning to Haiti as long as the Americans will remain there.

If you want to find out if what I am saying is true you can inquire at the Department of Labor at Ellis Island and the Haitian consulate in New York as to how many Haitians land here every month.

More Lies

"From the point of view of customs revenues General Russell reports the year has been all that could be desired, but, "as a result of the sound financial policy in operation and the accuracy with which financial estimates have been made, not only have the budget expenses been met, but the extensive and progressive program of the development including the rapid retirement of the public debt has been continued without recourse to the substantial reserve fund wisely carried as insurance against crop failure or other calamity."

All this is nothing but more lies The year 1927 was to the Haitian people the most miserable year that they have ever had since the independence of Haiti January the year of 1804.

The employees of the custom houses of Haiti are 75 per cent. Americans; all of the best positions are occupied by the Americans with superintendent in each custom house. The wages of the Haitian worker is 80 per cent. smaller than those of the most illiterate and ignorant American.

Russell did not say a word about the foreign debt, he did not even mention the $30,000,000 that he took from Wall Street in the name of the Haitian Republic.

Russell says that the financial policy inaugurated by President Borno after he assumed office in 1922 has resulted in establishing the finances of Haiti on a sound basis.

The so-called high commissioner, Mr. John H. Russell's duty is to say something every year about Haiti in order to maintain his job, as big master roller of that little Republic.

Haiti is at the present time under the worst oppression that any one could imagine.

Louis Borno, a born Frenchman, was imposed on the Haitian people by the American military officials as president, on orders received from Washington.

John H. Russell, an American marine corps officers, was nominated high commissioner of the Republic. Together they make their own laws, they say what they want and do what they please. They even procured some amendments to the Haitian constitution. In 1926 they borrowed from Wall Street $30,000,000 of which I dare any one to give account of the first fifteen millions.

Protest Meetings Held

In all the cities of Haiti especially Port au Prince, mass protest meetings, newspaper articles and all kinds of rumors are going on against the new proposition of the government of Washington presented by the big American, John H. Russell, the so-called high commissioner of the United States of Haiti.

The demand of a new law authorizing the American to dispossess the Haitian peasants of their lands who haven't any identification papers as owners, and state certificates, mentioning the date, the quantity, the price, and from whom they have bought their lands, and valuable property

I will say to that effect, "If Mr. Louis Borno, the so-called president of Haiti would once more patronize the Americans in that high-grade robbery, after he has got under cover all the crimes that they have committed in Haiti, he should suffer as soon as possible the consequences of his dirtiness.

Mr. Russell, the Americans and other foreigners in Haiti know that Haiti is a young country that took her independence 124 years ago running by its second generation.

Natives Have No Papers

In a way of speaking, no Haitian in the Republic of Haiti has any of those papers that the new law or any other law of that kind would require.

After Jean Jacques Dessaline, Capoie Lamort, Toussaint L'Overture and all the other heroes of the Independence of Haiti in January 1804 taking through blood, life of men women and children gloriously from the rich Frenchmen, and the Imperial guards of Napoleon Bonaparte the great emperor of the 17th century.

They divide between them and their soldiers all lands, gold and jewelry that were taken from their oppressor; which property became automatically after their death to their children and parents, as it is done up today in all the civilized countries.

If this law goes through in Haiti it will be an addition of the misery of that country. The Haitians at the American Sugar Co., in Port au Prince are working at 20 cents a day. In the Civil Service there are Americans in every department.

The American engineers get from $200.00 to $500.00 a month, and the Haitian engineers who have just as much experience or 80 per cent. more experience than most of the Americans in Haiti got $40.00 to $75.00 a month. Most of the Haitian engineers were educated in France, Germany, England, and a few in the United States.

It was reported that the idea of this new law is to get the peasants out of their native lands because they do not want to sell them to the agents of Wall Street capitalists in Haiti, who desire to start a new plantation rubber and sugar cane in the mountains of the south of Haiti—especially the mountain of Pelion Ville, the coolest state of the east of Haiti, agreeable to that sort of plantation.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

Haiti.

The Strangling Of Haiti By Wall Street

4/21/28

By HENRY ROSEMOND
(First Adviser to the Haitian Patriotic Union in America)

While reading a very interesting weekly newspaper I ran across a note which was sent to them direct from Washington, D. C., dated April 3 with the following statements about that little republic under the oppression of the United States since July, 1915.

From Bad to Worse

This statement tells that the rehabilitation of Haiti is progressing at an almost unbelievable pace and the prosperity and happiness of the Haitian people have already been materially increased in his annual report to Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, by the famous big American fish in Haiti, John H. Russell, so-called high commissioner of U. S. A. in Haiti.

I wonder how could you, Russell, have enough nerve to send such a report to Washington when you know that it isn't true. The misery has increased 100 per cent in Haiti since the American occupation there. Conditions have gone from bad to worse.

Mr. Russell has made almost every week a new law against the advantage of the Haitian people.

The people of Haiti are suffering such that they are compelled to emigrate themselves daily to France, to Cuba, to the United States, with the intention of never returning to Haiti as long as the Americans will remain there.

If you want to find out if what I am saying is true you can inquire at the Department of Labor at Ellis Island and the Haitian consulate in New York as to how many Haitians and here every month.

From the point of view of customs revenues General Russell reports the year has been all that could be desired, but, "as a result of the sound financial policy in operation and the accuracy with which financial estimates have been made, not only have the budget expenses been met, but the extensive and progrssive program of the development including the rapid retirement of the public debt has been continued without recourse to the substantial reserve fund wisely carried as insurance against crop failure or other calamity."

All this is nothing but more lies. The year 1927 was to the Haitian people the most miserable year that they have ever had since the independence of Haiti ,January, the year 1804.

The employes of the custom house of Haiti are 75 per cent Americans all the best positions are occupied by the Americans with a superintendent in each custom house. The wages of the Haitian worker is 80 per cent smaller than those of the most illiterate and ignorant American.

Russell did not say a word about the foreign debt, he did not even mention the $30,000,000 that he took from Wall Street in the name of the Haitian Republic.

Russell says that the financial policy inaugurated by President Borno after he assumed office in 1922 has resulted in establishing the finances of Haiti on a sound basis.

The so-called high commissioner, Mr. John H. Russell's duty is to say something every year about Haiti in order to maintain his job, as big master roller of that little republic.

Haiti is at the present time under the worst oppression that anyone could imagine.

Louis Borno, a born Frenchman was imposed on the Haitian people by the American military officials as president, on orders received from Washington.

John H. Russell, an American marine corps officer, was nominated high commissioner of the republic. Together they make their own laws they say what they want and do what they please. They even procure some amendments to the Haitian constitution. In 1926 they borrowed from Wall Street $30,000,000 of which I dare anyone to give account of the first $15,000,000.

U. S. Will Take Away Lands of Haiti Farmers

PORT AU PRINCE, May 4.—A Cadsatra bill, for the registration of land titles in Haiti, with the obvious intention to expropriate the native Haitian peasants in order to hand over the land to American concessionaires, was submitted last July to the government of Haiti by the American financial adviser, Dr. W. W. Cumberland. Since all "recommendations" of the American advisers are adopted without questioning by the Haitian government, there is no doubt that this law will be adopted in due time, and the illiterate Negro peasants, who have no written documents of titles to the land which they have held since their successful revolution against the French landowners and slave-holders about 150 years ago, will again become landless slaves.

The original bill as submitted last July provided that all peasants unable to show titles to the land on which they have been living for generations, would be expropriated and their lands handed over to the state, which in turn would proclaim them public property and sell or lease them to American concessionaires. According to this bill the property of each parcel of land and the title to it would have to be examined and decided by an administration board composed of two Americans and one Haitian appointed by the Haitian government, in other words exclusively by American officials.

According to the new form of the Cadastral bill, native Haitian judges will decide which lands are held by the natives illegally and they will expropriate them in favor of the Americans in due form, after a legal proceeding.

"Unlawful" Occupation of Marines of Haiti Assailed by Senator Wm. H. King

Haitian Patriotic Union and All America Anti-Imperialist League Hold Mass Meeting at Harlem Casino

The unlawful intervention of the United States Marines, the subsequent enforced occupation of Haiti, the degradation of natives under military rule and the misinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, were assailed in a lengthy and fiery address delivered by Senator William H. King of Utah before a joint meeting of the Haitian Patriotic Union and the All-America Anti-Imperialistic League, gathered Sunday afternoon at Harlem Casino, 90 West 116th street.

Other speakers included William Pickens of the N. A. C. P.; Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker; Irving Potash of the Furriers' Union; J. J. Adams, Haitian representative at the Geneva Conference; Henry Rosemond of the Haitian Patriotic Union, and Manuel Gomez of the All-America Anti-Imperialistic League.

The meeting scheduled for 2 o'clock did not begin until 4 p. m., as it awaited the arrival of the Senator, who came to the hall direct from Pennsylvania Station. Pointed sentences from his address follow:

"The United States in 1910, in violation of the Constitution and in illegal violation of the suffrage rights of a neighboring weakling nation, sent vessels and thousands of our forces to Haiti, disregarding or ignoring the fact that no excuse had been furnished or existed for the military invasion of this land of friendly people.

"Our liberties were not menaced and the liberties of Latin American countries were not in danger.

"It is said that the United States governs Haiti better than the Haitians can govern themselves. What of it? If conceded, what then? Did God make the United States a policeman for all the rest of the world?

"Borno isn't the President of Haiti. He represents the military power of the United States and holds his power by virtue of American imperialism.

"The United States should leave Haiti alone. Our best policy to pursue in assisting her would be in giving advice when solicited.

"Even if we concede that Haiti will again resort to her old methods of government and suffer once more from her numerous revolutions, what then? It is their own struggle, and they should be allowed to fight it out among themselves.

"Our old treaty with Haiti expired in 1926. Therefore, our present occupation of that nation is an act of usurpation and oppression. We should withdraw our forces immediately and in so doing perpetuate our own glorified Democracy."

CONFLICTING NEWS FROM HAITI

4/28/28

GENERAL JOHN H. RUSSELL, American high commissioner at Port au Prince, Haiti, and the boss of the erstwhile Negro republic, reports that Haiti is being rapidly rehabilitated, that there has been a steady gain in prosperity and that the farmers are now tilling their soil in peace. The Haitian judiciary is bad, he avers, probably meaning that they do not mete out the sort of justice that appeals to the Marines. But all in all, General Russell tells Secretary of State Kellogg in his annual report that everything is rosy.

From other sources we get different reports. A Haitian student recently arrived in this country and charged that two Haitian editors are still languishing in jail for having criticized an educational inspector. From his we hear that economic conditions in the island republic are very bad; that very little sugar is being exported; that Haitians employed in enterprises conducted by Americans are given only the most menial jobs and that consequently many Haitian workers and intellectuals are migrating.

Supporting these statements we have the testimony of Henry Rosemond, First Adviser to the Haitian Patriotic Union in America. He avers that the misery in Haiti has increased 100 per cent since the American occupation; that things have gone from bad to worse; that Russell and President Borno together make all of the laws and generally do as they please to the detriment of the Haitian masses. Opinions differ widely.

We are inclined to doubt General Russell and to believe the others. It is a fact that Haitians are arriving at Ellis Island, New York City every day in increasing numbers, glad to escape from their country. If conditions are so good down there under American rule, why are they leaving? People do not try to escape from Utopias.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

Haiti.

The Strangling Of Haiti By Wall Street

4/21/28

By HENRY ROSEMOND
(First Adviser to the Haitian Patriotic Union in America)

While reading a very interesting weekly newspaper I ran across a note which was sent to them direct from Washington, D. C., dated April 3 with the following statements about that little republic under the oppression of the United States since July, 1915.

From Bad to Worse

This statement tells that the rehabilitation of Haiti is progressing at an almost unbelievable pace and the prosperity and happiness of the Haitian people have already been materially increased in his annual report to Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, by the famous big American fish in Haiti, John H. Russell, so-called high commissioner of U. S. A. in Haiti.

I wonder how could you, Russell, have enough nerve to send such a report to Washington when you know that it isn't true. The misery has increased 100 per cent in Haiti since the American occupation there. Conditions have gone from bad to worse.

Mr. Russell has made almost every week a new law against the advantage of the Haitian people.

The people of Haiti are suffering such that they are compelled to emigrate themselves daily to France, to Cuba, to the United States, with the intention of never returning to Haiti as long as the Americans will remain there.

If you want to find out if what I am saying is true you can inquire at the Department of Labor at Ellis Island and the Haitian consulate in New York as to how many Haitians and here every month.

From the point of view of customs revenues General Russell reports the year has been all that could be desired, but, "as a result of the sound financial policy in operation and the accuracy with which financial estimates have been made, not only have the budget expenses been met, but the extensive and progrssive program of the development including the rapid retirement of the public debt has been continued without recourse to the substantial reserve fund wisely carried as insurance against crop failure or other calamity."

All this is nothing but more lies. The year 1927 was to the Haitian people the most miserable year that they have ever had since the independence of Haiti ,January, the year 1804.

The employes of the custom house of Haiti are 75 per cent Americans all the best positions are occupied by the Americans with a superintendent in each custom house. The wages of the Haitian worker is 80 per cent smaller than those of the most illiterate and ignorant American.

Russell did not say a word about the foreign debt, he did not even mention the $30,000,000 that he took from Wall Street in the name of the Haitian Republic.

Russell says that the financial policy inaugurated by President Borno after he assumed office in 1922 has resulted in establishing the finances of Haiti on a sound basis.

The so-called high commissioner, Mr. John H. Russell's duty is to say something every year about Haiti in order to maintain his job, as big master roller of that little republic.

Haiti is at the present time under the worst oppression that anyone could imagine.

Louis Borno, a born Frenchman was imposed on the Haitian people by the American military officials as president, on orders received from Washington.

John H. Russell, an American marine corps officer, was nominated high commissioner of the republic. Together they make their own laws they say what they want and do what they please. They even procure some amendments to the Haitian constitution. In 1926 they borrowed from Wall Street $30,000,000 of which I dare anyone to give account of the first $15,000,000.

U. S. Will Take Away Lands of Haiti Farmers

PORT AU PRINCE, May 4.—A Cadsatra bill, for the registration of land titles in Haiti, with the obvious intention to expropriate the native Haitian peasants in order to hand over the land to American concessionaires, was submitted last July to the government of Haiti by the American financial adviser, Mr. W. W. Cumberland. Since all "recommendations" of the American advisers are adopted without questioning by the Haitian government, there is no doubt that this law will be adopted in due time, and the illiterate Negro peasants, who have no written documents of titles to the land which they have held since their successful revolution against the French landowners and slave-holders about 150 years ago, will again become landless slaves.

The original bill as submitted last July provided that all peasants unable to show titles to the land on which they have been living for generations, would be expropriated and their lands handed over to the state, which in turn would proclaim them public property and sell or lease them to American concessionaires. According to this bill the property of each parcel of land and the title to it would have to be examined and decided by an administration board composed of two Americans and one Haitian appointed by the Haitian government, in other words exclusively by American officials.

According to the new form of the Cadastral bill, native Haitian judges will decide which lands are held by the natives illegally and they will expropriate them in favor of the Americans in due form, after a legal proceeding.

CONFLICTING NEWS FROM HAITI

4/28/28

GENERAL JOHN H. RUSSELL, American high commissioner at Port au Prince, Haiti, and the boss of the erstwhile Negro republic, reports that Haiti is being rapidly rehabilitated, that there has been a steady gain in prosperity and that the farmers can now till their soil in peace. The Haitian judiciary is bad, he avers, probably meaning that they do not mete out the sort of justice that appeals to the Marines. But all in all, General Russell tells Secretary of State Kellogg in his annual report that everything is rosy.

From other sources we get different reports. A Haitian student recently arrived in this country and charged that two Haitian editors are still languishing in jail for having criticized an educational inspector. From his we hear that economic conditions in the island republic are very bad; that very little sugar is being exported; that Haitians employed in enterprises conducted by Americans are given only the most menial jobs and that consequently many Haitian workers and intellectuals are migrating.

Supporting these statements we have the testimony of Henry Rosemond, First Adviser to the Haitian Patriotic Union in America. He charges that the misery in Haiti has increased 100 per cent since the American occupation; that things have gone from bad to worse; that Russell and President Borno together make all of the laws and generally do as they please to the detriment of the Haitian masses. Opinions differ widely.

We are inclined to doubt General Russell and to believe the others. It is a fact that Haitians are arriving at Ellis Island, New York City every day in increasing numbers, glad to escape from their country. If conditions are so good down there under American rule, why are they leaving? People do not try to escape from Utopias.

"Unlawful" Occupation of Marines of Haiti Assailed by Senator Wm. H. King

Haitian Patriotic Union and All America Anti-Imperialist League Hold Mass Meeting at Harlem Casino

The unlawful intervention of the United States Marines, the subsequent enforced occupation of Haiti, the degradation of natives under military rule and the misinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, were assailed in a lengthy and fiery address delivered by Senator William H. King of Utah before a joint meeting of the Haitian Patriotic Union and the All-America Anti-Imperialistic League, gathered Sunday afternoon at Harlem Casino, 90 West 116th street.

Other speakers included William Pickens of the N. A. A. C. P.; Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker; Irving Potash of the Furriers' Union; J. J. Adams, Haitian representative at the Geneva Conference; Henry Rosemond of the Haitian Patriotic Union, and Manuel Gomez of the All-America Anti-Imperialistic League.

The meeting scheduled for 2 o'clock did not begin until 4 p. m., as it awaited the arrival of the Senator, who came to the hall direct from Pennsylvania Station. Pointed sentences from his address follow:

"The United States in 1910, in violation of the Constitution and in illegal violation of the suffrage rights of a neighboring weakling nation, sent vessels and thousands of our forces to Haiti, disregarding or ignoring the fact that no excuse had been furnished or existed for the military invasion of this land of friendly people.

"Our liberties were not menaced and the liberties of Latin American countries were not in danger.

"It is said that the United States governs Haiti better than the Haitians can govern themselves. What of it? If conceded, what then? Did God make the United States a policeman for all the rest of the world?

"Borno isn't the President of Haiti. He represents the military power of the United States and holds his power by virtue of American imperialism.

"The United States should leave Haiti alone. Our best policy to pursue in assisting her would be in giving advice when solicited.

"Even if we concede that Haiti will again resort to her old methods of government and suffer once more from her numerous revolutions, what then? It is their own struggle, and they should be allowed to fight it out among themselves.

"Our old treaty with Haiti expired in 1926. Therefore, our present occupation of that nation is an act of usurpation and oppression. We should withdraw our forces immediately and in so doing perpetuate our own glorified Democracy."

A POLITICAL ADVENTURE.

Under the pointed and pertinent headline, "What About Hayti?" Arthur Ruhl contributed an illuminating article to the New York Herald Tribune two Sundays ago, in which he discussed some questions raised in "Black Democracy" a new book by H. P. Davis, dealing with the present status of the subjugated republic. The outstanding defect of American rule is pointed out in the fact that, after thirteen years of occupation, "no direct steps have yet been taken toward preparing the conscious Haytian minority to govern their own country themselves." This is the constructive criticism found in Mr. Davis' book and emphasized by Mr. Ruhl, who sedulously avoids any discussion of the justice, expediency, divine right or manifest destiny, which leads a stronger nation to interfere forcibly in the affairs of a weaker neighbor.

That Haiti is unprepared for democracy is declared self-evident and the material benefits conferred by the American occupation are pronounced equally apparent, but it is recalled that the island is not one of our insular possessions in the same case as the Philippines or the Virgin Islands. Further, that our armed intervention in 1915 was made only after the definite assurance that we had "no object in view except to insure Haitian independence and re-establish a firm government," and that we should remain in Haiti "only so long as will be necessary for this purpose." The lack of a definite program to carry out these pledges constitutes the glaring injustice of the present policy pursued by the American rulers. Mr. Davis, in his book, suggests that a Haitian Senate and House of Deputies should be elected and should function before our withdrawal and that definite steps should be taken toward the gradual replacement of Americans by Haitians in all administrative departments.

This would be a measure of reparation for the wrong committed in subverting the democratic form of government existing in Haiti by forcibly dissolving the national congress in the early days of the occupation and preventing any popular election since. The absence of such a policy looking toward the restoration of democratic government is pronounced by far the most vital and legitimate complaint of the former ruling class of Haitians who represent the only articulate public opinion, despite all efforts of the ocupation to stifle their protests. The weakness of this class of Haitians is that they failed in the days of their power to lay the foundation for popular democracy among the masses of their fellow countrymen. The peasants were exploited as laborers, drafted into the army as soldiers, but denied the advantages of public instruction and kept in a state of primitive ignorance. It was the same neglect of the lower classes that prevailed in most of the Latin-American republics and from which some of them are now emerging.

Mr. Davis mildly criticizes the arbitrary power wielded by the American officials in failing to respect decisions of the Haitian Supreme Court and considers that the time is ripe for subordinating the military regime to a civil administrator. He suggests three possible policies: abrogate the treaty and get out, continue the intervention indefinitely—both of which alternatives he dismisses as impossible or inexpedient—or "announce definitely that we will withdraw at the expiration of the treaty in 1936 and adopt a definite program designed to prepare the Haytian people, in so far as possible, to take over and administer an efficient, independent government."

The trouble with the last of these suggestions is that it would require an entirely different class of Americans to efface the evil effects of the racial prejudices and antagonisms engendered under the denomination of Southern white officials and the marines. They have sought to degrade and dominate the people over whom they ruled and upon whose taxes they have fattened. Mr. Ruhl is right in pronouncing the American intervention in Haiti, "one of those political adventures." As such it has attracted a horde of political adventurers, who have made the name American a synonym for highhanded abuse of power. It is indeed high time something definite was done to repair the wrongs committed under the pretext of intervention in Haiti.

NEW YORK HERALD
MAY 14 1928

Troops Illegally in Hayti, Declares Senator King

Nation's Rights Were Violated, Protest Meeting Here Told

"When it landed troops in Hayti in 1915 the government of this country illegally and unconstitutionally violated the rights of a weak and friendly nation," said Senator William H. King at a protest meeting held yesterday under the joint auspices of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and the Haytian Patriotic Union in the New Harlem Casino, at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue.

"Not content with having abolished the Haytian constitution and dissolved the legislative assemblies," he continued, "this country, in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, is now setting out to deprive all the small peasants in Hayti of their land and reduce them to slavery. The American troops should be withdrawn at once. Let Haytians settle their own destinies."

Other speakers were William Pickens, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; J. J. Adam, representative from Hayti at the League of Nations conference at Geneva; Henry Charles Rosemond, Robert Minor and Manuel Gomez. Evelyn Fubb presided.

NEGRO REPUBLIC'S NAME DISCUSSED

U. S. Geographic Board Says Hayti Is Correct

There is a difference of opinion, says "The Pathfinder" as to whether the West Indian island which comprises the two countries of Hayti and the Dominican Republic should be called Hayti or Santo Domingo. The Pan-American Union says Santo Domingo is the correct name of the island. On the other hand, the United States Geographic inclines toward Hayti. That authority board says on this subject:: "Hayti was the native name of the island when Columbus landed, on December 6, 1492, and called it Espaniola, which was Latinized into Hispaniola.

The French colony which gained control of a part of the island was called Saint Dominique; and in 1795, when France acquired title to the entire island by treaty with Spain, it was called Saint Dominiques but when the French were driven out and independence declared in 1804, the abroginal name Hayti was revived by the Negroes.

Shortly after the Spanairds re-established themselves in the eastern part of the island, retaining the French name modified to Santo Domingo, but in 1821 lost control, and from 1822 to 1843 the whole island was under one government as the Republic of Hayti. In 1844 the eastern portion of the island again asserted its independence of Hayti and established the Dominican Republic, which seems to be the proper name, consists of two countries, Hayti, on the west end, and Dominican Republic, on the east end."

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

COMMISSION WILL SURVEY VIRGIN ISLAND SCHOOLS

Government Plans Vocational Training For Island Children

Washington, D. C.—Under auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton Institute, and by authority of the Secretary of the Navy a Commission has been appointed to make an educational survey of the Virgin Islands.

Members of the commission are W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college, Tuskegee, Tuskegee Institute, and field director of the Slater and Jeanes Funds; Thomas H. Dikinson, author of a number of books on the drama, and former professor at the University of Wisconsin; and W. Carson Ryan, professor of education, Swarthmore College, and director of an educational survey of Saskatchewan, Canada.

Clarence D. Stevens, director of the business school, Hampton Institute, will accompany the commission. The party sailed from New York Thursday, March 22, and will be gone about five weeks.

The commission will study the schools of the Island with a view to introduing vocational training such as is taught at Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. Dean Williams made a similar survey of Haiti some years ago.

VIRGIN ISLANDS COMMISSION SAILS THURS.

Hampton-Tuskegee Group Makes School Survey for Navy Department.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING NEEDED ON ISLANDS

Four Members of Party Expect Work to Take Five Weeks

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., March—Under the auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes and by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, a commission has been appointed to make an educational survey of the Virgin Islands.

Members of the commission are: W. T. B. Williams, Dean of the College, Tuskegee Institute and Field Director of the Slater and Jeanes Funds; Thomas H. Dickinson author of a number of books on the drama and former professor at the University of Wisconsin; and W. Carson Ryan, professor of Education, Swarthmore College and director of an educational survey of Saskatchewan, Canada. Clarence D. Stevens, Director of the Business School, Hampton Institute, will accompany the commission.

The party sails from New York March 22, and will be gone about five weeks.

The commission will study the schools of the islands with a view such as is taught at Tuskegee and to introducing vocational training Hampton Institutes. Dean Williams made a similar survey of Haiti some years ago.

A VIRGIN ISLANDS SURVEY.

Eleven years ago this week the flag of Denmark which had with slight interruption flown for 250 years over the islands known as Dansk Vestindien (the Danish West Indies), was replaced by the Stars and Stripes. These hundred islands, with a total area not as great as that of the five boroughs of New York City and with a population of the size of White Plains, became the "Virgin Islands of the United States." The largest bear the names of saints, inherited from the centuries which followed COLUMBUS's coming. They need again the visitation of such practical saints as the members of the commission that left New York last week to make an educational survey of them, for it is recognized that their social and economic conditions are "in a difficult state."

They lie at "the cross-roads of the Seven Seas," but are not closely in touch with the civilization on the shores of those seas. Their population has somewhat dwindled since their title was shifted from the Old World to the New, and hopes that rose with the new association have been somewhat disappointed. Senator BINGHAM looked in on them two years ago, and it is understood to be through him that the approval and cooperation of the United States Government have been secured for this survey, which is to be made under the auspices of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes and is financed by friends of these institutions, who take this way of showing an interest in the colored inhabitants of those islands. It is to improvement of the health, well-being and productivity of the mass populations in these islands, which are "something more than 90 per cent. black," that this mission is especially directed.

Colonel LINDBERGH put these islands, especially St. Thomas, on the maps of thousands who had never quite known where they were and brought them again to the minds of other thousands who remembered their taking over in the midst of the war but had since quite forgotten them. LINDBERGH testified that he had never had a more interesting or a more beautiful flight than over the islands in his approach to St. Thomas; and after reaching Porto Rico the next day he spoke of the practicability of an air line between North and South America over these and other islands of the West Indies. The United States cannot afford to let them be put to anything but the best possible uses for those whom it has taken over willy-nilly with their little patches of earth. The help which Hampton and Tuskegee offer is that which the masses of inhabitants most need—the advice of those who have under somewhat similar conditions worked out their own salvation under great racial handicaps.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

MAR 29 1928

A VIRGIN ISLANDS SURVEY

Although it is just 11 years ago this week since the Virgin islands become, through purchase from Denmark, territory of the United States, it is doubtless true that the great majority of the people of this country knew little about them until Col Lindbergh put them on the map by landing at St Thomas on his Caribbean tour this winter. But St Thomas, while the capital, is but one; there are some hundred islands included in the whole group which now flies the Stars and Stripes. While business concessions are in general still held by Danish inhabitants under terms of the treaty of transfer, the political affairs are directed by the navy department. Probably 90 per cent of the population is composed of Negroes.

Perhaps the Virgin islanders do not look on Uncle Sam's rule as an unmixed blessing. For while sanitary and health conditions have been improved, as is generally the case when this country enters new fields, and in spite of the fact that their control of business is unaffected, business conditions themselves are not what they used to be. The answer? Prohibition.

St Thomas used to do a big business in distilled liquors. It also did an excellent business in bay rum. Even the latter, however, has suffered under American dominion, for bay rum, under prohibition laws, must be "denatured," and the islanders claim, and the diminishing bay rum trade would seem to prove, that in the denaturing process something of the fine quality of the product which gave it high standing in the world's markets is lost, and the product is less desirable than formerly.

Whether this may be regarded as cause or effect, it is also true that the population of the Virgin islands has been slowly but constantly diminishing during the 11 years of ownership by the United States. The islanders, on the whole, have been disappointed in their hopes of improved conditions from United States ownership, and would welcome any definite, positive program in their favor.

Now, after a long wait, they may well see hope in the visit of the commission which has sailed from New York this week to undertake a survey of the needs of the entire area. Health, education, well-being and productivity are among the subjects which will be studied. The survey will be made under the auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton institutes, and is financed by friends of the two institutions, as a token of the friendly interest of the black man in the United States for his fellows on the islands. The government, while not directly participating, approves the project, and it may be hoped that any report which the commission may prepare on its return may become the basis for a constructive government program.

The total area of the Virgin islands is not great, about the size of the five boroughs of New York city. The population is about that of White Plains. The islands stand at the "cross roads of the seven seas," but its people are more than a little out of touch with the civilized world which adjoins those seas. As long as Uncle Sam has taken them under his protection without the islanders having much to say about it, it would seem about time for this country to give serious consideration to extending the aid needed to permit them to enjoy living conditions which will at least compare favorably with those which the people of continental United States enjoy.

Race Problem - 1928

West Indies.

COMMISSION WILL SURVEY VIRGIN ISLAND SCHOOLS

Government Plans Vocational Training For Island Children

Washington, D. C.—Under auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton Institute, and by authority of the Secretary of the Navy a Commission has been appointed to make an educational survey of the Virgin Islands.

Members of the commission are W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college, Tuskegee, Tuskegee Institute, and field director of the Slater and Jeanes Funds; Thomas H. Dikinson, author of a number of books on the drama, and former professor at the University of Wisconsin; and W. Carson Ryan, professor of education, Swarthmore College, and director of an educational survey of Saskatchewan, Canada.

Clarence D. Stevens, director of the business school, Hampton Institute, will accompany the commission. The party sailed from New York Thursday, March 22, and will be gone about five weeks.

The commission will study the schools of the Island with a view to introduing vocational training such as is taught at Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. Dean Williams made a similar survey of Haiti some years ago.

VIRGIN ISLANDS COMMISSION SAILS THURS.

Hampton-Tuskegee Group Makes School Survey for Navy Department.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING NEEDED ON ISLANDS

Four Members of Party Expect Work to Take Five Weeks

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., March—Under the auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes and by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, a commission has been appointed to make an educational survey of the Virgin Islands.

Members of the commission are: W. T. B. Williams, Dean of the College, Tuskegee Institute and Field Director of the Slater and Jeanes Funds; Thomas H. Dickinson author of a number of books on the drama and former professor at the University of Wisconsin; and W. Carson Ryan, professor of Education, Swarthmore College and director of an educational survey of Saskatchewan, Canada. Clarence D. Stevens, Director of the Business School, Hampton Institute, will accompany the commission.

The party sails from New York March 22, and will be gone about five weeks.

The commission will study the schools of the islands with a view such as is taught at Tuskegee and to introducing vocational training Hampton Institutes. Dean Williams made a similar survey of Haiti some years ago.

Virgin Islands.

A VIRGIN ISLANDS SURVEY.

Eleven years ago this week the flag of Denmark which had with slight interruption flown for 250 years over the islands known as Dansk Vestindien (the Danish West Indies), was replaced by the Stars and Stripes. These hundred islands, with a total area not as great as that of the five boroughs of New York City and with a population of the size of White Plains, became the "Virgin Islands of the United States." The largest bear the names of saints, inherited from the centuries which followed COLUMBUS's coming. They need again the visitation of such practical saints as the members of the commission that left New York last week to make an educational survey of them, for it is recognized that their social and economic conditions are "in a difficult state."

They lie at "the cross-roads of the Seven Seas," but are not closely in touch with the civilization on the shores of those seas. Their population has somewhat dwindled since their title was shifted from the Old World to the New, and hopes that rose with the new association have been somewhat disappointed. Senator BINGHAM looked in on them two years ago, and it is understood to be through him that the approval and cooperation of the United States Government have been secured for this survey, which is to be made under the auspices of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes and is financed by friends of these institutions, who take this way of showing an interest in the colored inhabitants of those islands. It is to improvement of the health, well-being and productivity of the mass populations in these islands, which are "something more than 90 per cent. black," that this mission is especially directed.

Colonel LINDBERGH put these islands, especially St. Thomas, on the maps of thousands who had never quite known where they were and brought them again to the minds of other thousands who remembered their taking over in the midst of the war but had since quite forgotten them. LINDBERGH testified that he had never had a more interesting or a more beautiful flight than over the islands in his approach to St. Thomas; and after reaching Porto Rico the next day he spoke of the practicability of an air line between North and South America over these and other islands of the West Indies. The United States cannot afford to let them be put to anything but the best possible uses for those whom it has taken over willy-nilly with their little patches of earth. The help which Hampton and Tuskegee offer is that which the masses of inhabitants most need—the advice of those who have under somewhat similar conditions worked out their own salvation under great racial handicaps.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Herald

MAR 29 1928

A VIRGIN ISLANDS SURVEY

Although it is just 11 years ago this week since the Virgin islands become, through purchase from Denmark, territory of the United States, it is doubtless true that the great majority of the people of this country knew little about them until Col Lindbergh put them on the map by landing at St Thomas on his Caribbean tour this winter. But St Thomas, while the capital, is but one; there are some hundred islands included in the whole group which now flies the Stars and Stripes. While business concessions are in general still held by Danish inhabitants under terms of the treaty of transfer, the political affairs are directed by the navy department. Probably 90 per cent of the population is composed of Negroes.

Perhaps the Virgin islanders do not look on Uncle Sam's rule as an unmixed blessing. For while sanitary and health conditions have been improved, as is generally the case when this country enters new fields, and in spite of the fact that control of business is unaffected, business conditions themselves are not what they used to be. The answer? Prohibition.

St Thomas used to do a big business in distilled liquors. It also did an excellent business in bay rum. Even the latter, however, has suffered under American dominion, for bay rum, under prohibition laws, must be "denatured," and the islanders claim, and the diminishing bay rum trade would seem to prove, that in the denaturing process something of the fine quality of the product which gave it high standing in the world's markets is lost, and the product is less desirable than formerly.

Whether this may be regarded as cause or effect, it is also true that the population of the Virgin islands has been slowly but constantly diminishing during the 11 years of ownership by the United States. The islanders, on the whole, have been disappointed in their hopes of improved conditions from United States ownership, and would welcome any definite, positive program in their favor.

Now, after a long wait, they may well see hope in the visit of the commission which has sailed from New York this week to undertake a survey of the needs of the entire area. Health, education, well-being and productivity are among the subjects which will be studied. The survey will be made under the auspices of Tuskegee and Hampton institutes, and is financed by friends of the two institutions, as a token of the friendly interest of the black man in the islands. The government, while not directly participating, approves the project, and it may be hoped that any report which the commission may prepare on its return may become the basis for a constructive government program.

The total area of the Virgin islands is not great, about the size of the five boroughs of New York city. The population is about that of White Plains. The islands stand at the "cross roads of the seven seas," but its people are more than a little out of touch with the civilized world which adjoins those seas. As long as Uncle Sam has taken them under his protection without the islanders having much to say about it, it would seem about time for this country to give serious consideration to extending the aid needed to permit them to enjoy living conditions which will at least compare favorably with those which the people of continental United States enjoy.

Race Problem - 1928

Moving Pictures Relating to.

BIRTH OF NATION BANNED IN N. J.

PLAINFIELD, N. J., Jan. 11—Such a vehement protest was raised by the local colored clergy recently in regard to the "Birth of a Nation" that Mayor McMurray placed a ban on it. In explaining his attitude, the mayor declared that the picture tended to create racial hatred and strife and was grossly unfair to people of color. He then gave a list of the places in the north and west where the picture had been banned.

The preachers who took part in the protest were: D. W. Hoggard, I. N. Lamb, E. W. Coberth and Arthur Jones.

Chicago Defender 1-28-28

RACE HATRED IN FILMS.

The latest protest against the showing of a motion picture, because it has been made for the express purpose of inflaming hatred, was made by the United German Societies to the Motion Picture Division of the State Department of Education. The film against which this protest was directed is "Dawn," an English production based on the execution by the Germans during the World War of Edith Cavell, the English nurse, who helped in the escape of British soldiers from capture and imprisonment. For this military crime she was tried by German court martial and sentenced to be shot. At first, the showing of the picture was prohibited in England, in order not to disturb the friendly relations being re-established between the two countries.

Age

New York, N.Y.

H-2-1-28

The last previous attempt to stop the showing of a film reflecting upon a particular race was made by the Irish in this city, who rose in revolt against "The Callaghans and the Murphies," or something sounding like that, which purported to picture the idiosyncracies of that pugnacious and vivacious race. We think the picture simply passed out of the popular houses after a brief run. For a long time it was the practice to portray the villain in certain American films as a Japanese spy. This was during the anti-Japanese agitation on the West coast and may have been the result of the local prejudices engendered thereby. But it has always been the custom of various countries to burlesque and ridicule on the stage the nations whom they had met or expected to meet in war. Witness the stage pictures of the Britisher or Frenchman in this country and the stage Yankee abroad. At home this role of burlesque was also given to the Irish, the Jew and the Negro.

The first motion picture to arouse heated denunciation as a disturber of racial harmony was the infamous "Birth of a Nation," the promoters of which capitalized the protests made against it by Negro churches and organizations to enable it to get front page publicity. In fact when the clamor diminished, they deliberately sought to incite such protests. This picture was really a bit of Southern propaganda, picturing the Negro and the Unionists in the worst colors possible. President Lincoln and other Union leaders were ridiculed, while the leaders of the South were glorified. While the protests against its production had some effect and it was banned in certain cities, in others it was purported to be so modified as to eliminate objectionable features. Its success was widespread and the harm feared from its production was either less than was anticipated, or so subtle that it could not be readily detetrmined.

It may be that the film drama is credited with a greater effect on the public mind than it is really capable of exerting. The film is said to appeal most strongly to the undeveloped mind that cannot digest the printed word but that can take in a picture. How deep or how lasting the impression made by such a showing is one of the things that the scientists have not yet measured. It may be that the influence of the films is much less than has been counted.

Birmingham Prohibits "Uncle Tom's Cabin"

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 28.—(CNS) This city, in a state which has hundreds of ku klux klan lynchings and whippings to its credit, so many that last year, 84 were recorded in one county alon, has barred the showing of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in movie form. The ruling class of business men and white planters fear that it would encourage rebellious on the part of the innumerable Negro workers held in peonage and serfdom in this state. The legal excuse given is that "it might excite hatred."

Chicago Defender 12-29-28

Race Problem - 1928.

(U.S.) Moving Pictures Relating to.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN WILL NOT APPEAR

ATLANTA, Aug. 15.—(AP)—"Uncle Tom's Cabin" in the new film version will not be shown on the silver screens of Atlanta motion picture houses.

The local board of review after a conference with Mayor I. N. Ragsdale and representatives of the Universal Pictures Corporation announced that an amicable decision had been reached by the parties involved and a definite promise given that the film would not be booked for an Atlanta playhouse.

A story of protest followed a private showing Sunday, and those who witnessed the film portrayal declared it would be unwise to exhibit the screen version of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel here.

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" BARRED IN ATLANTA

Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" will not be shown to Atlanta motion picture fans in Atlanta. The move was taken Wednesday following conferences between Mayor I. N. Ragsdale, local members of the board of film review, and representatives of the Universal Picture corporation.

William A. Lynch, chairman, and Mrs. Alonzo Richardson, secretary, made the announcement, saying that a harmonious agreement had been reached between representatives of the Universal Pictures corporation and local officials.

Protests against a public showing of the film were filed after a pre-view of the famous novel at Loew's Grand theater. A promise was made by the theatrical officials that the film would not be booked for Atlanta audiences.—Atlanta Constitution.

Revise Uncle Tom's Cabin For Texas; Legree a Yankee

DALLAS, Texas, Aug. 22 (AP).—The motion picture version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" will be shown here as scheduled, but the producers may not recognize it.

Simon Legree, mustached villain of the novel, will become a Yankee. Not only will the North be made responsible for the villain who whips poor old Uncle Tom, but some of the "cruelty" footage will be eliminated and a prologue added explaining that such occurrences were not the usual thing in the South of pre-war days. The term "War Between the States" will be substituted for "Civil War."

Agreement to alterations was reached after a protesting delegation from the United Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy witnessed two private showings. Members of the protesting committee were pleased at the changes wrought.

"SHOWING OF FILM UNWISE"

Board Of Reviews and Mayor Vote to Let "Dead Past Bury Its Dead."

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 23.—Uncle Tom's Cabin in the new film version of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel will not be shown in Atlanta.

Following vigorous protests as the result of a private showing on Sunday, the local Board of Reviews conferred on the matter on Monday with the mayor and representatives of the motion picture corporation. It was announced Wednesday that the persons concerned had agreed to cancel the Atlanta bookings.

Those making protests claimed that the novel had brought on a national upheaval following its publication and that it would most certainly be unwise to revive those conditions at the present time. It also was pointed out that throughout the South as well as the North efforts were being made to forget the things which brought on the internecine struggle which completely wrecked the South. "Let the past be past and let it lie in peace," one protestant said.